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CONTENTS OF VOLUME XXI.

ART.	PAGE
I.—On the Jaina Poem Rāghava Pāṇḍaviya : a Reply to Prof. Max Müller. By K. B. PATHAK, B.A.	1
II.—The Ancient Name of Sanjān. By JIVANJI JAMSEDJI MODI, B.A.	4
III.—Apastamba and Baudhāyana. By K. B. PATHAK, B.A....	19
IV.—Astronomy in its bearing on the Antiquity of the Aryans. By V. B. KETKAR, Esq.	24
V.—Time and Place of the Composition of the Gathas. By P. A. WADIA, M.A.	34
VI.—An Untranslated Chapter of the Bundeḥesh. By JIVANJI JAMSEDJI MODI, B.A.	49
VII.—A Note on some Gold Coins found in the Bijapur District. By SHRIDHAR R. BHANDARKAR, M.A.	66
VIII.—The Parsees at the Court of Akbar and Dastur Meherji Rānā. By JIVANJI JAMSEDJI MODI, B.A.	69
IX.—The Shahee Dialect of Arabic. By LT.-COL. A. S. G. JAYAKAR, I.M.S. (Retired)	246
X.—The Coins of the Gujarat Sultanat. By the REV. G. P. TAYLOR, M.A., D.D.	278
XI.—Dhar and Mandu. By CAPT. ERNEST BARNES	339
XII.—Epigraphic Notes and Questions. By DEVADATTĀ RAMKRISHNA BHANDARKAR, M.A.	392
XIII.—Gurjaras. By DEVADATTĀ RAMKRISHNA BHANDARKAR, M.A.	413
XIV.—'Omānee Proverbs. By LIEUT.-COL. A. S. G. JAYAKAR, I.M.S. (Retired)	435
XV.—The Oriental Congress at Hanoi. By PROFESSOR M. MACMILLAN, B.A.	499
XVI.—A Śilār Grant of Śaka 1049. By K. B. PATHAK, B.A....	505
XVII.—Matheran Folk Songs. By PROFESSOR M. MACMILLAN, B.A.	517
XVIII.—References to China in the Ancient Books of the Parsees. By JIVANJI JAMSEDJI MODI, B.A.	525
XIX.—Notes on Anquetil DuPerron (1755-61) on King Akbar and Dastur Meherji Rānā. By JIVANJI JAMSEDJI MODI, B.A.	537
XX.—On the Cyropædia. By R. K. DADACHANJI, B.A., LL.B.	552
XXI.—Discovery of Ancient Brāhma Script in Kashmir. By REV. J. E. ABBOTT, D.D.	562
Proceedings of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, with a List of Presents to the Library, from March 1901 to December 1903	i-lxxvi



INDEX TO VOLUME XXI.

- Abbott (Rev. Dr. J. E.), discovery of ancient Brahmi Script in Kashmir, 562—567.
Abdulla Shah Changal's Mausoleum, 352—354.
Abhinava-Pampa, 2.
Abul Fazl, 78.
Ádarbád Marespand, Chief Dastur of the Court of Shapur II., 54.
Agnikulas, tradition with regard to the origin of, 428.
Ahirs, Abhirs, date of their Settlement in India, 430.
Ahmad Khan, 283, 284, 285, 286.
Ahmedabad, tradition and account regarding the founding of, 286, 287.
Ajivikas, epigraphic references to the, 399—405.
Akalankadeva, 3.
Akbar, chronological events of the Reign of, 73—77.
Akbar, remarks on his new Religion, 69—71.
Akbar's Invasion of Gujerat, 301.
Alamgir Gate and other Gates, Mandu, 379—382.
Alp Khan, 341.
Ambarnath, near Kalyan, correct interpretation of the date of the inscription in the temple of, 506.
Amoghavarsha I, 416—424.
Anandpura, 413.
Anandrao Puar, 342, 343, 344, 345.
Anantadeva, 505, 516.
Anantapála, 513.
Anquetil du Perron's notes on King Akbar and Dastur Meherji Ráná, 537—551.
Miss Menant's remarks on Anquetil's notes, 537—538; new lights thrown on points dwelt on in the paper on Akbar and Meherji Ráná, 539; notes of Anquetil in connection with Akbar and Meherji Ráná examined, 540—548.
Aparáditya, 505, 514, 516.
Aparágita, 505, 512, 513.
Apastamba and Baudháyana, 19—23.
Arabic Language, great peculiarity of; concise and compact mode of expression, 435.
Ardeshir, Parsee Priest from Persia, visit of, to Akbar, 93—99.
Arespes, 558.
Arikésari, 513.
Arikesarin II, 419.
Arjasp, 535.
Arya, meaning of the word, 25.
Arya Sruta Kírti, 1.
Aryan Antiquity, indisputable evidence in proof of, based on Astronomical calculations, 29, 30.
Aryans, dwelt in a tract in Central Asia, between the Indus and the Caspian Sea, 24.
Aryans, early, time-keepers among the, called Gráma purohitás, Agnihotrins, Kaladnyas, their duties and their position, 25—27, agnihotrins,

- the first astronomers and their houses, the first observatories in the world, 27.
- Astronomy in its bearing on the Antiquity of the Aryans, 24—33; preliminary remarks on the civilisation of Mankind, and the rise of Astronomy with it, especially among the Aryans, the formation of the Calendar, 24—28 ; the Vernal Equinox, 28, 29 ; indisputable evidence in proof of the Aryan Antiquity, based on Astronomical Calculations, 29 —31 ; rise and progress of Astronomy, 31—33 ; account of a Sanskrit Work in Practical Astronomy, called *Jyotirgantám*, 33.
- Astronomy of the Hindus borrowed from the Greek Astronomers of Alexandria, 32.
- Astronomy, on the origin of, 24, 25.
- Astronomy, Practical, account of a Sanskrit work on, *Jyotirgantám*, 33.
- Astronomy, sketch of the rise and progress of, 31—33.
- Aspandyar, 535.
- Astyages, 552.
- Badáoni, extract from, relative to the Parsee mission from Nao-sari, to Akbar, 78—80.
- Bahadur, 295, 296.
- Bahrúj, 17.
- Bálmer, 417.
- Barnes (Capt. E.) ; Dhar and Mandu, 339—391.
- Baudháyana, 19—21.
- Baz Bahadur's Palace, Mandu, 388.
- Bhagvanlal Indraji Sanskrit MSS., classified list of, (Appendix).
- Bhandarkar (D. R.) ; Epigraphic Notes and Questions, 392—412.
- Bhandarkar (D. R.) ; Gurjars, 413—433.
- Bhandarkar (S. R.) ; a Note on some Gold Coins found in the Bijapur District, 66—68.
- Bhillamála, 417, 418.
- Bhillamálaka, 418.
- Bhoj, 349, 341.
- Bhoja, 406, 422.
- Bhojadeva, 411.
- Bhojadeva, 506.
- Bhoja Raja's School, Dhar, 350 —352.
- Bilhana, Author of *Vikramánka-devacharita*, 341.
- Birbal, a favourite courtier of Akbar, 103.
- Brahmagupta, 418.
- Brihaspati, 512.
- Bundehesh, an untranslated Chapter of the, 49—65 ; remarks on the different texts, 50—53 ; on the name of the original writer and the date, 54, 55 ; text and translation of the Chapter, 56—65.
- Calendar, Aryan, composed about B.C. 1300, account of the, 27, 28.
- Chaldean Astronomers, strong resemblance of their manners, customs, &c., to those of Agnihotris and Rishis of ancient India ; Chaldea, probably a corruption of the word *Kaladnya* and Chaldeans a tribe of Aryans, migrated to Babylonia or Assyria, 27.

- Champa Baori, Mandu, 383.
 Chhittaraja, 513.
 Chhittukka, 513.
 China, references to, in the ancient Books of Persia, 525—536. Farvardinyasht refers to China, under the name of Saini, 525, 526; Saini variously identified, 526—528; country referred to as Saini or China in ancient literature, 528, 529; derivation of Sin, Sinae, Chin or China, 529, 530; date of the writing of Farvardinyasht, 530; reference in Bundehesh, 531; passages in Chinese books, referring to Zoroaster and the religion of Persia, 531—533; references in Pahlavi epistles of Manuschehar, in Pahlavi Bahmanyasht and Shah-nameh, 534—536.
 Chosroes I, 535.
 Coins of the Gujarat Sultanat, 278—338; Historical setting, 278—303; Chronological List of the Kings of the Gujarat Sultanat, 303—308; Notes on the Genealogical Table of the Kings of the Gujarat Sultanat, 309—312; Cabinets of the coins of the Gujarat Sultanat, 312—313; Mint Towns, 314—319; weights and standards, 320—325; cumulative legends, 326—338; plates of coins.
 Coins, some gold, found in the Bijapur District, note on, 66—68.
 Congresses, importance of, with special reference to the Congress at Hanoi, 499—500.
 Copper-plate grant of Aparaditya, 505—516.
 Custom's, local, on the authority of, according to Apastamba and Baudhāyana, 20—23.
 Cyaxares, 558.
 Cyropaedia, 552—561; views of scholars on the Cyropaedia. Xenophon's object in writing the memorabilia of Socrates, 552—554. Cyrus, the hero of the Cyropaedia, whether a Persian or a Greek under a Persian name, remarks on the point, 544—559; Cyropaedia, intended to serve as a moral romance, teaching the doctrines of Socrates; also seeking to teach the Athenians in regard to moral, educational and military matters, 559—561.
 Cyrus, 552, 553, 554, 555.
 Dadachanji, (R. K.); on the Cyropaedia, 552—561.
 Damdôd Nask, 52, 53.
 Dâtakiya, author of the original Bundehesh, 54.
 Daud Shah, 289.
 Deio Res, 40—41.
 Deva Kirti, 2.
 Devasakti, 425.
 Dhanañjaya, 1—3.
 Dhar and Mandu, 339—391; Introductory Remarks, 339, 340; historical sketch of Dhar, 340—345; descriptive account of the buildings at Dhar, with illustrations, 345—354; account of Nalcha, a village sixteen miles from Dhar, 354 355;

- the first astronomers and their houses, the first observatories in the world, 27.
- Astronomy in its bearing on the Antiquity of the Aryans, 24—33; preliminary remarks on the civilisation of Mankind, and the rise of Astronomy with it, especially among the Aryans, the formation of the Calendar, 24—28; the Vernal Equinox, 28, 29; indisputable evidence in proof of the Aryan Antiquity, based on Astronomical Calculations, 29—31; rise and progress of Astronomy, 31—33; account of a Sanskrit Work in Practical Astronomy, called *Jyotirgānitām*, 33.
- Astronomy of the Hindus borrowed from the Greek Astronomers of Alexandria, 32.
- Astronomy, on the origin of, 24, 25.
- Astronomy, Practical, account of a Sanskrit work on, *Jyotirgānitām*, 33.
- Astronomy, sketch of the rise and progress of, 31—33.
- Aspandyar, 535.
- Astyages, 552.
- Badāoni, extract from, relative to the Parsee mission from Nao-sari, to Akbar, 78—80.
- Bahadur, 295, 296.
- Bahruj, 17.
- Bālmer, 417.
- Barnes (Capt. E.); Dhar and Mandu, 339—391.
- Baudhāyana, 19—21.
- Baz Bahadur's Palace, Mandu, 388.
- Bhagvanlal Indraji Sanskrit MSS., classified list of. (Appendix).
- Bhandarkar (D. R.); Epigraphic Notes and Questions, 392—412.
- Bhandarkar (D. R.); Gurjars, 413—433.
- Bhandarkar (S. R.); a Note on some Gold Coins found in the Bijapur District, 66—68.
- Bhillamāla, 417, 418.
- Bhillamālaka, 418.
- Bhoj, 340, 341.
- Bhoja, 406, 422.
- Bhojadēva, 411.
- Bhojadēva, 506.
- Bhoja Raja's School, Dhar, 350—352.
- Bilhana, Author of *Vikramānka-devacharita*, 341.
- Birbal, a favourite courtier of Akbar, 103.
- Brahmagupta, 418.
- Brihaspati, 512.
- Bundehesh, an untranslated Chapter of the, 49—65; remarks on the different texts, 50—53; on the name of the original writer and the date, 54, 55; text and translation of the Chapter, 56—65.
- Calendar, Aryan, composed about B.C. 1300, account of the, 27, 28.
- Chaldean Astronomers, strong resemblance of their manners, customs, &c., to those of Agnihotrins and Rishis of ancient India; Chaldea, probably a corruption of the word *Kaladnya* and Chaldeans a tribe of Aryans, migrated to Babylonia or Assyria, 27.

- Champa Baori, Mandu, 383.
 Chhittaraja, 513.
 Chhittukka, 513.
 China, references to, in the ancient Books of Persia, 525—536. Farvardinyasht refers to China, under the name of Saini, 525, 526; Saini variously identified, 526—528; country referred to as Saini or China in ancient literature, 528, 529; derivation of Sin, Sinae, Chin or China, 529, 530; date of the writing of Farvardinyasht, 530; reference in Bundehesh, 531; passages in Chinese books, referring to Zoroaster and the religion of Persia, 531—533; references in Pahlavi epistles of Manuschehar, in Pahlavi Bahmanyasht and Shah-nameh, 534—536.
 Chosroes I, 535.
 Coins of the Gujerat Sultanat, 278—338; Historical setting, 278—303; Chronological List of the Kings of the Gujerat Sultanat, 303—308; Notes on the Genealogical Table of the Kings of the Gujerat Sultanat, 309—312; Cabinets of the coins of the Gujerat Sultanat, 312—313; Mint Towns, 314—319; weights and standards, 320—325; cumulative legends, 326—338; plates of coins.
 Coins, some gold, found in the Bijapur District, note on, 66—68.
 Congresses, importance of, with special reference to the Congress at Hanoi, 499—500.
 Copper-plate grant of Aparaditya, 505—516.
 Custom's, local, on the authority of, according to Apastamba and Baudháyana, 20—23.
 Cyaxares, 558.
 Cyropædia, 552—561; views of scholars on the Cyropædia. Xenophon's object in writing the memorabilia of Socrates, 552—554. Cyrus, the hero of the Cyropædia, whether a Persian or a Greek under a Persian name, remarks on the point, 544—559; Cyropædia, intended to serve as a moral romance, teaching the doctrines of Socrates; also seeking to teach the Athenians in regard to moral, educational and military matters, 559—561.
 Cyrus, 552, 553, 554, 555.
 Dadachanji, (R. K.); on the Cyropædia, 552—561.
 Damdöd Nask, 52, 53.
 Dàtakiya, author of the original Bundehesh, 54.
 Daud Shah, 289.
 Deio Res, 40—41.
 Deva Kírti, 2.
 Devasakti, 425.
 Dhanañjaya, 1—3.
 Dhar and Mandu, 339—391; Introductory Remarks, 339, 340; historical sketch of Dhar, 340—345; descriptive account of the buildings at Dhar, with illustrations, 345—354; account of Nalcha, a village sixteen miles from Dhar, 354 355;

- Mandu, a brief historical sketch showing its connection with Dhar, 355—378 ; ruined buildings of Mandu, with illustrations, 378—391.
- Dhára Nagari, ancient name of Dhar, 340.
- Dharanivarsha, 419.
- Dharanivarásha, 424.
- Dharmapáladeva, 408—420.
- Dhruva, 421.
- Dighwá-Dubauli plate of Mahendrapálá, 405—412.
- Dilawar Khan Ghori, 341, 347.
- Dilwar Khan's Mosque, Mandu, 383.
- Durgasimha, 3.
- Durlabharája, 426.
- Dvisandhána Kávya, 3.
- Ebn Haukal, 5.
- Epigraphic Notes and Questions, 392—412.
- Farhang-i-Jehangiri, a well-known Persian Lexicon, 85.
- Farvardin Yasht, an ancient Persian work, date of the writing of, 530.
- Feruz, 279, 280.
- Folk songs, Matheran, 517—524.
- Ganaratnamahodadhi, 3.
- Gangadhara, 426.
- Gathas, time and place of the composition of, 34—48 ; division of the Zend Avesta in two parts, the Gathas and the rest of the Avesta, 34; the question of the time of their composition critically examined, 34—36; political conditions depicted in the Gathas, 36—38; critical remarks on them, 38—39 ; on the period and place in history corresponding to these conditions, 39—41 ; Zoroastrian Religion supposed to take rise among one of the Median Tribes ; arguments in favour of the supposition examined, 42—44 ; probable date not later than the 7th Century B. C. 44 ; determination of the time and place of the composition of the Gathas, 44—48.
- Ghiyáth-al-din Taghlag Shah II, 280.
- Goggarája, 512.
- Govind III, 416, 424.
- Govind IV, 419.
- Gujarat, on the derivation of the name of, 413—415.
- Gujarat, modern form of the Sanskrit Gujaratra, so called after its occupation by the Chalukyas, 429.
- Gujarat Saltanat, chronological list of the Kings of, with an account of coins of some of them, 303—307.
- Gujarat Saltanat, genealogical table of the Kings of, with notes, 308—312.
- Gujarat, different names given to it, after Gurjars, 426—427.
- Gurjars, 413—433.
- Gurjaratra, 414, 415.
- Gushtásp, 535.
- Hanjaman, references to the town named ; on the derivation of the name, and its identification with Sanjan, 12—18.
- Hanjamana, 4, 5—14.
- Hanoi, Oriental Congress at, 499—504; importance of Congresses with special reference to the Hanoi Congress 499, 500 ;

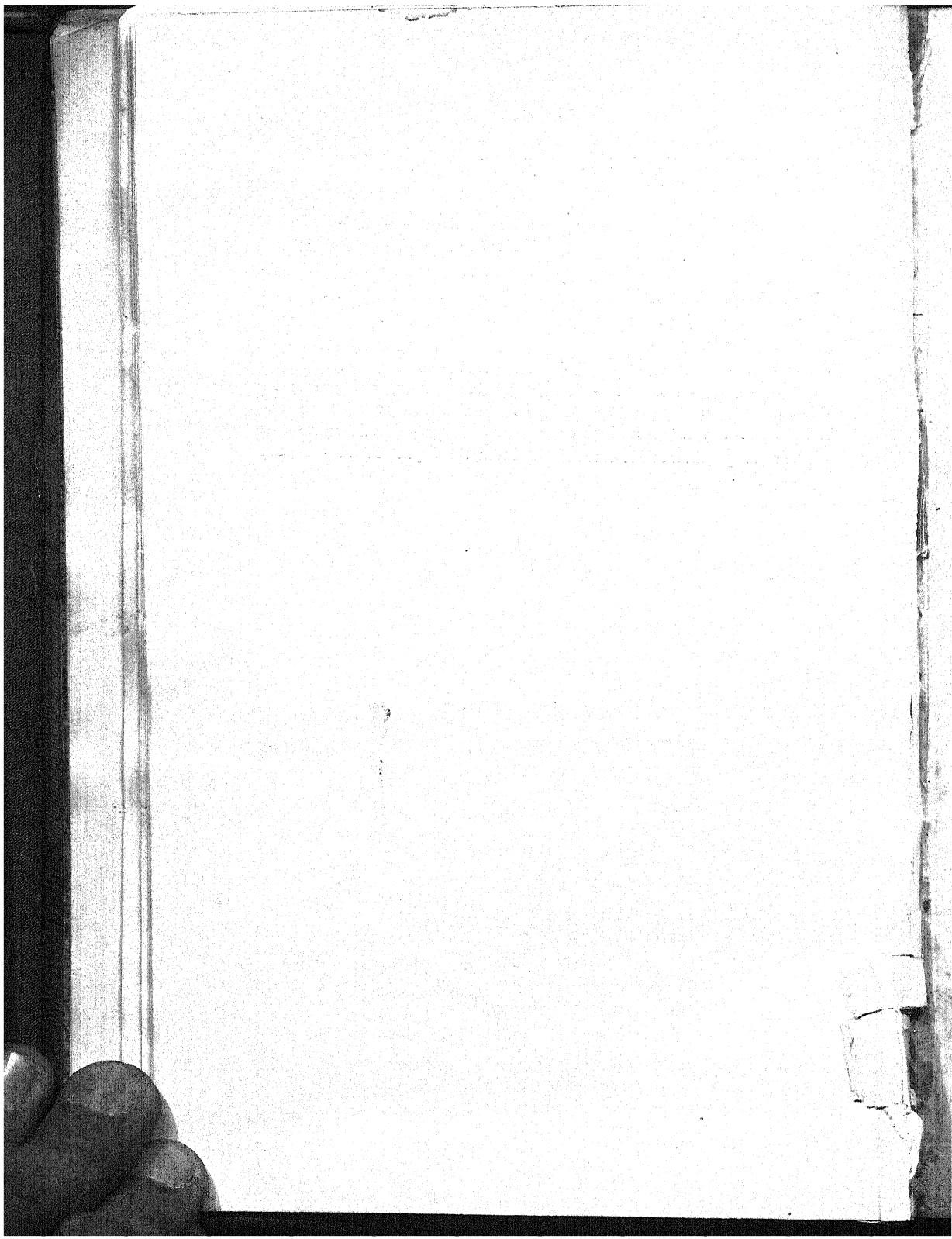
- delegates for the Congress, preliminary meeting appointing President, Secretary and Committee 500; formal opening and sittings of the Congress and discourses delivered, 501, 502; subjects of the papers and addresses, Count Pulle's address on Indian Cartography; final session and resolutions passed at it, 501—503; conclusion of the Congress, 503; meetings varied by banquets and excursions, 503, 504.
- Hindola Mahal, Mandu, 383.
- Hipparchus, the father of Astronomy, 32.
- Hiranyakesi-sutra, 19.
- Hoshang's Tomb and Mosque, Mandu, 384.
- Idrisi, 5.
- Indra III, 416, 419.
- Iqbal Khan, 283.
- Ista Khri, 5.
- Jâdi Rânâ, 10.
- Jagadekamalla, 66, 67.
- Jagadekamalla II, 3.
- Jahaz Mahal, Mandu, 383.
- Jalal Khan, 288.
- Jayadev, 68.
- Jayakar (Lt.-Col. A. S. G.) Omanee Proverbs, 435—498.
- Jayakar (Lt.-Col. A. S. G.) The Shahee Dialect of Arabic, 246—277.
- Jayakesi I, 505, 506.
- Jayanta, 512.
- Jayantîpur, 1.
- Jayasimha, 67—68; 425; 505.
- Jhamjharâja, 512.
- Jîmûtakêtu, 512.
- Jîmûtavahana, 512.
- Jivanji Jamshedji Modi. An untranslated Chapter of the Bundelesh, 49—65.
- Jivanji Jamshedji Modi. Notes of Anquetil du Perron on King Akbar and Dastur Meherji Rânâ, 537—551.
- Jivanji Jamshedji Modi. References to China in the Ancient Books of Persia, 525—536.
- Jivanji Jamshedji Modi. The ancient name of Sanjân, 4—18.
- Jivanji Jamshedji Modi. The Parsees at the Court of Akbar and Dastur Meherji Rânâ, 69—245.
- Juzr, 422.
- Kakkuka, 414.
- Kalyanakataka, 427.
- Kamala Maula, Dhar, 348, 349.
- Kambâya, 6.
- Kamzâree Dialect, a note on, 272—277.
- Kanak, Kanaksen, Kanishka, 430.
- Kanakanandi, 1.
- Kanauj, 405, 408, 409, 422, 423, 424.
- Kanyakubja, 408.
- Kapardi I, 505, 512.
- Kashmir, discovery of ancient Brahmi Script in, 562—567; inscriptions in ancient Brahmi Script on the gateways to the enclosure of the tombs of Zainu-i-abidin and his mother at Shrinagar, 562—564; the inscriptions settle approximate date of the gateways about 150 B. C. and prove the use of Brahmi characters in Kashmir, 564—567.
- Kavadidvipa, 505, 506.
- Kavirâja, 1, 3.

- Ketkar (V. B.); Astronomy in its bearing on the Antiquity of the Aryans, 24—33.
- Khajjana Vanétikâ, 515.
- Khâkân, 535.
- Khetaka (Modern Kaira), 413.
- Kisseh-i-Sanjân, a Persian Poem, describing the coming of the Parsee Emigrants to Sanjân, 4, 10, 11.
- Kiu-che-lo, 415, 425.
- Kolis, a song of ; nature of the song and its metre, verses of the song conforming to the scheme of Latin saturnian metre ; analogy between early development of metrical composition in Italy, India and Greece, 517—521.
- Kolis of Bombay, 518.
- Krishna II, 416, 424.
- Krishna III, 417, 424.
- Kshitipâla, 406.
- Kulachandra, 1, 2.
- Kumârila flourished about A. D. 750, 19, 21, 22.
- Kumarpâla, 425.
- Kundi Rao Puar, 343.
- Lakshmanaiyaprabhu, 514.
- Lakshmananâyaka, 514.
- Lat, ancient name of Gujarat, 413.
- Lat Musjid, Dhar, 347, 348.
- Macmillan (M.) ; Matheran Folk Songs, 517—524.
- Macmillan (M.) ; The Oriental Congress at Hanoi, 499—504.
- Macoudi, 5.
- Mâghanandi Saiddhântika, 1, 2.
- Mahâdeva, 19.
- Mahendrapâla, Dighwâ-Dubauli plate of, 405—412.
- Mahípâla, 406, 411, 419, 424.
- Mahmud Begda, 293, 294.
- Mahmud Shah, 289—291.
- Mahmud II, 282.
- Mahmud, III, 296.
- Mahodaya, 405, 407, 408.
- Mahodaya dynasty, 423.
- Mandu, description of its ruined buildings, 378—391.
- Mandu, History of, 355—378.
- Manibar, 18.
- Manichean Religion, an offshoot of the Zoroastrian Religion, 532.
- Mânuscheher, Pahlavi Epistles of, 534.
- Marumâda (Marwâr).
- Mathanadêva, 416.
- Matheran Folk Songs, 517—524.
- Matheran Songs, describing the characteristic features of the Hill, English translation of the songs, 521—524.
- Mazdayaçnan Religion of Zoroaster, existence of, in China, 531, 532.
- Median Power, Herodotus' narrative of the rise of the, 40, 41.
- Meherji Rânâ, Dastur, headed the party from Naosari and explained to Akbar principles of Zoroastrianism, grant of land to him at Naosari, songs chronicling his visit to the Court of Akbar ; other authorities in support of the event, 106—120 ; objections against his mission to Akbar critically examined, 120—152.
- Metonic cycle, discovered by Meton, 31.
- Mint-towns, of the coins struck by the kings of the Gujarat Sultanat, 314—319.

- Mir Jamal-ud-din, a writer contemporary with Akbar, and the author of *Farhang-i-Jehangiri*, 85—93.
- Miran Muhammad Farrukhi, 296.
- Môra, 515.
- Mufarreh Khan, 281.
- Muhammad III, 281.
- Muhammad Shah II, 288.
- Muhammad bin Taghlaq, 279, 280.
- Muhammadabad, founding of the city of, and its description, 291, 292.
- Mularâja, the first independent king of the Chalukya dynasty, 427.
- Mummuni, 505—513.
- Murâri, 512
- Mustafabad, the founding of the city of, 291.
- Muzaffar Shah, 284.
- Muzaffar Shah (III), 299—303.
- Nâgârjuna, 505—513.
- Nalcha, near Dhar, account of, 354, 355.
- Narasimha, 419.
- Nasirkhan, 294.
- Nasiral din Muhammad Shah III, 281.
- Nathu, 299.
- Northcote (His Excellency Lord), speech at the annual meeting of the Society, 6th March 1902, XXXIX—XL.
- Nusrat Khan, 281, 282.
- Omán, and the Persian Gulf, on some of the tribes inhabiting and their dialects, 246, 247.
- Omán, inhabitants of, isolated from rest of the Arabs, 435.
- Ománee Proverbs, 435—498.
- Ománees, character and general location of, 436—438.
- Oriental Congress at Hanoi, 499—504.
- Pampa-Râmâyana, 2.
- Panchanadadesa (Punjab),
- Parsees at the Court of Akbar and Dastur Meherjee Rânâ, 69—245. Remarks on Akbar's new religion, 69—71; chronological table of events in Akbar's reign, 72—77; consideration of the question as to who it was who led Akbar towards Parseeism, 77—106; who was the leader of the Naosari Parsees, 106—120; examination of objections raised to the Mission of the Naosari Priests and to that of Dastur Meherjee Rânâ, 120—152; Summary, 152—158; appendix giving the text and translation of original documents referred to in the paper, 159—243; chronological table of events of Meherjee Rânâ's life gleaned from the documents, 243—245.
- Pathak (K. B.); Apastamba and Baudhâyana, 19—23.
- Pathak (K. B.); A Šilâr grant of Šaka, 1049, 505—516.
- Pathak (K. B.); on the Jaina Poem Râghavapândvíya; a reply to Prof. Max Müller, 1—3.
- Phraortes, 41.
- Pi-lo-mo-lo, 417, 418, 425.
- Piyadási; First two edicts of; text, translation and notes, 392—405.
- Prabhâkaravardhana, 431.
- Priyadarsin, 392.
- Proverbs, Ománee, 435—498.
- Ptolemy, built up a complete System of Astronomy, 32.

- Pujyapāda, 3.
 Pulasakti, 512.
 Pulakesin, 425.
 Puri, 514.
 Rághavapándaviya, a Jain Poem, 1—3.
 Rajjū, 427.
 Rajyapura, 416.
 Rámabhadra, 406.
 Rámabhadra, 515.
 Rewa Kund, Mandu, 388.
 Rig-Veda, date of the (B. C. 4000), determined by astronomical calculation, 30, 31.
 Rivângara, 419.
 Rules of the Society, revision of the, IX.
 Rup Mati's Pavilion, Mandu, 389.
 Sagara, 515.
 Saimûr, 6.
 Saini, old name of China, 525—26; variously identified by different scholars, 526, 527; country represented by, in ancient literature, 528, 529; on the derivation of Sin, Sinae, Chin or China, 529, 530.
 Sâmanta Nimba, 1.
 Samarsiniha, 429.
 Samkhachûda, 512.
 Sanjân, examination of references to, in Arab writers, and the conclusion deduced from it, 5—10.
 Sanjân, name first given by the Parsees, 11.
 Sanjân, on the ancient name of, 4—18.
 Sanjân (Sindan), account of, 4.
 Saranâgatavajrapamjara, 513.
 Sarandip, 6.
 Sarpâraka, 6.
 Shahhee Dialect of Arabic, 246—277.
 Shahoo Tribe, origin of, the tribes included in the Shahoo group, the principal places occupied by the tribes, 246—249.
 Shaka era, named after Shalivâhan, of the Egyptian.
 Sikandar, 294.
 Silâr grant of Saka, 1049, 505—516.
 Sindân, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 17, 18.
 Somesvara I., 341, 513.
 Sopara, 6.
 Soubârâ, 7.
 Soufareh, 7, 8.
 Srimâla, 418.
 Srutákirti-traividya, 1, 2, 3.
 Sûbârâ, 6.
 Sûrabâya, 9.
 Sûrpâraka, 6.
 Sûrpâraka or Sopara, 505.
 Tagara, 514.
 Tantravârtika, an important work from a historical point of view, 19, 21.
 Tatar Khan, 282, 283.
 Taweli Palace, Mandu, 384.
 Taylor (Rev. G. P.), the coins of the Gujarat Sultanat, 278—338.
 Tejakantha, 505.
 Tower of Victory, Mandu, 386.
 Trailokyamalla, 68.
 Udaji Puar, 342, 345.
 Vadavali, 515.
 Vajjadadeva, 512, 513.
 Vappuvanna, 512.
 Varakûta, 515.
 Vardhamâna, 3.
 Vardhamâna (Vadhwán), 42.
 Vatsaraja, 421, 422, 424.

- Vernal Equinox, Tropical year calculated from the, 28, 29.
- Victoria, Her Majesty Queen-Empress, Address of Condolence from the Society, to His Majesty the King, on the death of, XXXVI—XXXVIII.
- Vikramaditya II., 67.
- Vikramajit, 340.
- Vināyakapāla, Bengal Asiatic Society's plate of, 405—412.
- Vyasa, 514, 515.
- Wadia, (P. A.), time and place of the composition of the Gathas 34—48.
- Xenophon, 552.
- Yasovarman, 424, 425.
- Yeswant Rao Puar, 343.
- Zafar Khan, 281, 282, 283, 284.
- Zend Avesta ; division of, in two parts, the Gathas and the rest of the Avesta, 34.
- Zoroastrian Religion, supposed to take rise among one of the Median Tribes, arguments in favour of the supposition examined, 42—44, the date not later than 7th Century B. C., 44.



ART. I.—*On the Jaina Poem Rāghavapāṇḍaviya: a Reply
to Prof. Max Müller.* By K. B. PATHAK, B.A.

[Read 18th July 1900.]

Prof. Max Müller, in his letter prefixed to the English translation of I-tsing's record of Buddhist practices in the West,¹ attributes to me a statement which needs correction. After telling his readers that Vāmana, the author of the Kāvya-lānkāra-sūtras, quotes the Rāghavapāṇḍaviya of Kavirāja, the Professor proceeds to say: "Pathak in the *Indian Antiquary*, 1883, p. 20, tries to ascribe the poem to Ārya Śrutakīrti, Śaka 1045." This statement is obviously due to the learned Professor's ignorance of the fact that there are two Sanskrit poems called Rāghavapāṇḍavīya. The one that the Professor is speaking of is the Brahminical work of that name, which contains 13 cantos. It was composed by Kavirāja, a contemporary of King Kāmadēva of the Kadamba dynasty, who reigned at Jayantipur or Banavāsi in the North Kanara District.² The other poem of the same name, which is divided into 18 cantos and which forms the subject of my introductory remarks in the *Indian Antiquary*, is the work of the well-known Digambara Jaina author Dhanañjaya. These facts were clearly stated by me in a footnote to my paper³; and it is therefore a matter for deep regret that the learned Professor should have fallen into the error of supposing that I tried to ascribe the Brahminical work to the Jaina author Ārya Śrutakīrti. It is the Jaina poem with which I was concerned in my paper on the Terdāl Inscription; and the views which I expressed there concerning the date and the authorship of the Jaina work have since received an interesting confirmation from facts which have recently come to light.

In the inscription at Terdāl Māghanandi Saiddhāntika is spoken of as a famous Jaina ascetic of Kolhapura. His teacher was Kula-chandra and his disciples were king Sāmanta Nimba, Kanakanandi and Śrutakīrti-traividya. If we turn to the Inscription No. 40 at Śravana Belgoḷa, we find that this same Jaina ascetic Māghanandi Saiddhāntika is described therein with all the above particulars. We are told;

तस्य श्रीकुलभूषणाखयसुमुनेदिशष्यो विनेयस्तुत-
स्सहृतः कुलचन्द्रदेवमुनिपरिसद्ग्रान्तविद्यानिधिः ।
तच्छिष्योऽजानि माधवनन्दिमुनिपः कोङ्काणुरे तीर्थकृत-
राज्ञानार्पणपारगोऽचलभृतिभारिक्षेभरः ॥

TRANSLATION.

The disciple of that good ascetic named the holy Kuṭabhūṣaṇa was the great ascetic Kuṭachandradēva, whose conduct was good and who was the repository of scriptural learning. His disciple was the eminent ascetic Mâghanandi, who was born at Kolhâpura, who was well versed in the ocean-like doctrines of Tîrthânkara, whose courage was unshaken and who was a very emperor in good conduct.

This inscription supplies some interesting literary information. It says :—

Śrutakirtti-traividya- |
vṛati Râghava-Pândaviyam vibudha-chamat- |
kṛiti yenisi gata-pratyâ- |
gatadim pêld amala-kirttiyam prakaṭisidam ||

TRANSLATION.

The ascetic Śrutakirtti-traividya achieved a brilliant fame by composing the Râghavapândaviya which must be read forwards and backwards and which is the wonder of the learned.

From this verse it is clear that Śrutakirtti-traividya wrote the Jaina Râghavapândaviya and we also learn from the same inscription that he had Devakirtti for his colleague. The last-named ascetic⁵ died in Śaka 1085. Now the verses in the Śravana Belgola inscription, which ascribe the poem to Śrutakirtti are quoted from the well-known Kanarese work, the Pampa-Râmâyana, the date of which, as I have pointed out, is Śaka 1076. This date has now been accepted by Mr. Rice in his introduction to the second edition of that interesting Kanarese work. We have now three important facts before us :—

- (1) The Terdâl Inscription mentions Śrutakirtti-traividya in Śaka 1045, but is silent as regards his authorship of the Râghavapândaviya.
- (2) Abhinava-Pampa⁶ ascribes the poem to Śrutakirtti-traividya in Śaka 1076.
- (3) The Śravana Belgola Inscription (No. 40, Śaka 1085) quotes Abhinava-Pampa's verses ascribing the poem to Śrutakirtti-traividya and identifies the latter with the ascetic of that name mentioned in the Terdâl Inscription.

From these facts it is easy to conclude that Śrutakirtti's work had not yet been composed in Śaka 1045, whereas between Śaka 1076 and 1085 it was regarded as a well-known poem. It is also interesting to note that Pampa speaks of it as "the wonder of the learned, by which

Śrutakīrti had achieved a brilliant reputation.” From these expressions it is allowable to infer that Pampa knew of only one Jaina poem called Râghavapândaviya, which was praised by every body. Now in Vikrama Samvat 1197 or Śaka 1062, Vardhamâna, the author of the Ganaratnamahôdadhî and a distinguished Jaina scholar, frequently quotes⁷ the Râghavapândaviya of Dhanañjaya. We must also remember that Durgasimha, a contemporary of the Chalukya king Jagadêkamalla II. (Śaka 106-72), says⁸ that Dhanañjaya became the lord of Sarasvatî by composing the Râghavapândaviya. This must be identical with the work of Śrutakīrti who was living in Śaka 1045. It would be absurd to suppose that two Sanskrit poems bearing the same title and having a double meaning, could have been produced by two Jaina writers of the Digambara sect in the short interval between Śaka 1045 and 1062. If such had been the case, Śrutakīrti’s work would have ceased to be “the wonder of the learned” in Śaka 1076. It is therefore clear that Dhanañjaya was another name of Śrutakīrti, and that the composition of his work must be placed between Śaka 1045 and 1062. I need hardly add that Dhanañjaya was a distinguished Jaina author of the Digambara sect and mentions⁹ Akalañkadâvâ and Pûjyapâda as his predecessors. These facts will not fail to convince Sanskrit scholars that the Jaina Râghavapândaviya, which is also called Dvisandhânakâvya, is the work of Dhanañjaya who was also known to his contemporaries as Śrutakīrti-traividya, that it was composed between Śaka 1045 and 1062 and that it is altogether different from the poem ascribed to Kavirâja.

¹ I-tsing’s Records of Buddhist practices in the West, translated by J. Takakusu, B.A., Ph.D. 1896.

² Kavirâja’s Râghavapândaviya, Canto I.

³ Ind. Ant., Vol. XIV., p. 14.

⁴ Inscriptions at Sravana Belgoi, ed. by Mr. Rice, No. 40.

⁵ Ibid. No 39.

⁶ Spoken of as Abhinava or new Pampa to distinguish him from an old author of the same name. Introduction to Sabdânuśâsana, ed. by Mr. Rice.

⁷ Dr. Bhandarkar’s Report for 1884-87, p. 20.

⁸ Durgasimha’s Introduction to his Kanarese Pañchatantra.

⁹ Dhanañjaya-kôsa.

ART. II.—*The ancient name of Sanjān.* By JIVANJI
JAMSHEDJI MODI, B.A.

[Read 23rd August 1900.]

Sanjān is a small town on the B. B. and C. I. Railway, 90 miles from Bombay. The subject of this paper is to ascertain whether it is the Sindān of the Arab geographers of the 10th and 11th centuries as stated by the *Bombay Gazetteer* (Vol. XIV Thana), and whether it is the town of Hanjamana (હનજમન) referred to in the three Silhāra grants¹ of the 10th and 11th centuries.

Sanjān is a town well known in the history of the Parsees. As the *Bombay Gazetteer*² says, "it was here that, about the year 720, a band of Persian refugees settled." *Kisseh-i-Sanjān*, i.e., the episode or story of Sanjān, is the name of a small Persian poem, written, not in very elegant verses, by one Bahman Kekobād Hormuzd-yār Sanjānā in the year 969 Yazdazardi (1600 A. D.).³ Therein are described the events that brought the Parsee emigrants to the town of Sanjān, and then led them to settle in the different parts of Gujarāt.

I.

The *Gazetteer* says of this town:—

"By the Arab geographers of the tenth, eleventh, and twelfth centuries, Sanjān, under the name Sindān, is repeatedly mentioned as one of the chief ports of Western India. In the 10th century (915) it is described as famous for the export of an emerald equal to the best in brightness and colour, but harder and heavier, known as the Mecca emerald, because it passed through Arabia. It is also described as a great, strong city with a Jāma mosque. In the twelfth century it is mentioned as populous, the people noted for industry and intelligence, rich and warlike, the town large, and with a great export and import trade."

¹ (a) *Asiatic Researches* I, p. 357. Paper by General Carnac. (b) *Indian Antiquary* V, p. 276. Paper by Dr. Bühler. (c) *Indian Antiquary* IX, p. 33. Paper by Mr. Justice Telang.

² Vol. XIV (Thana), p. 301.

³ It is translated into English verse by Lieut. Eastwick. *Journal, B. B. B. Asiatic Society*, Vol. I, p. 167.

Let us examine how far this statement of the *Gazetteer* is correct. The writer of the above passage bases his description on the authority of the well known Arab writers, Ebn Haukal (950 A. D.), Idrisi (1130 A. D.), Maçoudi (943 A. D.), Istakhri (950 A. D.) and others. As the writer has not given direct references to the works of these authors, except in the case of Maçoudi, it appears that he has taken for his authority the extracts of their works in Eliot's History of India.⁴

Firstly, let us examine the references to Ebn Haukal. According to Eliot's manuscript, Ebn Haukal gives the names of the following towns in Hind⁵ :—Fâmhal, Kambâya, Sûrbârah, Sindân, Saimûr, Multân, Hadrawur, and Basmat. According to Gildemeister's manuscript,⁶ the names of the towns are Kâmuhul, Kambâya, Subâra, Asâvîl, Hanâvil, Sindân, Saimûr, Bani Battan, Jandarûz, Sandaruz. According to Ousley's manuscript,⁷ the names of the towns in Hind are Seidan ﴿سیدن﴾ Meimoun, Multan and Heidour.

Thus we see that one manuscript of Ebn Haukal gives, as principal towns in Hind, the names of 8 towns, another manuscript those of 10 towns, and a third, of 4 towns. Again, we find a difference in the names of one and the same town, in different manuscripts. This is due to the carelessness, at first of the writer, and then of the copyists, in not putting carefully the diacritical points over the letters. We find, even the celebrated geographer Aboulfida (A. D. 1273 to 1331) complaining about it. He says, "The book of Ebn Haukal is a work of considerable length, in which the different countries are described with sufficient exactness. But neither are the names of places marked by the proper points, nor are their longitudes or latitudes expressed; this frequently occasions an uncertainty respecting the places, proper names, &c."⁸

Leaving aside the names of the other cities of Hind, we find that the town spoken of as Sindân in the manuscripts of Eliot and Gildemeister, is Seidan in Ousley's manuscript. But later on (p. 154), where the "distances of places" in Sind and part of Hind are spoken

⁴ History of India, Vol. I., pp. 26-130.

⁵ History of India, Vol. I., p. 34.

⁶ *Ibid*, note 1.

⁷ The Oriental Geography of Ebn Haukal, by Sir William Ousley, p. 147.

⁸ Ousley's Oriental Geography, p. XVIII. "Il y manque la manière dont doivent se prononcer les noms de lieux." Géographie d'Aboulfeda par M. Renaud Tome I, p. 1.

of, we find the name as Sindān سندان even in Ousley's manuscript. Thus, though there is a little uncertainty about the correct name of the place, we would proceed with our examination of the name taking it to be Sindān.

According to Ebn Haukal "Kambāya is one parasang distant from the sea, and about four from Sūbāra, which is about half a parasang from the sea. From Sūbāra to Sindān, which is the same distance from the sea, is about five⁹ days' journey; from Sindān to Saimūr about five; from Saimūr to Sarandip about fifteen."¹⁰ This is according to the manuscript of Eliot. Ousley gives these distances according to his manuscript as follows:—" Sourbah is near the sea : from Sindān to Sourbah is five merileh."¹¹

We find from these two passages of the two different manuscripts of Ebn Haukal, that what is spoken of as Sūbāra in one, is Sourbah سوربا in the other. Sūbāra is probably a more correct reading. It is identified with the Sarpāraka of the copper-plate inscriptions, with the Sūrpāraka of the Mahābhārata and with the modern Sopārā near Bassein.¹² Thus, according to Ebn Haukal, Sindān is 5 days' journey from modern Sopārā. So if the town of Sanjān in Konkan is the Sindān of Ebn Haukal, it is five days' journey from Sopārā. A day's journey, or merileh (مريله) as it is called, is, according to Edrisi's Geography, 30 miles.¹³ So the distance by miles, between Sanjān and Sopārā, would be about 150 miles. But we know, as a matter of fact, that it is not more than 52 miles, or more than two days' journey.

Again, according to the above passage, Kambāya, which the *Gazetteer* identifies with Cambay, is one parasang, i.e., about $3\frac{1}{4}$ miles from the sea and four parasangs, i.e., about 15 miles from Subāra, which the *Gazetteer* identifies with the modern Sopārā near Bassein. We know,

⁹ As corrected by Eliot (p. 39 note). According to Gildemeister's manuscript it is 10 (*ibid.*). Ousley's text gives 5. Ousley's text differs a good deal from Eliot's.

¹⁰ Eliot's History of India, p. 39.

¹¹ Ousley's Oriental Geography of Ebn Haukal, p. 154.

¹² Indian Antiquary, Vol. IX., p. 44.

¹³ Ousley's Oriental Geography, Preface p. XXII note. "évaluant la journée à 30 milles" (Géographie d'Edrisi, par Janbert: Tome II, p. 231 cinquième climat première section). 60 milles ou 2 journées (*Ibid.*, p. 232).

as a matter of fact, that the distance between Cambay and Sopara is not so short as 15 miles. It is nearly 270 miles.

These calculations of distances tend to show that the Sindān, referred to above by Ebn Haukal, is not the Sanjān of the Konkan but some other town near Cambay. It is another Sindān spoken of as Kaechh Sindān in Eliot's History¹⁴ and as the Cutch Sindān (Sandhan) by the *Gazetteer* itself.¹⁵

We will now examine the reference to the Arab Geographer Edrisi. He says, "From Subāra to Sindān is considered five days. Sindān is a mile and a half from the sea. . . . East of Sindān there is an island bearing the same name and dependent on India. It is large and well cultivated, and the cocoa-nut palm, kanā and rattan grow there."¹⁶

We have seen in the case of the reference in Ebn Haukal, that if the Soubāra referred to, is the modern Sopāra the Sindān, referred to, as being 5 days' journey from it, is not the Konkan Sanjān. In the same way the reference in this passage clearly shows that the Sindān of Edrisi cannot be the Konkan Sanjān. Here it is said that there is an island of the same name on the east of Sindān, but we know, as a matter of fact, that there is no sea at all on the east of modern Sanjān. The sea is on the west of it. Suppose, for argument's sake that the writer meant to say "west" instead of "east." Such slips of words may occur.¹⁷ But then, even on the west of the Konkan Sanjān we have no island. So it seems to be clear that the Sindān of Edrisi is not the Sanjān of Konkan.

We now come to the direct references of the *Gazetteer* to the Arab writer Maçoudi. This writer, as it appears from his writings, had come personally to India, and so his references to Sindān and Soufāreh, are not made with any second-hand knowledge. While

¹⁴ I, p. 450. n. 2.

¹⁵ Vol. XIV, p. 302, note 4.

¹⁶ Eliot's History of India, Vol. I., p. 85. Joubert also gives a similar version. "De Soubara à Sendan, on compte également 5 journées. Sendan چانه à un mille et demi de la mer 'est bien peuplée, et ses habitants se font remarquer par leur industrie et leur intelligence ; ils sont riches et d'humeur belliqueuse. La ville est grande ; elle fait un grand commerce d'exportation et d'importation." Al'est de Sendan est une île du même nom, grande, bien cultivée, où croissent le cocotier, le palmier, le cana et le rotting, et qui dépend de l'Inde." Géographie d'Edrisi, par Joubert, Tome I, p. 172.

¹⁷ Vide *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. IX., p. 44, for one such instance.

speaking on the subject of the flux and reflux of waters, i.e., on ebb and tide, he says:—

Voici ce que j'ai vu dans l'Inde, sur le territoire de la ville de Cambaye (Cambay) célèbre par ses sandales, nommées sandales de Cambaye, qui y sont d'usage, ainsi que dans les villes voisines, telles que Sendan et Soufareh (Sindān و سوپاره). J'étais à Cambaye dans l'année 303.¹⁸

In this passage Maçoudi speaks of Sindān and Soufāreh as towns in the neighbourhood of Cambay. In his quotation from Maçoudi, the writer of the *Gazetteer*¹⁹ makes Maçoudi say that the town of Sindān was "near Sufāreh and south of Cambay." But we find from the above quotation that Maçoudi, at least the manuscript of Barbier de Meynard, says nothing about Sindān being south of Cambay. However, that is not an important point. This reference, then, shows that we must look for the town of Sindān somewhere near Cambay and not at Sanjān in the Konkan. There is another reference to Sindān²⁰ in Maçoudi in Chap. XVI, where he speaks about an Indian Gulf. That reference also shows that we must look for this Sindān near a gulf somewhere near Cambay and not in the Konkan. A third reference,²¹ wherein Maçoudi says that the best emeralds came from Sindān, also points to the neighbourhood of Cambay for the situation of Sindān.

Now we come to the references in Istakhri. Among the cities of Hind he enumerates "Amhal, Kambâya, Sûbhâra, Sindân, Saimûr, Multân, Jandrud and Basmând."²² Then speaking about the distances between the different places, he says : " From Kambâya to Sûrabâya²³ about four days, and Sûrabâya is about half a parasang from the sea.

¹⁸ Maçoudi par B. de Meynard, Vol. I., pp. 253-54.

¹⁹ Vol. XIV., p. 302, note 4. ²⁰ Maçoudi par B. de Meynard, Vol. I., p. 330, Chap. XVI. " Puis vient la mer Larewi, qui baigne les territoires de Seîmour, Soubareh, Tabeh, Sindan, Kambaye et autres, faisant partie de l'Inde et du Sind."

²¹ *Ibid.*, Vol. III., p. 47. " Une province de l'Inde, le Sindân et les environs de Kambaye dans les états du Balhara roi de Mankir fournissent une espèce d'émeraude . . . "

²² Eliot I., p. 27.

²³ According to Abu-l-Fedâ, Sûfâra, Sûfâla, Sûbhâra are variant forms. Eliot I., p. 402.

Between Sûrabâya and Sindân about five days.”²⁴ These distances given by Istakhri, which are the same as those given by the Arab Geographer Ebn Haukal and Edrisi, also tend to show that the Sûrabâya and Sindân, referred to by him, are not the Sopârâ and Sanjân of Konkan, because the actual distance between them is not 5 days’ journey as stated by him. Istakhri²⁵ further says that there are Jamâ Masjids in all the above towns of Hind enumerated by him. This reference to the Jamâ Masjid also shows that it is not the Konkan Sindân or Sanjân that Istakhri refers to, but it is the Cutch Sindân. We will touch upon this point later on.

I think, therefore, that the town of Sindân, referred to by the above Arab geographers, is not the Konkan Sanjân but the town of Sindân in Cutch. It is the same as the Sindân referred to by Ibn Khurdâdba in his *Kitabu-l-Masâlik wa-l-Mamâlik*²⁶ as being situated in the countries of Sind. It is the same as the Sindân referred to by Al Bilâduri in his *Futuhu-l-Buldân* as the town where a large Jâmi Masjid was built by Fazl, son of Mâhân.²⁷

This reference to the Jâmi Masjid tends to show that the Sindân referred to by the Arab geographers was not the Sindân of Konkan as supposed by the *Gazetteer*, but the Sindân of Cutch. About this Sindân, where Fazl had built a large Jâmi Masjid, as referred to by Ibn Khurdâdba, Eliot says, that “the town here spoken of is more probably the Sindân or Sandân in Abrâsa, the southern district of Kachh.”²⁸ Giving a reference to the statement of the above Arab author Al Bilâduri and to the above statement of Eliot, the *Gazetteer*, on their authority, says : “Besides the Konkan Sindân the Arab geographers of that time mention the Cutch Sandhân.”²⁹

Thus we see that it is to the Cutch Sindân that the Arab geographers refer to, when they speak of the Jâmi Masjid as being in the town of Sindân and not the Konkan Sindân. So, also, the Arab geographers, Ebn Haukal³⁰ and Istakhri,³¹ when they speak of mosques in the town of Sindân, refer to the Cutch Sindân and not the Konkan Sindân.

Thus all the Arab authors referred to by the *Gazetteer*, viz., Ebn Haukal, Maçoudi, Edrisi, Istakhri, do not refer at all to the Konkan

²⁴ Eliot I., p. 30.

²⁵ Eliot I., p. 27.

²⁶ Eliot’s History of India I., p. 14.

²⁷ Ibid., p. 129, p. 450.

²⁸ Eliot I., p. 450.

²⁹ Gazetteer, Vol. XIV., p. 302, n. 4.

³⁰ Ousley’s Oriental Geography, p. 147.

³¹ Eliot I., p. 27.

Sindān or modern Sanjān. I also think that the Sufāra, Sufāla, Subāra, &c., referred to by them is not the modern Sopārā of Konkan near Bassein.

II.

Now, before coming to the second part of our paper, we will pause a little and inquire who it was that, according to the Parsee tradition, as noted in the Kisseeh-i-Sanjān, first called the place (Konkan Sindān) Sanjān.

In the Kisseeh-i-Sanjāu,³² referred to above, it is said that Sanjān was so named by the leaders of the Parsee emigrants who settled there. The poem says that after their final defeat at the hands of the Arabs in the battle of Nehāvand (in 841 A. D.) the Parsees wandered for 100 years in the mountains of Khorāssān, and then settled for 15 years in the island of Hormuz. They then betook themselves to the shores of India, where they landed in Div, in Kathiāwār, and stopped there for 19 years. Thence they sailed to Gujarat, and landed at a place which they latterly named Sanjān. Thus it was in the year 775 that the place was named Sanjān.

The poem says that the leader, a Dastur, of the emigrants went to the ruler of that place, who was named Jādi Rāmā, and explained to him the circumstances under which they had left their country and had come to India, and solicited the favour of the allotment of a place where they could make their abode. The Rājā, after making certain inquiries from the new-comers, and after making certain conditions, welcomed them to his shores and allotted them a piece of ground where they could settle themselves. It was at first a desert-like place, but they soon turned it into a habitable place.

۳۲ بدهشی در قبول اقتضاد یکچهای
زمین خوش بود آنجا کرد مأواتی
قبول اقتضاد مردم را در آنجا
ز جنگل باز شهری شد چویدا

³² The Revāyet that is being published by Mr. Manockji Rustamji Unwālā, pp. 344-354. Journal of the B. B. R. A. S., Vol. I, pp. 167-191.

³³ Mr. Manockji Rustamji Unwala's printed Revayet, p. 348. Journal of the B. B. Royal Asiatic Society, Vol. I, p. 179.

په چندل بیابان بود ویران
 فرو آمد په نونا و پدران
 چون دستور آن نمین نیکرا دید
 در آنجا بهر ماندن جای بندگی
 هر اورا نام سنجان کرد دستور
 بسان ملک ایران گشت معمور

Translation.—A place in the desert was accepted. The ground was excellent, and they made it their place of abode. The place was acceptable to all persons. A city was created where there was formerly a desert. It was an uncultivated and an unpopulated desert. All the young and the old landed there. When the Dastur saw this good place, he found it to be a proper place for abode. The Dastur gave it the name of Sanjān, and it was made prosperous like the country of Irân.

According to this passage, then, it was the Parsees who had first named it Sanjān. Now the question is, why it was named Sanjān by the Parsees. One may say that it was so named after a town of that name in Persia. As modern colonists name the new towns in their adopted country after the names of the towns of their mother-country, e.g., New England, New York, so the ancient Parsees perhaps named their new place of abode Sanjān, after a town of the same name in their mother-country of Persia. We find that there were several towns in Persia of the name of Sanjān. In Barbier de Meynard's Dictionary of the Geography of Persia, under the head سنجان Sanjān (Sendjān), we find four towns of the name of Sanjān: (1) A town near the gates of Merw; (2) a locality in the country of Bab-el-Abwab (Derbend); (3) a locality situated near Nişabour (Nishapur); and (4) a town in the district of Khawaf (Koraçan).³⁴

Now, as according to the Kisreh-i-Sanjān, after the fall of their empire at the hands of the Arabs, the Parsees had wandered for about 100 years in the mountainous country of Khorassan, before leaving the shores of Persia, one may say that it is very likely that they named their new place of abode after the town of Sanjān in Khorassan, whose memory was fresh in their mind. The last line of the above passage from Kisreh-i-Sanjān is بسان ملک ایران گشت معمور or i.e., it became prosperous like the country of Irân. This leads

³⁴ Dictionnaire Géographique, Historique et Littéraire de la Perse, par C. Barbier de Meynard, p. 323.

us to say that it is probable that the new town derived its name at the hand of the Parsees.³⁵

III.

Now we come to the second part of our paper. The *Bombay Gazetteer* says: "In three Silhāra grants of the tenth and eleventh centuries Sanjān is probably referred to under the name of Hanjaman."³⁶ The writer of the *Gazetteer* does not say on what grounds he bases his statement. He does not suggest the grounds of probability. I beg to state here some facts which supply the grounds for that probability.

The three Silhāra grants, referred to by the *Gazetteer*, are the following:—

The first grant found in Thana is that of the King Aricésari Dēvarāja of the Silhāra dynasty in Saka 939 (*i. e.*, A. D. 1018).³⁷

The words of the grant, referring to the city of Hanyamana as translated by Pandit Rāmalochan and communicated by General Carnac, are as follow:—

"The fortunate Aricésari Dēvarāja, Sovereign of the great circle, thus addresses even all who inhabit the city Sri Sthánaca, his own kinsmen and others there assembled, princes, councillors, priests, ministers, superiors, inferiors, subject to his commands, also the lords of districts, the governors of towns, chiefs of villages, the masters of families, employed or unemployed servants of the king, and his countrymen. Thus he greets all the holy men and others inhabiting the city of Hanyamana."³⁸

The second grant referred to by the *Gazetteer* is that of Chhittarāja-deva, Mahāmāndalēsvāra of Konkan in Saka 948 (*i. e.*, 1026 A. D.).³⁹ The plate of the grant belonged to Mr. Hormusji Cersetji Ashburner,

³⁵ We have a similar instance in the case of the name of the town of Now saree. According to the Parsee tradition, the Parsee emigrants there named the town Nao-sari, *i. e.*, New Sari, because the climate there resembled that of the town of Sari in Persia. The *Gazetteer* says that the story that "Navasari got its name from the Pársis is incorrect, as Navsari is shown in Ptolemy's map."^{*} But it is probable that the Parsees, finding the name of the place similar to that of a town in Persia, persianized it a little.

* Nusaripa, Ptolémæi Geographie Libri octo Græcco-Latini à Petro Mortano recogniti. (Fol Amsterdon, 1605, p. 169.)

³⁶ XIV., p. 302. ³⁷ Asiatic Researches, Vol. I., p. 357.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 361.

³⁹ Indian Antiquary, Vol. V., p. 276, Sept. 1876—Article by Dr. Bühler.

and was found on his family property near Bhandup in about 1836. The donor of the grant is Chhittarājadeva of the Silahara or Silārs dynasty, and the donee is one Āmadevaiya. The field granted "was situated in the village of Noura, now Nowohor, belonging to the vishaya or tālukā of Shatshashṭhī, the modern Salsette, and included in Shrīsthānaka or Thānā." The words of the grant, where the town of Hanjaman is referred to, are as follow :—

"The great provincial chief, the illustrious Chhittarājadeva addresses with salutations, worship and respect all the assembled men of royal caste, ministers, Purohitas, councillors, chief and minor officials, whether connected with himself or strangers, as well as the lords of rāshtras (zillās), the lords of vishayas (tālukās), the lords of towns, the lords of villages, officials, and non-official persons, servants of the king, and *rayats*, likewise the citizens of the town of Hānyamana,⁴⁰ belonging to the three (twice-born) castes and others as follows"

The third grant⁴¹ is that of the illustrious Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara, King Anantadēva, the emperor of Konkan in Saka 1016 (i. e., 1094 A. D.). The donees are "two persons, the great Minister Sri Bhabhaṇa Sreshṭhi and his brother."⁴² The subject of the grant is the release of the toll duties. The words of the grant are as follow :—

"Illustrious Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara, King Anantadēva, announces with salutations, honour, respect, and directions, to all princes, councillors, priests, ministers, principal and subordinate officers, both those connected with himself and others, as also all heads of rāshtras, heads of vishayas, heads of towns, heads of villages, royal officials specially appointed or not, country people, as well as townspeople of the town Hanjamana of the three classes and so forth"⁴³

The translators of these three grants have thrown no light upon the word Hānyamana or Hanjamana. The translators of the first two grants, Pandit Rāmalochan and Dr. Bühler, have said nothing

⁴⁰ The words in the Sanskrit text are हैयमननगरपौरसिवर्गप्रभूतीश (p. 278, plate II.A., l. 11).

⁴¹ Indian Antiquary, Vol. IX., p. 33, February 1880—Article by the late Mr. Justice Telang.

⁴² *Ibid.*, p. 38.

⁴³ The words in the text about the town of Hanjamana are हैयमननगरपौरत (वि) वर्गप्रभूतीश. *Ibid.*, p. 35, Plate III, l. 10.

about it. The translator of the third grant, Mr. Justice Telang, says about this word : "I do not understand this." ** Further on he says : "I can say nothing about Hanjamana." **

It is probable that Hanjaman was another name by which the Parsee town of Sanjān was known by the Hindu rulers and by the people. Two facts are disclosed by the Silhāra grants. Firstly, the donors address the tenor of their grants in general terms to all the people of the country, to members of the royal family, to their high and low officials, to officials and non-officials, to all their *rayat*, and then make a special reference to the people of the town of Hanjamana. Why were these people not included in the general terms of the address in the general term '*rayat*'? What was the reason of separately addressing the people of the town of Hanjamana? Did not the people of that town form a part and parcel of the *rayat* of the donor-princes? The reason seems to be that the Parsee emigrants, though they were the subjects of the ruling princes, formed a separate community of themselves. They founded and formed, as it were, a separate colony of their people. They were alien foreigners, not only in the matter of their origin and descent, but in their religion. Hence the necessity of addressing them separately as a foreign community.

Secondly, the inhabitants of this town of Hanjamana, which is named separately in the grants, are spoken of in the first grant as "the holy men and others inhabiting the town of Hanjamana." In the second grant they are spoken of as "the citizens of the town of Hanjamana belonging to the three (twice-born) castes." In the third grant also they are spoken of as "the townspeople of the town Hanjamana of the three classes."

These special terms of reference, and especially the words "the holy men" in the first grant, tend to show that the people of the town belonged to the priestly class. In the second and third grants, the town is spoken of as belonging to "the त्रिवर्ण, i. e., "the three classes." Dr. Bühler, while translating the second grant, translates the word त्रिवर्ण by three castes, and adds the word "twice-born" in brackets after the word "three." We are not in a position to know why he adds this word, but, possibly, he thinks that the reference is to the three castes of Brâhmins, Khshatryas, and the Vaishyas who are generally called Dvijas, i. e., the twice-born. But we must bear in mind that the word

** Indian Antiquary, Vol. IX., p. 38, n. 45.

** Ibid., p. 44.

used in the grants is ક્રી, not વર્ગ, i.e., class, not caste. Mr. Justice Telang has correctly translated it by the word classes. Again, if the donors meant to refer to the three Hindu castes, there was no special necessity, as we said above, of separating the three Hindu castes of the town of Hanjamana, from the similar three castes in the other parts of the country or from the whole *yayat*.

I think that the reference here is to the three classes of the priestly class of the Parsees.

In the Avesta we find the *Āthravans* (the priestly class corresponding to the Brâhmins) called *Thrâyavan*.⁴⁶ This word is variously translated by different translators. Dastur Edalji Sanjânâ, Spiegel, Harlez, Darmsteter, and Tehmuras have translated it in various ways. Anquetil has translated it, "Chef pur des trois Ordres," i. e., the "holy chief of three orders." Kânga has translated it પાતું પાચાણની અથવા પાતું પાચાણની, i. e., of three religious orders. These three classes referred to are the three grades of the priestly class, (1) the Dasturs, (2) the Mobeds, and (3) the Herbeds. These are the three grades of the priestly class referred to by the Saddar.⁴⁷

This word "thrâyavan" of the Avesta then corresponds to the ત્રિવાર્ગ (trivagarg) of the Silhâra copper-plate grants.

Thus, then, the town of Hanjaman seems to have been called the town of three classes, because, perhaps, the Parsee emigrants mostly consisted of the priestly class. We find from the Kissh-i-Sanjân that the leader of the emigrants, who went before the ruling prince (Jâdi Rânâ) was a Dastur. We also learn from it that the prince, before allotting any land to them, liked to know something about their religion, manners and customs. The Dastur explained these to the prince. A description of these is preserved among the Parsees in form of Sanskrit slokas. From these and from the description given by the Dastur, as noted in the Kissh-i-Sanjan, it appears that the Dastur's narrative of some of their beliefs and observances may have led the king to find that they belonged to the sacredotal class.

It is for this reason, perhaps, that the king and his successors took all the Parsee colonists to be of the priestly class. Hence their town is referred to as the town of the three grades (classes), in which the

⁴⁶ યશ્ત ખોરડા ૩, યશ્ત બેહરામ ૪૬, આદ્ય
Yasht 86,

⁴⁷ S. B. E. XXIV., West, Ch. XCIX.

priestly class of the Parsees is divided. Again, the final reply of the Hindoo prince shows that he was pleased with the new-comers as belonging to a holy class of foreigners. He thus blesses them according to the slokas:—

“ O Parsees ! May God grant you a progeny of children. May He grant you success and victory. May the immortal Fire grant you victory. May you be free from sins. May you always be holy. May the Sun be auspicious to you for ever. Always revere the Sun. May your desires be fulfilled. Take whatever land you desire in my country. May your respect and honour increase. O Parsees ! if any ignorant people will look at you (with an idea to injure you) I will smite them. May you be successful over them. May riches be your lot.”⁴⁸

According to the Kissee-i-Sanjān, the prince took great interest in their spiritual welfare and even helped them to erect a fire-temple, wherein He also gave some offering.

Now the question arises if, by the word Hanjamana, the Silhāra grants referred to the new Parsee town of Sanjān, as pointed out by the *Gazetteer*, why was the town so called ? What does it signify ?

Hanjamana is an Avestaic word meaning “an assembly.” It comes from Avesta “han,” Sanskrit सन् or सङ्ग्,

Lat. con, Gr. syn, meaning together, and jam, Sanskrit जम् to go. The literal meaning would be “a place where people go together, i. e., meet.” If the word could be rendered into Sanskrit, its equivalent would be संगम or संगम, i. e., a place of junction or meeting. It is now used in the sense of “assembly.” How are we then to account for the two names, Hanjamana and Sanjān ? We can account for it in two ways.

Firstly, the early Parsees may have named their new town Sanjān, and possibly knew it also by the name of Hanjamana, i. e., an assembly, because all the emigrants met there together. The Hindu rulers, instead of calling the new town by its name Sanjān, which was, as it were, an alien name to them, being originally the

⁴⁸ Translated from a Gujani version of the Slokas belonging to Mr. Manockjee Rustomjee Unwāl. For all the slokas, *vide Dastur Aspan-dyārjee Kamdin’s શીર્ષક વાર્તાય પરમાત્માનિકામણ* (1826), pp. 129-146.

name of a town in Persia, chose to know it by its second name, which pointed out its purpose, and the meaning of which they could easily understand, the word being similar to a corresponding Sanskrit word.

Secondly, the similarity of the two names Hanjamana and Sanjān suggests the idea that possibly Hanjamana and Sanjān may be one and the same name. Hanjamana was the original name given to the new town by the Parsees, and Sanjān was its later corrupted or Sanskritised form. The Avesta 'h' becomes 's' in Sanskrit, as in the case of the Avesta Hapta Hindu which has become Sapta Sindhu in Sanskrit. So Sanjān may be the later Sanskritized form of Hanjamana, which would be at first Sangāma in Sanskrit. But then one would point to the Kissee-i-Sanjān, saying that according to that book it was the early Parsees who themselves gave the name of Sanjān to that town. But we can explain that fact by saying that the book, though written on the authority of oral traditions, was written as late as 1600 A.D., i.e., about 900 years after the event. So the writer, instead of giving the original name of the town, as given by the early Parsees, gave the name by which the town was known in his time.

APPENDIX.

There is one Arab geographer who also refers to one Sindān. It is Albiruni.⁴⁹ The passage referring to this town, as translated by Eliot, runs thus :

"After traversing the gulf you come to the small and big mouths of the Indus; then to the Bawārij, who are pirates, and are so called because they commit their depredations in boats called Baira. Their cities are Kach and Somnāt. From Debal to Tulishar is fifty parasangs; to Loharānī twelve; to Baka twelve; to Kach, the country producing gum and bādrūd (river Bhader), six; to Somnat fourteen; to Kambāya thirty; to Asāwāl two days' journey; to Bahruj thirty; to Sindān fifty; to Sufārā six; to Tāna five."

Prof. Dowson, the editor of Eliot's History, identifies the Bahruj of Albiruni with Broach, and says⁵⁰ "Albiruni makes the distance from Broach to Sindān fifty parasangs⁵¹ and from Sindān to Sufārā six

⁴⁹ Eliot, I., pp. 65, 66. Albiruni's Text by Sachau, p. 102, l. 12.

⁵⁰ Eliot, I., p. 402-3.

⁵¹ A parasang (or farsang) varies from $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles to 4 miles in different countries. Ousley and Kinneir take it to be $3\frac{1}{2}$ miles. Eliot, I., p. 400.

parasangs. Abū-l Fida says that Sindān was the last city of Guzerát, and the first of Manibár (Malabár), three days' journey from Tana. It is hardly possible to reconcile all these statements, but there seems to be sufficient evidence for making Sindān the most southerly. It was on a bay or estuary a mile and a-half from the sea, and the modern Damān is probably its present representative. Sübâra was similarly situated at the same distance from the sea and finds a likely successor in Surat."

We see here that Prof. Dowson tries to identify Sindān with Damān and Subârâ with Surat. The great dissimilarity in names suggests that this identification is not correct. The distance of Sindān from Broach as given here is [50 (Sindān)-30 (Bahruj)=20 days' journey, *i.e.*] about 600 miles. Again Prof. Dowson is wrong in inferring that Albiruni makes the distance from Broach to Sindān fifty parasangs. Albiruni speaks of the distance of Sindān from Debal (and not from Broach) as fifty days' journey.

ART. III.—*Āpastamba and Baudhāyana.*

By K. B. PATHAK, B.A.

[Read 27th September 1900.]

In his Introduction¹ to the translation of Āpastamba's Dharma Sūtra, which he has contributed to the Sacred Books of the East, Dr. Bühler has endeavoured to prove that Baudhāyana flourished before Āpastamba. In support of his contention Dr. Bühler appeals to Mahādeva, who in his commentary on the Hiranyakēśi-sūtra mentions the names of Baudhāyana and Āpastamba. The order in which these names are given is assumed to be chronological by Professors Weber² and Bühler. The latter scholar, who is aware that the Charṇavyūha mentions³ these names in a different order, seems perfectly conscious of the weakness of the view, and tries to substantiate his position by bringing forward many arguments. As regards these it will suffice to say that they are hardly convincing.

But the student of Sanskrit literature will be interested to learn that Bhāṭṭa Kumārila, who flourished about A.D. 750, offers a most satisfactory reply to the question whether Baudhāyana lived prior to Āpastamba. In a well-known passage in the Tantravārtika we are introduced to an interesting discussion on the validity of local customs. Kumārila says⁴ :—

यत्तद्यतनानामहिच्छत्रकमाथुरब्राह्मणीनां सुरापानादि दाक्षिणात्यानां मातुलदुहि-
द्विविवाहादि स्मृतिविरुद्धसुपन्थस्तम् । तत्र कोचित्तावदाहः । स्वृत्याचारथोरितरेतर
निरपेक्षवेदमूलव्येन तुल्यबलत्वाद्विहितप्रतिषिद्धिविकल्पानुष्ठानाभयणादवोष इति
तनु वक्ष्यमाणबलाबलविभागाद्युक्तम् । अन्येत्वेवमाहुः ॥

सर्वेषामेवमादीनां प्रतिवेशं व्यवस्थया ।

आपस्तम्बेन संहृत्य दुष्टादुष्टत्वमाभितम् ॥

येषां परंपरा प्राप्ता: पूर्वज्ञेरप्यतुष्टिताः ।

त एव तैनं दुष्टेयुराचारैनंतरे पुनः ॥

तथा मनुनाद्युक्तम् ॥

येनास्य पितरो याता येन याता : पितामहाः ।

तैन यायात्सतां मार्गे तेन गच्छत्त तुष्ट्यति ॥

येषां तु यः पित्रादिभिरेत्वाथौ नाचरितः स्वृत्यन्तरप्रतिषिद्धश्च ते तं परिहरन्त्येव-
अपरिहरन्तो वा स्वजनादिभिः परिहरन्ते । ननु गौतमेनाज्ञायविरुद्धानामाचाराणा-
मप्रामाण्यमुक्तम् । आह ॥

यदि वेश्विरोधः स्थादिष्यतैवाप्रमाणता ।

स्मृतिराजाग्राहेन न हु वेददुर्भवते ।

न स्वेतदपि युक्तं स्मृतिग्रन्थेऽप्यामायशब्दप्रयोगात् । स्मार्तधर्माधिकारे हि शङ्का
लिखिताम्यामुक्तमाम्नायः स्मृतिधारक इति । अन्यकारणतायाः स्मृतेस्तत्कृतअ-
न्याम्नायः स्मृतिग्रन्थाध्यादिनां स्मृतिधारणार्थेत्वेनोक्तस्ततश्च मन्वादिवाक्यप्रतिषिधि-
द्वाचाराणां प्रामाण्यमशक्यमभ्युपगम्नुम् । आपस्तम्बवचनं तु बौधायनेन स्मृति-
विरुद्धदुष्टाचारोदाहरणान्येव प्रयच्छता निराकृतम् । स्पष्टकामादिहेत्वन्तररहर्ष-
नान्विरुद्धाचाराणामापस्तम्बवचनस्य वा श्रुतिमूलस्वोपपत्तिः ।

Translation.

The custom of drinking prevalent among the present Brahmin women of Allichchhatra and Mathurā, and that of marrying maternal uncles' daughters obtaining among the people of Southern India, are spoken of as opposed to Smṛiti or religious law. On this point some people remark thus:—Such customs may be held equally authoritative with Smṛiti as they are quite independent and may be supposed to be based on Vedic texts; since when a thing is enjoined by custom and prohibited by Smṛiti, its observance can only be regarded as optional, and thus the difficulty may be removed. But this opinion is incorrect owing to the distinction between validity and non-validity which will be presently discussed. Others contend that such customs are approved or disapproved by Āpastamba according to their observance or non-observance in any particular country. Those who inherit such customs from their ancestors are justified in observing them, while others who follow them in the absence of such a prescriptive right are held guilty. Manu also lays down a similar rule—"One should go by the same path which was trod by one's ancestors. A person, therefore, who follows the path of the good is not condemned." Men of course avoid a practice which was not observed by their ancestors and which is opposed to Smṛiti. If they fail to do so, they will be shunned by their relations. It may be objected that Gautama holds such practices invalid as are opposed to Āmnāya. I by this expression is meant a Vedic text, such practices are utterly invalid. On the other hand, if Smṛiti is intended by the word Āmnāya, it is not exalted to the rank of a Vedic text. But this opinion is also erroneous, the word Āmnāya being frequently employed in works on Smṛiti; for Śankha and Likhita in the chapter on the duties of householders explain the word Āmnāya to mean something that refreshes the memory. From

this it is impossible to defend practices condemned in the writings of Manu and others. The opinion of Āpastamba referred to above is refuted by Baudhāyana who cites specific instances of prohibited practices opposed to Smṛiti. When we see a distinct motive for such practices such as desire, it is absurd to vindicate them or Āpastamba's opinion in favour of them by supposing the existence of Vedic texts as their basis.

From this interesting passage it is obvious that Āpastamba claims for local customs as high an authority as Smṛiti itself, provided they have prescriptive right in their favour. This view is dissented from by Gautama, while Baudhāyana not only accepts Gautama's opinion, but cites specific instances of practices condemned by Smṛiti and refutes Āpastamba's opinion in favour of them. This is the gist of the passage quoted from the Tantravārtika, a work the importance of which, from an historical point of view, it is impossible to exaggerate. Let us now turn to the work of Baudhāyana and see whether he holds the views attributed to him by Kumārila. Here is the passage. Baudhāyana says⁶ :—

पञ्चधा विप्रतिपत्तिर्दक्षिणतस्तथोचरतः ॥ 17 ॥
 यानि इक्षिणतस्तानि व्याख्यास्यामः ॥ 18 ॥
 अथैतस्तुपेतन सह भोजनं क्लिया सह भोजनं पर्यु-
 पितभोजनं मालुलपितृष्वसृदुहितगमनमिति ॥ 19 ॥
 अथोचरतः ऊर्णविक्रयः सीधुपानमुभयतोदरिव्यवहारः
 आशुधीयकं समुद्रयानमिति ॥ 20 ॥
 इतरदितरस्मिन्कुर्वन्दुष्यति ॥ 21 ॥
 तत्र तत्र देशप्राप्तयमेव स्थान् ॥ 22 ॥
 मिथ्यैतत्विति गौतमः ॥ 23 ॥
 उभयं चैव नाद्रियेत शिष्टस्मृतिविरोधदर्शनात् ॥ 24 ॥

This passage is thus translated by Dr. Bühler⁷ :—

17. There is a dispute regarding five (practices) both in the South and in the North.
18. We shall explain those peculiar to the South.
19. They are,—to eat in the company of an uninitiated person, to eat in the company of one's wife, to eat stale food, to marry the daughter of a maternal uncle or of a paternal aunt.
20. Now (the customs peculiar) to the North are,—to deal in wool, to drink rum, to sell animals that have teeth in the upper and in the lower jaws, to follow the trade of arms and go to sea.

21. He who follows (these practices) in (any) other country than the one where they prevail commits sin.

22. For each of these practices, the (rule of) the country should be (considered) the authority.

23. Gautama declares that this is false.

24. And one should not take heed of either (set of practices), because they are opposed to the tradition of those learned (in the sacred law).

If we analyze this passage, we find that it consists of three parts. First, it cites specific instances of practices obtaining in the North and the South. Next, it proceeds to quote some unnamed author, who says that such practices are good wherever they prevail, though invalid elsewhere, on the ground that local custom is a safe guide. In the last place Baudhāyana tells us that this strange view of the unnamed author is not acceptable to Gautama, and winds up by saying that he himself is opposed to all such practices. Let us now turn to the passage from the *Tantravārtika*. Here we read that Gautama is opposed to such practices, and in expressing his opinion, he uses the word *Āmnāya*. This is very interesting, and we can easily identify the sūtra in Gautama, where he says⁸ :—

देशातिकुलधर्मशास्त्रैयरविरुद्धः प्रमाणम्

But the most important literary information which the passage from the *Tantravārtika* conveys to us is that the unnamed author who upholds local customs as against *Smṛiti* or the sacred law, and who is attacked by Gautama and Baudhāyana, is no other than Āpastamba. This conclusion is further corroborated by the fact that Kumārila frequently goes out of his way to attack Āpastamba for his strange views. We are told⁹ :—

यापि चापस्तम्बवचनाकुल्यबलत्वाशङ्का भवेत् सापि तस्माद्ब्रह्मणः सुरां न
पितृत्येतेन प्रत्यक्षशृतिविधिना निराकृतेति नैर्विद्याचारप्रामाण्यमाशाङ्कुतव्यम्

These passages can point to one conclusion, namely, that Āpastamba is attacked by Baudhāyana. Nor can we forget the fact that the conclusion does not rest on the authority of Bhatta Kumārila only ; but it is amply confirmed by the statement of Baudhāyana himself as explained by Kumārila. These considerations lead us to infer that Āpastamba lived prior to Gautama and Baudhāyana, while Baudhāyana himself is the latest of the three Sūtrakāras.

An interesting question suggests itself here, whether in the text of Āpastamba, which is now extant, we can trace the opinions attributed

to him by Baudhāyana and Kumārila. We find one sūtra¹⁰ which alludes to local custom ; but the commentator Haradatta is careful to tell us that we should not understand Āpastamba to defend in this sūtra such practices as that of marrying a maternal uncle's daughter. That this explanation is altogether wide of the mark is abundantly proved by the passages which I have quoted above. At the same time we must admit that since we do not meet with any sūtras defending in express terms local custom as against smṛti or sacred law, the conclusion is inevitable that the present text of Āpastamba differs, in some respects, from that which was accessible to Kumārila and his contemporaries in the middle of the eighth century.

¹ *Sacred Books of the East*, Vol. II., Part I., Intro. to Āpastamba, pp. 16-22.

² Weber's *History of Sanskrit Literature*, p. 110, 2nd ed.

³ *Sacred Books of the East*, Vol. II., Part I., Intro. to Āpastamba, p. 16.

⁴ *Tantravārtika*, Benares edition, p. 138.

⁵ Manu, IV. 178. Mandalik's edition, Vol. I., p. 542, reads रिष्यते instead of दुष्यते.

⁶ Baudhāyana, *Dharmasūtra*, I. 1, 17-24.

⁷ *Sacred Books of the East*, Vol. II., Part I., Intro. to Gautama, p. 49.

⁸ Gautama, *Dharmasūtra*, XI. 20.

⁹ *Tantravārtika*, Benares edition, p. 142.

¹⁰ Āpastamba, *Dharmasūtra*, II., 15. 1.

ART. IV. *Astronomy in its bearing on the Antiquity of the Aryans.* By V. B. KETKAR, Esq.

[Read 18th December 1900.]

Mr. President and Gentlemen,

I beg to thank you for your kind permission to read before this learned assembly a paper on the subject, "Astronomy in its bearing on the Antiquity of the Aryans." But it is so interesting, important, and vast, that to be able to do any justice to it, one must possess special talents, leisure, books, money; and above all health and energy to undertake journeys through the land of research. I confess I possess none of these qualifications and resources; and consequently I do not expect to fulfil even your moderate hopes to hear of some new discovery. At the instance of Rao Bahadur Krishnarao Balal Deval I consented to stand before you to-day, and I leave it to your indulgent consideration to decide how far I was right in accepting the call.

With these introductory remarks I beg to read my paper, hoping that you would give a calm and attentive hearing to it.

CHAPTER I.—THE CALENDAR.

The civilization of mankind, or rather the first awakening of human intellect, appears to be the latest event in the history of the earth. Even this awakening was not general. It was confined to a small tract of Central Asia between the Indus and the Caspian Sea. The people who dwelt in this tract called themselves Aryans.

Man's history on this earth may be divided into three periods. In the first, he lived solely by hunting or on wild fruits and roots. In the second, he tamed wild animals which he used for food or other services and led a nomadic life. In the third, the growth in the number of his race taught him the necessity and the propriety of resorting to Agriculture as a means of livelihood.

As the knowledge of time fit for ploughing and sowing operations is essential to success in agriculture, the earliest efforts of the Aryan agriculturists must have been directed towards the accomplishment of this important object. But this was no easy work for them. Moreover, the seasons in their country are very irregular, and baffle the

efforts even of the most intelligent meteorologists. This is often the case in higher latitudes. Napoleon attributed the failure of his Russian expedition chiefly to the fact that the winter of A. D. 1811 set in earlier by 20 days than the average of the past 50 years. The Aryans must have therefore appointed the shrewdest among themselves to discover as accurately as they could the length of the Cycle of seasons, or, in other words, the length of the Tropical year. This shows that Astronomy was the child of Agriculture.

People who first resigned their nomadic life and took to agriculture called themselves Aryas, which means ploughers of soil or husbandmen. They were not ashamed, but, on the contrary, proud of this name. The elevation of the word Arya, which latterly came to mean one born of high family, may be traced to this fact.

Clever men charged with the new duty must have seen that the Sun did not rise daily on the same point of their horizon, that he oscillated on it regularly like the pendulum of a clock, and that the seasons varied with the course of his yearly oscillation. On continuing their observations for several years, they might have found that the length of the tropical year, i.e., the cycle of season, varied between 365 and 366 days. This was the first step in Astronomy achieved by man.

The settlements of the early Aryans were few and far between. They somewhat resembled the first European settlements in North America. It was, therefore, necessary for each settlement or village to entrust to a family of learned and respectable men the task of watching the daily progress of the sun's annual oscillation, that they might predict with tolerable accuracy the time of commencing the operations connected with agriculture.

In our time the abundance of time-pieces, watches and almanacs has much lessened the difficulty and importance of the above-mentioned task. Besides this there are observatories to keep the almanacs correct; and regular markets, fairs and festivals help much to keep the knowledge of time up-to-date. In the days of the early Aryans there were no such facilities. Neglect of duty, on the part of the timekeepers, meant death or disaster to the little and isolated colony. This sufficiently explains why they paid almost divine respect to their timekeepers.

These holy timekeepers were called मासपुरोहितs, अम्बोचिन्स, कालज्ञs. As they gave timely notice of the approach of the season and sowing

time, and thus secured the welfare of the village to which they were attached, they were most deservedly called आमपुरोहितः. At first the reckoning of the days elapsed might have been kept up daily in the morning by notches or beads. But some shrewd and intelligent आमपुरोहितःs might have noticed that a particular bright star rose at dawn at the approach of a particular season. This discovery was of great use to them, as it saved the trouble of daily marking the days elapsed since the equinoctial or the solstitial day. It was sufficient if at intervals they only observed what star rose at dawn. It was kept a secret, and for fear that the honour they received from the villagers should wane, the custom of प्रातहोमि, originally introduced as a means of keeping up the daily reckoning of days, was continued as before. Those आमपुरोहितःs who knew the secret performed the daily प्रातहोमि even after sun-rise, but those that did not stick to their old custom of प्रातहोमि before sun-rise. Hence arose the two sects of आमपुरोहितः, called उद्दितहोमिन् and अनुद्दितहोमिन्.

Some still more shrewd पुरोहितःs might have conceived the idea that the moon, which appears full twelve or thirteen times a year, might be used as an unerring and automatic instrument of measuring time, if only they should discover from observations a cycle of years that contained an exact number of full-moons. They soon found that the least number of years that fulfilled the condition was five, during which the moon appeared 62 times full and completed 67 revolutions through the stars. This discovery spared them the perpetual worry of keeping an account of time, if only they remembered the number of full-moons elapsed since the beginning of the five-year cycle. For this purpose each of the years had a name assigned to it. The names were संवत्सर, परिवत्सर, इशवत्सर, अनुवत्सर and इद्वत्सर. But the custom of प्रातहोमि was not given up, because it did not involve mental anxiety of keeping an account as before. It now became a pure religious duty and a means of keeping sound health.

From this time the आमपुरोहितः assumed the name अम्बिहोत्रिन्, and discharged their old duty of time-keeping under the name of इष्टि, or fortnightly sacrifices; the one on the new-moon day was called इर्षेष्टि and the other on the full-moon day was called तुर्णमासेष्टि. At every fourth full-moon day an इष्टि of a higher order called चातुर्मासेष्टि was performed, at which they called themselves कृत्विज् or season-sacrificers. The harvest of the new season was not to be used for consumption before a portion of it was offered to the gods at these public

sacrifices. The villagers joined in the festival and brought offerings and presents for the high priest, who in his turn entertained them at a public feast. After an exchange of blessings and thanks the villagers returned to their homes quite pleased with the ऋतिवज्ज् for the good harvest of the season. The three season sacrifices were called आग्रयणेष्टि, इथामाकेष्टि, and अवेष्टि. The names of the last two are from the names of the corn reaped at the end of the season.

The अस्त्रिहोत्रिन् of the present day, though free from his old duty, which is discharged by the भास्त्रयोत्तिष्ठ or village astronomer, is much respected for the religious merit he confers by his regular performance of दर्शपूर्णमासेष्टिः. He believes that he is discharging a purely religious duty for the good of the people among whom he dwells, never dreaming that his forefathers were once holy timekeepers. He would even resent such an appellation. Superstitious men would call it a blasphemy. But the truth is that the अस्त्रिहोत्रिन् were the first astronomers and their houses the first observatories in the world.

At one time the word कालज्ञ was deemed a title of high honour. When we read the history of the Chaldean Astronomers, we are struck by the strong resemblance of their manners, customs, learning and highly respected position in society with the same of our ancient ऋषिः or अस्त्रिहोत्रिन्. We cannot therefore resist the inference that the word Chaldean might be a corruption of the word कालज्ञ, and that the Chaldeans were a tribe of Aryans that migrated to Babylonia or Assyria. Their influence reached such a pitch that the country they migrated to was called Chaldea after them. This question, in my opinion, has not received that amount of attention and thought on the part of the Antiquarians which it deserves. A visit to places of interest such as Basora or a travel in a spirit of research through Mesopotamia would be productive of more interesting and authentic information on this question than reading a heap of books.

I will now speak a few words about the Aryan Calendar and its accuracy. A small tract called वैदांगउत्त्योत्तिष्ठ gives all the details about it. But it is so much vitiated by wrong readings that most of the verses are meaningless. The tract calls itself कालज्ञान and tells that it is based on the book written by लग्ध. The positions of the solstitial points among the stars in its time show that it was composed at about the year B. C. 1300, and that लग्ध lived in latitude 35° north. The Calendar was quinquennial, and contained 1,830 mean

solar days, 62 lunar and 67 sidereal months. But five tropical years, according to modern observations, are equal to 1,826·2 days, and not 1,830 days. The five-year cycle was therefore the first approximation to the system of Luni-solar chronology.

The difference of 3·8 days is not small, and unless there was some arrangement for removing the difference, the calendar might have become in a few cycles quite useless. Although the वेदांगज्योतिष does not explicitly speak on this point, yet the following verse in it serves to throw some light on the mystery.

स्वराक्रमेते सोमार्कीं यदा साकं सवासनौ
स्यान्तशावि शुगं मावस्तपः शुक्लोऽयनं ह्युदक् ॥ १ ॥

This verse states the time when the first cycle or आविष्युग commenced. This leads to the inference that there was a major cycle consisting of a certain number of five-year cycles, at the end of which full coincidence of the Lunar and Solar years was secured by the omission of the last intercalary month, so as to fulfil the conditions characteristic of the आविष्युग or the first of the five-year cycles. The three major cycles probably consisted of 6, 6, and 7 minor cycles in succession, and they together contained 1,175 lunar and 1,270 sidereal months and 95 tropical years. These are, according to modern observations, equal to 34,698·44, 34,698·5, and 34,698·01 days respectively.

CHAPTER II.—THE VERNAL EQUINOX.

The tropical year is the time taken by the sun from leaving the vernal equinox to its coming there again. There is another year called sidereal, which is the time taken by the sun from his departure to his arrival at the same star. Had the equinoctial points been fixed like the stars, there would have been no difference in the two years. But as the former points recede 50"·2 in a year, the sun arrives 20 minutes earlier at the equinox than he does at the star. The primitive Aryans, having no means of detecting this small difference of 20 minutes in a year, believed that the equinoxes were stationary, and had prepared their calendar upon this false hypothesis. Great was their astonishment when, after the lapse of a thousand years, the vernal equinoctial point which formerly coincided with the star अमि or B Tauri was seen to have receded towards the star रोहिणी or α Tauri. प्रजापति or the god of the creation was supposed to dwell at the

vernal equinox. From this station he controlled the year, and was on this account called संवत्सर. As they could not account for this anomaly they ascribed it to the illicit love of प्रजापति for his daughter रोहिणी. Thus after the lapse of every thousand years the vernal equinox receded through the space of one asterism and became a matter for great surprise. The ancient Aryans have left records of their successive surprises, which have become invaluable means of fixing the different epochs in their history and of demonstrating their high antiquity. No other nation has perpetuated the memory of the ancient astronomical phenomena like the Aryans, which is a proof of their mental developement being the earliest in the world.

Mr. B. G. Tilak, as an independent savant in the field of researches, holds a similar view in his book *Orion*, which I should like to recommend for your perusal. I will content myself with mentioning here some of the dates ascertained from references to astronomical phenomena.

B. C.

4000 Era of मृग, when the vernal equinox was in the Orion, or more correctly near the star β Tauri, as implied in the story of वृषाक्षरि in the Rig-Veda. The present longitude of the star in A. D. 1900 from the equinox is $81^{\circ} 12'$.

3068 The Era of कुन्तिकाः or Pleiades, when they rose due east as mentioned in the शतपथब्राह्मण.

1300 Era of वेदांगज्योतिष when the southern solstitial point was at the beginning of धनिष्ठा.

500 Era of भर्णी implied in the story of विश्वामित्र in the *Mahābhārata*.

CHAPTER III.—INDISPUTABLE EVIDENCE IN PROOF OF ARYAN ANTIQUITY.

(1) *Rising of the Pleiades due East.*

The late Mr. Shankar Balkrishna Dixit has discovered in the शतपथब्राह्मण certain passages which record means of determining the position of the vernal equinox correct to within a degree of arc. The passages run as follow:—

(कुन्तिकाः) एता ह व प्राच्य दिशो न दद्यवते ।
सर्वाणि ह वा अन्यानि नक्षत्राणि प्राच्ये दिशमद्यवते ।

They mean that the cluster of Pleiades rise due east while no other asterism does so.

The latitude of the principal star in the cluster, or more roughly speaking of the whole cluster, is 4° north. With this latitude the cluster could rise due east only when the equinox was 10° east of the star. At present (A. D. 1900) the equinox occupies a point 59° west of it. The equinox has therefore retrograded full 69° from the time when the passage was first composed, for it speaks in the present tense. The equinox moves backwards at the slow rate of 1 in 72 years. The passage is consequently 4,968 years old. Its date, according to Christian chronology, is B.C. 3068. Of course, the date of the Rig-Veda, which must be at least a thousand years older, comes to B.C. 4000.

(2) *The occultation of the star δ Cancer by the planet Jupiter.*

I have my own humble quota to add to the above indisputable proof of the high antiquity of the Aryans. I take for my basis the following passage from तैत्तिरीय ब्राह्मण—

ब्रह्मपतिः प्रथमं जायमानः ।
तिथ्यं नक्षत्रमभिसंबभूव ।

It means that the planet Jupiter, the first born, or for the first time occulted the star तिथ्य. This star can be no other than the star δ Cancer, and the tense of the verb indicates that the occultation took place at a very ancient date.

Prior to this occultation Jupiter had been passing by the star every twelve years, but was unable to occult it. For the latitude of the star was north and that of Jupiter was south, his ascending node being situated to the east of the star. The inclination of Jupiter's orbit to the ecliptic is $79'$ and the star's latitude is $4'$ north. Supposing these to be invariable, or variable within very narrow limits, which is really the case, the node of Jupiter must be 3° west of the star to render the occultation possible for the first time.

At present Jupiter's node is exactly 28° to the west of the star. It has therefore receded 25° from its old place. The retrograde motion is so slow that it amounts to 4° in a thousand years. The occultation must have therefore taken place 6250 years ago, or about the year B.C. 4350.

A passage about ब्रह्मपति also occurs in the Rig-Veda in a modified form. It is there ब्रह्मपतिः प्रथमं जायमानो नहो उद्यातिषः परमेष्ठ्योमन्. The meaning is not clear, but one thing is certain, viz., that the occultation occurred for the first time at a remote period anterior to

तेत्तिरीथसंहिता as the tense of the verb अस्मिसंचमूक shows, and therefore in the days of Rig-Veda or, roughly speaking, B. C. 4000.

From a consideration of the situation of the vernal equinox as implied in the story of वृषाकाष्ठि the date of the Rig-Veda goes as far back as B. C. 4000. The date of the शतपथब्राह्मण B.C. 3068 also lends its support to the date of Rig-Veda. It is therefore B. C. 4000 or thereabouts.

CHAPTER IV.—ORIGIN OF ASTRONOMY.

A brief sketch of the rise and progress of Astronomy may not be out of place here. As mankind progresses in civilization the number of duties for which they are responsible also increases. To discharge all the duties without confusion or mistakes a knowledge of time is indispensable. Hence every nation that rose from a barbarous condition devoted its earliest attention to the acquirement of this knowledge. If we study the history of any science we find that attempts are made at first to discover certain broad rules and then to account for discrepancies in them by a number of special ones. It is the same with Astronomy. All the early civilized nations strove hard and prepared calendars based on broad and striking phenomena that recurred again and again after a certain time. Their calendars were therefore made up of certain cycles. The Aryans regulated the roll of their duties with the aid of the five-year cycle, and the Hebrews with the aid of their nineteen-year cycle. The Metonic cycle, discovered by Meton, an Athenian, B.C. 432, was of great use in predicting eclipses without the help of calculations.

When human knowledge reaches the stage of cycles there generally comes on a lull lasting for hundreds of years, required for the accumulation of minute and reliable errors. A blank period lasted from B.C. 1500 to B. C. 200, during which the only people busy at work were the Assyrian or Chaldean astronomers, who were laying a store of Astronomical knowledge. The Aryans and their descendants the Hindus seem to have done nothing beyond ascertaining the synodic periods of the planets by which they could, though very roughly, foretell the times of their heliacal risings and settings. On the fall of the Persian Empire, B. C. 322, Alexander the Great is said to have found at Babylon records of ancient observations, made by the Chaldean astronomers, for 2000 years. These he sent to his tutor Aristotle, in Greece, from whom they appear to have passed into the hands of the Greek

astronomers of Alexandria during the rule of the Ptolemys. Several astronomers might have attempted to reduce to calculations the seemingly irregular motions of the wandering stars. But nothing but their names have been handed down to us. The earliest work now extant is that of Hipparchus, B.C. 140. He is justly called the father of Astronomy. The next great astronomer was Ptolemy, who built up a complete system of Astronomy in A. D. 150. His book is called *Syntaxis*.

During the interval that passed between Hipparchus and Ptolemy India was invaded by a race of Sythians or Shakas, who had come from Persia or Egypt. The Coptes, the descendants of the early Egyptians, better known under the name of Shakas, adopted the Julian calendar in B.C. 22 (see the French *Annuaire* for 1894, page 57). The Shakas brought with them not only their new calendar but also several small tracts on astronomy. Our Shaka era named after Shaliwahan is undoubtedly of the Egyptian origin, for the simple reason that it began in our country exactly at the beginning of the second century of the new Egyptian era. For $22 + 78$ make 100. As the five सिद्धांतs. mentioned in the पञ्चसिद्धान्तिका of वराहमिहिर follow the Shaka chronology there can be no doubt that they were all derived from tracts brought by the Shaka invaders. This settles for ever the question as to the claims of the Hindus for originality in astronomy. If further proofs be required they can be found in the internal structure of the सिद्धांतs. They are too many to be mentioned here, the chief of which are the longitude of उक्तयन्ति the capital of विक्रम from Alexandria, the exact coincidence of the number of stars with those given in Ptolemy's catalogue and the complete agreement with Ptolemy's solar system. Even the name पितामह may be the sanskritized form of one of the Ptolemy kings under whose auspices the tract was originally prepared, just as the Alphonsine tables are named after King Alphonso of Spain सिद्धान्त is perhaps another form of *Syntaxis*. It is not a little surprizing that the Hindu सिद्धांतs. contain nearly the same number of chapters or subjects, viz. 13, as those of the *Syntaxis* of Ptolemy. All this evidence proves one truth, viz., the Hindus borrowed astronomy from the Greek astronomers of Alexandria.

From this it should not be understood that I mean to disparage my countrymen, who have been ruling the whole civilized world by

their invention of the decimal notation. My object is only to rescue the truth.

It would not be out of place to mention here that I have lately written in Sanskrit a book on Practical Astronomy. It is called ज्यातिर्गणितम् and is intended to supply a want felt throughout India at the present day. It is a real improvement on the existing old but nearly useless astronomical works. The erroneous results which they give are chiefly due to three main causes:—

1. The wrong supposition as to the forms of the orbits of planets.
2. The rough nature of the early observations and the consequent errors in the chief elements of the orbits.
3. The ignorance of the laws and theory of Gravitation and of the perturbations due to it.

The first two causes sometimes produce an error of several degrees in the Helio-centric places of the planets. The third cause often produces an error of several घटिकाः in the times of सिद्धिः. The present error in the longitude of the moon's apogee is large enough to produce an error of an hour or so in the times of the eclipses.

All these errors have been rectified in my book. It is based on the works of Western Astronomers Leverrier Hansen and Newcomb. I have added new subjects and methods which cannot be described here even in a cursory way. Among others my contrivance for getting rid of the trigonometrical formulæ in the calculations of the geocentric places of planets deserves special mention. A perusal of its English preface will, I hope, satisfy the curiosity regarding it. I have also added a chapter to the book by which any date of the Shaka era can be converted into its corresponding Christian one and vice versa. The date of the beginning of the कालियुग for instance can thus be fixed as Friday, the 18th of February, B. C. 3102. Gentlemen now I have done, but before I sit down I once more express my thanks for the trouble you have taken to meet here.

ART. V.—*Time and Place of the Composition of the
Gathas.* By P. A. WADIA, M.A.

[Read 12th March 1901.]

The fragmentary mass of writings, which at present are known under the name of the Zend Avesta, and which form the sacred books of the Parsees, may for our purposes be roughly divided into two parts the Gathas, and the rest of the Avesta. The external form, the idiom and metrical composition of the Gathas lead us at once to make a distinction between them and the rest of the scriptures. Evidently they are the oldest of the writings which have come down to us. If we look to the subject matter of the Gathas, the same distinction appears between them and the rest of the Avesta. In the Avesta, the spirits presiding over the different phenomena in nature are found in abundance, sometimes placed on a level with the Creator. We find in it legends and fables belonging to a later time. Whereas in the Gathas all these are absent, everything here is sober and historical. We have no legends or fables; Zoroaster is simply a human being endowed with a superior intelligence; the spirits presiding over nature are hardly to be found; and the seven Amshaspands are attributes of God, more than personified spirits. Thus both the form and the matter of the Gathas are sufficient evidence of the difference that exists between them and the rest of the Avesta. They reveal the religion in a purer, more abstract, and less developed form, and must therefore have preceded the rest of our writings by a considerably long period. The task we have undertaken in this paper is to attempt to ascertain the probable time during, and the place in, which they may have been composed.

Mon. Darmesteter is of opinion that the Gathas, such as we possess them to-day, are only a re-edition of ancient texts, lost during the Alexandrine period; that they were composed during the early part of the era of Christ, and that they show traces in them of influences and opinions of a recent date. He grants the possibility that they might have reproduced the songs as they were actually written and sung during early times of which Herodotus makes mention, but at the same time he urges that we have no data to enable us to say with certainty that they are actually the same.

We venture, however, to dissent from this view. The archaic form of the language leads us to suggest a very early date for the Gathas;

The hypothesis that the Gathas may have been written in the first century A. D. in a dead language, which is urged by Darmesteter, it seems difficult for us to adopt when we find that the songs, as they are handed down to us, appeal to the people at large, and seem to have been sung before large assemblages, instead of being confined to a few savants. The historical allusions found in the songs seem to point likewise to an early date; if they were composed so late as Darmesteter suggests, we might have found in them at least some evidence of the history of later times; but of this we have no trace. The organization of the people, such as it is found in the Gathas, points to a time when settled agricultural life was not yet the order of the day, when a regular political government had not yet been in existence, when tribe fought against tribe for years and years without any decisive result, when the followers of the religion of Mazda had often to endure the hardships of failure and defeat. There is no trace here of the history of the Achaemenide Empire, of Darius and Xerxes, no trace of the Alexandrine invasions, no trace even of the Sasanides. We cannot, therefore, assent to the theory that the Gathas were only a re-edition of ancient texts made during the early years of the Christian era.

Mon. Darmesteter finds a confirmation of his theory by tracing a close analogy between the *Vohu Mano* of the Gathas and the *Logos* of Philo of Alexandria, and explains this identity of opinions by the view that the re-editors of the Gathas, or rather of the Avesta in general, over whom presided a man holding Neo-Platonic views, must have been influenced in this doctrine by the *Logos* of Philo. To this we reply, firstly, by the remark that the conception of *Vohu Mano* is not so well developed in the Gathas as it is in the later Avestic writings, that in the Gathas it is wavering between an abstract attribute of the Deity and a personified being. But even supposing that this close analogy exists to its full extent, we have historical evidence that this conception was familiar to the Mazdeans long before the time of Philo. The theory of *Vohu Mano* and the rest of the Amshaspands is mentioned in a passage of the "Isis and Osiris;" and this exposition of the Persian doctrine is usually attributed to Theopompos, from which we may infer the existence of a belief in the Amesha Spentas in the Achaemenian period. But Mon. Darmesteter remarks in a note (note 3, Vol. III, Zend-Avesta, p. LXV) that the author describes the Zoroastrianism of his own times (the second century

A. D.), and "quotes Theopompus for a special doctrine, that of the periods of the world's life." But although this last point may be correct, the first part of Darmesteter's theory does not seem to be justified by investigation. The whole passage of Plutarch's is a well-arranged composition, written in a style that does not vary, and "may be regarded as an exposition of the system described by Theopompus, probably in the eighth of his *Philippics*."^{*} We may therefore regard it as very probable, or almost certain, that the doctrine of the Amshaspands was known to the Mazdeans in the times of the Achæmenides, and could not therefore have been derived from external sources. If so, the Gathas could not have been composed so late as Mon. Darmesteter supposes, thoroughly embodying as they do the doctrine of the Amshaspands. Having now determined thus far that the Gathas could not have been composed later than the Achæmenide period, we shall proceed to trace the time during which, and the place where, they may have been written, whether by one man or several, by collecting together in detail all the glimpses of history which the Gathas reveal to us. Taking this for our basis, we shall seek in the early history of the East, the time and place that may roughly correspond to those indicated by the Gathas.

The political condition depicted in the Gathas.

Yasna XXIX, 2, 3 and 6, seem to imply that the enemies of the religion are for the moment too strong, and cannot be repelled. Yasna XXXI, 1 and 14, make the opponents of the religion the destroyers of the fields of the faithful; in short, robbers and plunderers. XXXI, 16 and 18, allude to the economic and social organization of the Avesta people, and subdivide it into four grades, the house, the village, the district, and the province, or the *Nmana*, *Vis*, *Zantu* and *Dahu*, they also refer to the enemies of the religion who destroy everything that they come across.

XXXII, 1, gives us again an allusion to the tribal organization of the times, and makes the enemies of the religion heads of various tribes, who, allied together, bring their followers against the followers of the faith. Yasna XXXII, 7, hints that the followers of Mazda have no conception of the number and forces of their enemies. XXXII, 14, talks as if the opponents had at one time got the upper hand and prevailed over the faithful.

* See Maspero—"The Passing of the Empires," p. 579, note 4.

XLIII, 14, speaks of Zoroaster as inducing the chiefs of various tribes to take up his side against the enemies.

Yasna XXXI, 2, had alluded to a civil struggle among the connected tribes themselves, and here in Yasna XLIV, 18, Zarathushtra asks of Mazda to which side he will give the victory ; in the same Yasna 16 and 17 show that the contest between the tribes is constant and does not leave the victory with any one party decisively. Yasna XLIV, 20, implies that the hostile tribes have never governed their dominions well, and seems to imply that they were more or less nomad tribes.

Yasna XLV seems to suggest that a victory has been won by the followers of Mazda, and Zarathushtra collects together his tribesmen from near and from afar to listen to the words of wisdom.

Yasna XLVI, 1, seems to be written at a time when the followers of the faithful were defeated and almost driven from their homes. XLVI, 2, says that Zoroaster is aware of the cause of these disasters, and that he seeks the help of Mazda. In the same Yasna 4 and 5, he shakes off his dejected mood, and makes an appeal to all to rise and fight for the good cause. Section 12 of the same Yasna again repeats that there is hope even for the enemies, not only for the hostile Aryan tribes, but also for the non-Aryan aborigines of the land. "If these shall repent they shall be blest." We have in this same section a hint as to the conversion of one of the tribes called Fryana. In the rest of Yasna XLVI, Zarathushtra calls upon firstly, Vistaspa the king, secondly, upon the members of his own family, and then upon all the followers of the religion in general to take heart and fight against the enemies.

Yasna XLVIII seems to have been composed at a time when a struggle was once again expected. Section 5 implies that a stable and settled industrial life, resisting all raids and assaults from outside, is the best reward by itself for those who follow that life ; and in Section 8 Zarathushtra asks Ahurah how to encourage the chiefs to take up the good cause. The following sections again speak of the uncertainty as to the results of these wars ; and the Yasna ends with the hope that the followers of the faithful shall prevail.

Yasna XLIX, 1, says that a chief, Bendva by name, had proved himself very formidable, and had succeeded in defeating the followers of Mazda ; the man appears to have had an organised following of his own, almost on a level with the tribe of Mazdiasnians. Section 7

38 TIME AND PLACE OF THE COMPOSITION OF THE GATHAS.

alludes to the division which we have already noted elsewhere, *viz.*, the division into chiefs, peers, and followers.

Such are briefly the historical data afforded to us by the Gathas. The people whom it puts before us are tribes hitherto nomadic in their organization, but at the same time aware of the benefits to be derived from a settled agricultural life. At least the author of the Gathas seems to be fully aware of the benefits which would accrue to civilization if a settled agricultural life were adopted, not only in one place and among one tribe, but in all adjacent districts and amongst all neighbouring tribes. He therefore calls upon his followers to fight against their enemies until they succeed. The struggles of which the Gathas speak seem to be struggles between one tribe and another, all the tribes being ethnologically connected. Some allusions are made to non-Aryan nomadic hordes also, briefly designated as Turanians. The organisation of the tribes seems to be divided into a house, a village, a district, and a province. But this organisation is overlapped sometimes by another, in which heads of provinces are allied together having a sovereign chief, whose peers or equals they are said to be; and against them, or rather under them, are placed their retainers and followers. These internecine strifes—if so we may venture to call them—are present all through the Gathas; sometimes the one party wins, sometimes the other, and the strifes have not yet ended when the Gathas close. There is not the least mention here of any place from which we can infer where these strifes were located; we are left to pure conjecture, and any hints we may get as to the locality can only be derived from the later Avestic writings. At the same time the plain, sober, matter-of-fact way in which the songs are composed leads us to affirm that they deal with real personages and real incidents in history, and there seems no reason whatsoever to impeach their value. There are indications in some places as in XLVIII, 5 and 10, that the tribe or tribes which followed the religion of Zarathushtra were sometimes obliged to submit to the authority of an anti-Zoroastrian king; sometimes as in XLVI, 1, Zarathushtra himself calls upon these hostile chiefs to offer their services to him. From these indications we gather that the struggles were for the most part internecine at any rate in the Gathas. We here have no mention of a formidable authority external to the tribes. It is only in later

Avestic writings that allusions are found to the existence of an external power warring against the followers of the religion.

Having thus ascertained what the political condition of the country was, as it is given to us by the Gathas, we will proceed to examine what period and place in history corresponds to these conditions.

The historical researches of a recent date have entirely changed the aspect of affairs as regards the theories of the original home of the Aryan race. The opinion that had hitherto been entertained on this topic was that the south-west of Asia or the plateau of Iran was the home of the primitive Aryans. But lately the view first adopted by Latham that the original home is to be sought in Europe has been gaining ground, and is now accepted as almost demonstrated by Penka, Canon Isaac Taylor, Prof. G. H. Rendall, and especially by Dr. O. Schrader. According to this last-mentioned writer the south-west Russian steppes are the region where the Aryan nomads first tended their flocks, and whence they spread eastwards to Asia, and by the Volga, Don, and Danube, throughout Europe. These Asiatic nomads gradually swept before them all the non-Aryan or Turanian tribes who were too weak to stem their progress, and occupied the western edge of the great plateau where they soon became mainly represented by the two compact groups, the *Persians* to the south on the farthest confines of Elam, and the *Medes* between the greater Zab, the Tournat, and the Caspian. This must have been about the end of the 9th Century B.C., when we find historical mention of them made in the Assyrian monuments as we shall see later on. But there are two possible ways by which the Aryans may have descended into the countries designated ; the one is by way of Mount Caucasus into the plains of the Kur and the Araxes, and this is the way by which they are said to have migrated by Prof. Maspero in his history of the East.* The other is by the Aral sea and up the Oxus and Jaxartes into the province of Sogdiana, Bactria, etc. From these lands they further passed over into Media and Persia. This is the opinion put forward by Dr. Schrader. For our part, we are inclined to hold to the latter opinion for reasons for which we would refer to Dr. Schrader's pre-historic antiquities. There is one reason, however, which influences us decisively to this view. It is already established as a fact that the Indo-Iranian branch of the Aryan family was once closely knit together. The migration of one part of these Aryans to

* "The passing of the Empires," p. 452.

India cannot be placed later than the 12th century B. C. If so, it would be possible for us to account for the presence of Aryan tribes in Media about the 9th century B. C. in history. But if we suppose that the Medes or Aryans first passed through Media before they came to Bactria, whence lies the safest route to India, then the migration to India could not have taken place earlier than the 9th century B. C. We feel therefore inclined to hold to Schrader's view that the Aryans passed into Bactria and the east of Iran, from whence a part of their group crossed over to India, and the rest may, with the lapse of time, have migrated towards Media and Persia.

We will now refer to Herodotus' narrative of the rise of the Median power. "There was a man among the Medes of the name of Deiokes, of great reputation for his wisdom, whose ambitious views were thus disguised. The Medes were divided into different districts, and Deiokes was distinguished in his own by his impartial distribution of justice." The men of his village, observing his merits, chose him to be the arbiter of all their disputes, and he did his best to settle their differences on the line of the strictest justice. The people of neighbouring villages unanimously resorted to his tribunal. The number of complaints continually increasing, Deiokes announced that he did not intend any longer to hear causes. Hereupon robbery and lawlessness prevailed throughout the country, "wherefore the Medes assembled from all quarters, and held a consultation on the state of affairs, determining to have a king. Their choice fell upon Deiokes, and he was proposed and elected king, whereupon Deiokes had a great palace built, and calling upon his subjects to leave their villages, built the city now called Ecbatana."

Two or three facts, as Prof. Maspero remarks, stand out from this legendary background. It is probable that Deiokes was an actual person; that the empire of the Medes first took shape under his auspices, that he founded an important kingdom at the foot of mount Elvend. Herodotus credits Deiokes with a reign of 53 years from 700 to 647 B. C. The records of Nineveh contain a mention of a certain Dayaukku, who was governor of the Mannai (Medes), and an ally of the Assyrians in the days of Sargon; moreover, about 713 B. C. reference is made to an expedition across the territory of Bit-Dayaukku, which is described as lying between Elippi and Karalla. It is therefore probable that the Dayaukku, who gave his name to this district, was identical with the Deiokes of later writers.

"He was the official ancestor of a royal house, a fact proved by the way in which his conqueror uses the name to distinguish the country over which he had ruled; moreover, the epoch assigned to him by contemporary chroniclers coincides closely enough with that indicated by tradition in the case of Deiokes."

Jumping over half a century, we come to the time of Assurbanipal, when the Assyrian empire had not yet fallen. According to Herodotus, a certain Phraortes, son and successor of Deiokes, came to the throne of Media about 655 B. C. We are told that this Phraortes first conquered all the neighbouring princes who had remained independent, and then subjugated the kings of Anshan, the descendants of a Chaispis, alleged son of Akhamanish, who ruled over half of what was known as Elam. Then the Medes rose against the Assyrians. Now the ancient form of the name Phraortes, as handed down to us by a passage in the great inscription of Behistan (Col. II, l. 14) is Frawartish, or Frawarti; and according to Justi, this means, *the man who proclaims faith in Ahura-Mazda*. The existence of this Phraortes was at first called in question by the Rawlinsons; but later authorities seem now to be inclining to hold that this Phraortes really existed, whoever he may have been. If this be correct, we have strong reasons to affirm that at any rate the main outlines of the Zoroastrian religion were already fixed at this time, that is to say, about the middle of the 7th century B. C. The names of the tribes which Herodotus mentions as being subdued, and formed into a Kingdom by Deiokes have, according to M. Lenormant, strong affinity to Zend or Iranian names, a fact which, if true, would confirm us in our supposition. The political condition, however, of the country which the Gathas lay before us, and the surroundings of which they give us a glimpse, as we have already observed, is that of a country in which the people had not yet settled down to an agricultural life, in which the highest authority was the head of the province (Daihyu), and where a constant conflict seems to have been waged between the governors of one province and another. The Gathas must therefore have been composed earlier than the time of Phraortes, before even the rise of the Median power, that is to say, before the rise of a sovereign authority keeping under strict obedience the subject provinces. We must therefore assign to the Gathas a date earlier than 700 B. C. This conclusion, at which we have thus arrived, seems to receive confirmation if we accept Justi's identifica-

of the word Deiokes with the Zend *Dahyupaiti*, the master of a province ; Deiokes being an abbreviation from *Dahyupatti* with the suffix *Ka*.

And this same train of reasoning, moreover leads us to conjecture that the Zoroastrian religion first took its rise among one of the Median tribes, of which there were many such in the time preceding the rise of the Medic Empire. The identification of the Vistaspes of the Avesta with the Histapes, father of Darius, whom history mentions, is therefore out of the question, since Histapes, father of Darius, lived long after Phraortes of Media.

Philology leads us to the same conclusion, that Media was the birth-place of Zoroastrianism. Zend, the language in which the sacred writings were composed, was a dialect akin to, yet different from, that of the Achemenide inscriptions. Hence the Avesta must have been composed not in Persia, but in lands in the vicinity, probably in Media.

The hypothesis that Zend was the language originally spoken in Bactria rests, as Mon. Darmesteter says, on three propositions: (1) Zend is not the language of Persia ; (2) It is in Bactria that, according to tradition, Zoroaster made his first important conquests, *viz.*, over king Gustasp or Vistasp ; (3) the geography of the Avesta knows only the east of Iran; the last argument is nowhere so impressively advanced as by Geiger in his civilisation of the East Iranians.

The *first* argument is negative, and helps us in excluding Persia from the question.

The *second* proposition, even granting its validity, does not give us the inference that Bactria was the place where Zoroastrianism first took its rise. Supposing Zoroastrianism to have originated among one of the Medic tribes, it is quite within the bounds of possibility that Zoroaster should have attempted to convert neighbouring tribes to the religion of Mazda. Of this we have indications in the Gathas, where a border tribe Fryana is mentioned as being converted. A Bactrian tribe may very well have been the first to be converted, and hence a great importance might naturally be attached to that country in Zoroastrian legends.

The *third* fact advanced, *viz.*, that the geography of the Avesta knows only the East of Iran, is not exact. Mr. Geiger argues that taking all geographical names mentioned in the Avesta into consideration, it appears that the greater part of them belong to the

north-east of Iran. But this, supposing it to be correct, does not give us as an inference that the north-east of Iran or Bactria was the birth-place of Zoroastrianism. Taking into consideration the fragmentary condition of the Avestic writings, it is just possible that the geographical names of places in West Iran may have been lost in the rest of the writings that have not come down to us. Moreover, as has often been shown, the Avesta is positively familiar with some places which are located in the West of Iran, *e.g.*, Ragha, Aryanem Vaejo, Ranha, Varena, etc. The argument therefore loses much of its force. Further the Gathas, undoubtedly the oldest portion of the Avestic writings, with which alone we have to do here, are entirely silent as to places in West Iran or East Iran. It is only the later Avestic writings that mention these places. Supposing these later writings to have been composed during or after the time of the Persian empire, or sometime earlier, when the religion had spread through Bactria and other adjacent places, we might well account for this seeming anomaly—that places in East Iran should be mentioned in the Avestic writings more frequently than those in West Iran. As Mills and others have shown the Mazdeism professed by Darius and the Persians was not the pure Mazdeism of the Medes, but a schismatic form of it. The true followers of Mazda might therefore well have confined themselves to East Iran in the first fargard of the Vendidad, when they were professing to trace the regions where the Mazdiasnian religion prevailed in its purest and best form. (That is the passage most often relied on in the course of the argument.)

But it is not even true that tradition assigns Bactria as the birth-place of Zoroastrianism. According to another tradition preserved by the Phelvi commentary of the Vendidad, it was at Ragha, in West Iran that Zoroaster was born, and a celebrated passage of the Yasna proves the existence at Ragha of a sacerdotal estate where the grand-priest, the Zarathushtra, was the governor of the province and possessed temporal along with spiritual power. Everywhere else, says the Yasna, there are five grades of chiefs : the chief of the house, the chief of the village, the chief of the district, the chief of the province, and the Zarathushtra is the fifth." Thus it is everywhere except in Ragha, the town of Zoroaster, where there are four chiefs : "The chief of the house the chief of the village, the chief of the district, and the Zarathushtra is the fourth." In other words, the grand-priest at Ragah held the position of *Dahyuma*, chief of the province. The

Yasna (XIX) might well have been composed in the times of the Medic ascendancy, a suggestion confirmed by Justi's identification of Deiokes with *Dahyupaiti*. This is, moreover, confirmed by two independent sources; on the one hand A. Marcellinus attests to us the existence of a sacerdotal Magian state in Media (XXIII, 6); on the other, the historians of the Arab conquest talk of a fortress near Rai, Ustanavend, seat of the power of the Magi chief, in the time of Magism. (*vide Darmesteter — Etudes Iran.*)

We therefore think it probable that the Zoroastrian religion first arose among one of the Medic tribes, and that its date cannot have been later than the 7th century B.C. We now proceed to ascertain whether a more exact time and place cannot be found for the Gathas.

"The Assyrian chronicle," says Prof. Maspero, "have handed down to us a considerable number of noble houses," scattered over Media and the adjacent districts, each of them autonomous and a rival of its neighbour, and only brought into agreement with one another at rare intervals by their common hatred of the invader. Some of them were representatives of ancient races; others belonged to tribes of a fresh stock, that of the Aryans, and more particularly to the Iranian branch of the Aryan family. We first catch glimpses of them in the reign of Shalmeneser III (860-825 B.C.), who calls them the Amadai, or "Madai;" it is the first mention that we meet with in history about the Medes. *

After this first contact with Assyria, intercourse and conflict between the two nations became more and more frequent every year. Rammân-nirari waged ceaseless war against them; Tiglath Pileser III twice drove them before him from the south-west to the north-east, as far as the foot of Demavend; while Sargon, Sennacherib, and Esarhaddon, during their respective reigns, kept anxious watch upon them, and endeavoured to maintain some sort of authority over the tribes which lay nearest to them. We may lay it down therefore as historically certain that Aryan tribes are found in Media by the beginning of the 9th century B.C. How long before this time they may have arrived there we cannot ascertain. But the condition in which they are found at that time does not show that they had settled there very long back. Now the condition of the Medic tribes in the beginning of the 9th century B.C., as we have historically ascertained from hints in the Assyrian chronicles, corresponds very

* Passing of the empire, Vol. III, pp. 89 and 418-9.

closely to the state of affairs which the Gathas disclose to us as existing in the times in which they were composed. May we not therefore suppose that this was the place and this the time of the composition of the Gathas — *viz.*, Media as the place, and the ninth century as the time? The tradition which assigns Bactria as the birth-place of Zoroastrianism is not supported by the Gathas. Vistaspa is mentioned here only as a king, and nowhere is he called the king of Bactria. It is only tradition of a later date that makes Vistasp, king of Bactria. The first fargard of the Vendidad, which has been very often brought forward, even by savants, men like Mills, in support of a Bactrian origin, has ever since M. Bréal's searching criticism in his "fragments Zends" been generally acknowledged to be historically of no value whatsoever. It is a list of geographical names consisting of many mythical as well as real historical places; and the historical value of the list is now discredited by the hypothesis of Schrader of a European primitive home for the Aryans. We cannot therefore look upon Bactria as the original home of Zoroastrianism.

There are some allusions in the later Avesta which seem to confirm our supposition that Media was the birth-place of Zoroastrianism, and that the Gathas were composed about the 9th century B. C. In Yesht V., Section 29, Azi Dahaka, the traditional foe of the followers of Mazda, the foreign invader, is mentioned as reigning in Bawru or Babylon. (Cf. Harlez and Darmesteter's remarks on their commentaries.) In this we may perhaps detect an historical allusion to the Assyrians and their constant attacks on the Medic tribes, of which we have spoken already, supposing as we have done that the Yashas were composed much later than the Gathas. Later on when Assyria was forgotten, Azi became an Arab, and we find the change completed in Firdausi, where he is always treated as an Arab. We might also detect an allusion to the Assyrian empire in the first fargard of the Vendidâd. Varena is mentioned as the place where Azis Dahaka fought against Thraetona. Varena is identified with *Patish Kavhgar*, and localized by the Phelvi commentators to the south of the Caspian Sea, and is further identified with the Patusbarra of the Assyrian inscription by Tiele (Babylonian and Assyrian history). If Azis Dahaka be at one time localised, as we have noticed, in Babylonia, might this not be an indication of the time when Assyria was in possession of the land, or at any rate fought against the tribes in-

habiting them? It would be thus a reminiscence of the times when Assyria came into hostile contact with the Medic tribes. (Darmesteter's *Etudes Iranianes*, Vol. II., p. 212.)

Another confirmation of our hypothesis might be found in the coincidence between the animals mentioned in the Avesta or rather in the Gathas, and the historically established fauna of the Medic lands. All the animals held sacred in the Avesta, of which we find mention made in the religious writings, are found in Media at the time when the Medes first came to our notice. In the annals of Tigleth Pileser III, we find mention made of horses as being given as tribute by the Medic chiefs to the kings of Assyria, and according to Polybus X, 27) in the time of the Seleucides Media supplied nearly the whole of Asia with these animals.

A. Marcellinus (XXIII, 6, Section 30) mentions the Nysian breed of horses as being well known during the Byzantine period. And we find in the Avesta indications that the horse is highly esteemed. Now the value of the horse generally consists in serving in warfare; it must, therefore, have been an especial favourite with the chiefs of tribes. And this conclusion we find verified by the fact that the word *Aspa*, horse, is of frequent use in the formation of names of princely families handed down to us, e. g., Auroat-Aspa, Ker-Saspa, Erzraspa, etc.

The bronze bas-reliefs on the gates of Balawat portraying the two-humped camel show that the camel was a familiar animal in Media during the time of the Assyrian Empire, and we find allusions in the Gathas to this animal, e. g., Yasna XLIV, 18, "When shall I get justly and rightly my reward ten mares with their stallions and a camel?" Yasht IX sec. 30, praises a Turanian for possessing 700 camels. A camel is likewise more highly prized than a horse or a cow (Vendidad VII, 42). The Avesta also praises dogs and gives them a very great value, as is shown by the penalties prescribed in the Vendidad for the man who beats or kills a dog. This indirectly gives us the conclusion that the Avesta people must have been mainly pastoral in their (industrial) organisation. We find this confirmed by Herodotus, who says, respecting the Magi, that they kill every thing except man and the dog. (Herod. I., 140.) Among the fauna of Media, of which we find mention in history, e. g., in the annals of Esarhaddon II, we find the dog, sheep, goat, likewise enumerated. (Maspero—passing of the Empire, p. 454.) We therefore think

that the animals of which the Avesta makes a special mention as being particularly useful, being all found in Media, if other evidence leads us to locate the rise of the religion in Media, the circumstance acts as a corroborative argument supporting the main conclusion.

Further, we very often find in the Gathas and in the later Avestic writings, allusions to struggles with non-Aryan races; may not these—or at least some of these—non-Aryan races be those usually designated under the name of Scythians, whom history often mentions as making incursions upon the borders of Media, e. g., they are mentioned as settling on the eastern basin of the Araxes, on the frontiers of Urartu and the *Mannai* (that is to say, the Medes) about 678 B. C. in the reign of Esarhaddon, and again previously to that about 716 B. C. in the reign of Sargon II.

We now come to an argument of a different nature, which likewise seems to support our view. The names of the six tribes whom Herodotus declares to have been in existence in Media about the time of Deiokes have been traced to Iranian derivations, and M. Lenormant derives some conclusions from this identification. One of the names means "natives," another "nomads," a third "dwellers in tents," a fourth "owners of the soil," and only one is expressly designated as "Aryan people." If so, we infer that the rest of the tribes must probably have been non-Aryans; and this inference can agree very well with the supposition that the tribes designated as Medes were Aryans who had gradually advanced from the east towards the west, or from Bactria and Sogdiana towards the central plateau of Iran. Here in Media they became the ruling class, keeping the original inhabitants in subjection. In the course of time, these aborigines themselves came to be designated as Medes. (*Vide* Oppert's *Peuplement la Langue des Médes* Ch. III.)

The course of these migrations, which we have sketched out, is in complete harmony with Schrader's hypothesis that the Aryans originally must have started from the steppes of the Southern regions of Russia in Asia, since on this hypothesis the Aryans must have passed through Bactria and Sogdiana before they came to Media.

We are therefore inclined to hold the opinion that Zoroastrianism as a reforming doctrine handed down to us in the Gathas, must have taken its rise about the 9th century B.C. among one of the Medic tribes, and that Vistasp, whose name has been so often conjoined with

that of Zoroaster, must have been either the head of this tribe, or following later tradition, must have been the king of one of those tribes which were at first hostile to the religion, and whom Zoroaster succeeded in winning over to his own side.

This is the conclusion at which we are able provisionally to arrive by the aid of data afforded to us by history. Have we any reason to assume that the Medes were already Zoroastrians when they came down from Bactria and the East? Do we possess any data historically ascertained, which might enable us to trace the existence of Mazdaism in Bactria? We have no such data up to the present. Much stress was formerly laid on the traditional history of Ninos, the alleged founder of the Assyrian empire, who was said to have reduced all Central Asia, including Bactria, to subjection. Men like Harlez have made statements, historically supposed to be valid, founded on this legend, first put forward in Diodorus Siculus. History now regards the story of Ninos as purely mythical and legendary; and thus it comes about that history has hitherto afforded us not a single item of information regarding the early times of Bactria. Under these circumstances to conjecture that the Zoroastrian religion first took its rise in that land is to assert or put forward a hypothesis incapable of verification for the time being.

On the other hand, supposing our theory regarding the time and place of the composition of the Gathas were correct, we may perhaps account for the tradition of its Bactrian origin, which took its rise in later times, by saying that it was founded upon the historical reminiscence of an original migration of their ancestors from Bactria into Media. It is just possible that the later followers of the religion in their zeal for proving the antiquity of that religion, gave to Vistasp, who may have been a chieftain of one of the Medic tribes, that had emigrated from Bactria, the title of king of Bactria.

If so, we believe we have sufficient grounds, in the present stage of our historical knowledge, to assert that the Gathas may have been composed about the 9th Century B. C., and that their birth-place was one of the tribes of Media.

ART. VI.—*An Untranslated Chapter of the Bundehesh.*

By JIVANJI JAMSHEDJI MODI, B.A.

(Read 1st August 1901.)

With reference to a man's actions in this world and his rewards and punishments in the other, there is in Parsee books, what the Rev. Dr. Cheyne calls in his Bampton Lectures of 1889, "a very noble allegory." He says :—"There can be but one opinion among those who have thus perused the Gathas, that, in the midst of a world almost wholly given up to a gross material eschatology, this ancient Irâanian prophet declared the true rewards and punishments to be spiritual. His teaching is based on a distinction, which to the Jews came much later, between the material or bodily life and the mental or spiritual, the latter of which connects us with 'those veritably real (eternal) worlds where dwells Ahura.' This distinction did not pass away with Zarathustra ; it pervades the Avesta . . . In short, heaven and hell are not primarily the localities appointed for souls after death; the one is 'life,' 'the best mental state,' the other is 'life's absence,' 'the worst life'—a high doctrine which is embodied in a very noble allegory in the Vendidad . . . Conscience, in fact, according to the fine allegory, appears to the soul of the deceased man and conducts it to its place."¹

What is this noble allegory ? According to the Parsee books, at the dawn of the third night after death, the soul of a deceased person sees before him, a picture of his own deeds and actions in this world. If he is a religious man, he sees a picture of his deeds in the form of a handsome, well-formed, strong damsel. If he is a sinful man, he sees before him, a picture of his deeds in the form of an ugly, ill-formed, weak woman. The former, i.e., the handsome damsel, speaks words of praise, and welcomes the soul and presents itself as his own picture. The latter, i.e., the ugly woman, taunts the soul for not having done his duty while in the world.

For a poetic description of this beautiful allegory I would refer my readers to a short paper, entitled "Outre-Tombe—A Zoroastrian Idyll," by Rev. Dr. Casartelli of St. Bede's College, Manchester, in the K. R. Cama Memorial Volume.²

¹ The Origin and Religious Contents of the Psalter, by Rev. Dr. Cheyne, 1891, pp. 398, 399.

² The K. R. Cama Memorial Volume, Essays in Irâanian literature written by various scholars and edited by Jivanji Jamschedji Modi, B.A., 1900, pp. 74-78.

Some think that this allegory had "suggested to Mohammed the idea of the celestial houris." "But at any rate," says Dr. Cheyne, "this Zoroastrian allegory suggested the Talmudic story of the three bands of ministering angels, who meet the soul of the pious man, and the three bands of wounding angels, who meet the bad man when he dies."³ Several Parsee writings refer to this allegory. They are the Vendidad (XIX. 27-32), the Vishtâsp Yasht (VIII. 53-64), Hâdôkht Nask (chaps. II. and III.), Virâf-nâmeh (chaps. IV. and XVII.), Minokherad (chaps. II., 123-157), and the Dâdistân-i-Dini (chaps. XX. and XXI.). I beg to draw attention to-day, to another writing, wherein the subject of the allegory is described, and that in a rather different and amplified way. The book I propose referring to is the Bundehesh.

Of all the Pahlavi books, there is no book so often referred to, and so often translated, as the Bundehesh. It was first translated by Anquetil du Perron in French in 1771. Dr. Windischmann translated it into German in 1803. In 1868 Dr. Ferdinand Justi translated it for a second time into German. Dr. West, the best Pahlavi scholar now known, translated it in 1880 into English in the fifth volume of Max Müller's Sacred Books of the East. In 1818 it was translated into Gujarati by Dastur Edalji Darabjee Jâmâsp-âsânâ; but as Dr. West says, that translation was more a paraphrase than a translation, I beg to take this opportunity to present to the library of our Society, a copy of my Gujarati transliteration and translation with notes, just published. It will be the first complete translation of the Bundehesh in Gujarati.

The texts, which all these translators have followed, and which Dr. West has described at some length, do not contain the chapter which refers to the above allegory about the future of the soul. So, through the medium of the Journal of our Society, I beg to place, for the first time, before Irânian scholars, the text and translation of this chapter. Dr. West, though he has not translated the chapter, has drawn the attention of students to a copy of "the more extensive text"⁴ of the Bundehesh which contains this and several other chapters. He has named this text TD, as it belongs to Mr. Tehmuras Dinshaw Anklesaria of Bombay. At the time when Dr. West wrote, that was the only "more extensive text" known. But in 1899, Dastur

³ The origin of the Psalter, p. 437.

⁴ S. B. E., Vol. V., Introduction.

Krikobâd Âdarbâd of Poona, in the preface to his "Text of the Pahlavi Zand-i-Vohuman Yasht" drew attention to another "extensive text" of the Bundehesh in the library of his uncle Shams-ul-Ulama Dastur Dr. Hoshang Jâmâsp of Poona. This text, which I have named DH, from the name of its owner Dastur Hoshang, is not as complete as TD, some of its folio in the middle of the book being missing, but is older than TD. The Trustees of the Parsee Punchayet, on the recommendation of the Victoria Jubilee Pahlavi Text Committee, at one time thought of printing this older text DH, by the photo-zinco process, at Poona, but gave up the idea, as some of its folios are wanting. They have now begun printing the later but more complete text TD. I would refer my readers to my introduction to the K. R. Cama Memorial Volume, for a genealogy of the writers of these two old manuscripts.

For the text of my translation of the hitherto untranslated chapter referred to above, I follow the text of DH. I have given collations here and there from a copy of the TD kindly lent to me by its owner. I take this opportunity of offering my best thanks to Dastur Hoshangji and to Mr. Tehmuras for kindly allowing me the use of their valuable manuscripts.

On the subject of "the much more extensive text" of TD—and what applies to TD applies to DH also—Dr. West says, "Whether TD may be considered as a copy of the text, as it stood originally, or merely of an after recension of the work, can hardly be determined with certainty, until the whole contents of the manuscript have been carefully examined."³

From the contents of this new chapter, which I have translated, I am inclined to believe, that the much more extensive texts of TD and DH, are not copies of the text as it originally stood, but are of copies of an after recension of the work."

I have two reasons to believe so. Firstly, take the case of the allegory above referred to, as presented in this new chapter. While in all the other Avesta and Pahlavi books, a man's conscience, or his actions, are represented, as appearing before his soul, after death, in the form of a damsel, in this new chapter, in addition to their being so represented, they are represented—(1) in the form of a cow (*tôrâ-karp*), and (2) in the form of a garden (*bostân karp*)

This is foreign to the old idea of the allegory, as presented by the older Avesta books and other Pahlavi books. So this is an interpolation by the writers of a later recension of the original Bundehesh. These three different allegories, of the maiden, the cow and the garden, remind us of "the three bands of the ministering angels" in the Talmudic story above referred to, but they are foreign to the original source of the ancient Avesta book of the Vendidād.⁶

The second fact which induces me to believe that these "much more extensive texts" are copies of a later recension of the work, and not of the text of the Bundehesh as it originally stood, is the comparison of the number of the chapters of the Bundehesh with the number of the chapters of the Avesta Dāmdād Nask, of which it seems to be a Pahlavi rendering.

Dastur Edulji Jamasp-asana says that the Bundehesh was a Pahlavi rendering of an Avesta Nask.⁷ Dr. West adduces two proofs to show, that the Dāmdād Nask is probably the origin of the Bundehesh. Firstly, the similarity of the contents of the Dāmdād Nask, as given in (a) the Dinkard, (b) Din Vajarkard, and (c) the Revāyets⁸ and of those of the Bundehesh.

Secondly, the reference to the Dāmdād Nask in the Zādparam, the contents of which, and in some parts, even the language of which, are similar to those of the Bundehesh.⁹

⁶ The later writer, finding that in the Talmudic story, the soul of the pious man was met, one after another, by three bands of ministering angels, perhaps thought it advisable to improve upon the only old allegory of the damsel and added one after another two more,—one, of a handsome cow and another, of a beautiful garden.

⁷ Preface to his Bundehesh, pp. 4-5.

⁸ For the originals of the Pahlavi and Persian passages, *vide* my Gujarati translation, transliteration and notes of the Bundehesh (1901), Introduction, pp. 11-15.

⁹ Dr. West says on this point:—"Zādparam uses, in many places, precisely the same words as those employed in the Bundahis, interspersed with much matter written in a more declamatory style; it is, therefore, evident that he had the Bundahis before him to quote from." (S. B. E. V. Introd., p. XLVII.) I beg to differ from Dr. West. Had the Bundehesh been before Zādparam, he would have named that book as his authority, instead of naming the Dāmdād Nask. But as he has named the latter book, I think that the writers of the Bundehesh and Zādparam both had a common book, perhaps a summary of the Dāmdād Nask, before them.

It seems to me that the very names of the two books adduce a third proof. The word Bundehesh signifies "origin of the creation." The word Dâmdad signifies something similar. It means "the giving (dâd) of the creation (dâm)." In the passage¹⁰ of the Dinkard, which gives the contents of the Dâmdad Nask, we find in the very beginning "Yehabûntan-i-Dâm," as another word for "Dâmdad." In this other word, we find for the Pahlavi word dâd, its Semitic equivalent (Yehabuntan). In the description of the division of the 21 nasks into three classes, given in the 8th book of the Dinkard, occur the words Deheshnê-i-gêtidâd (Dahisnô-i-steh-dadô, i.e., production of the wordly creation) which, Dr. West thinks, refer to the Dâmdad Nask, and are "evidently another name for the Dâmdad."¹¹ All these similarities of names point to the fact, that the Dâmdad Nask was the origin of the Bundehesh.

Now we know from the Revâyets, and from Din Vajarkard, that the Dâmdad Nask had 32 chapters.¹² So the Bundehesh, which had Dâmdad Nask for its origin, must also have 32 chapters. But "the much more extensive text" presents about 42 subjects or chapters. This shows, then, that these more extensive texts are copies of later recensions, and not of the original texts of the Bundehesh, which, following its source, the Dâmdad Nask, must contain about 32 chapters. As a matter of fact, we know that the shorter text, hitherto translated by various translators, only contains about 32 or 33 subjects or chapters. So I am of opinion, that the texts hitherto known and translated, before the discovery of TD, and the later discovery of DH, are copies—with the exception of a few interpolated references to the Arabs and to subsequent historic events—of the Bundehesh originally known, and that the much more extensive texts TD, DH and others, are copies of later recensions, in which many chapters are subsequently added.

¹⁰ *Vide* the Introduction of my Bundehesh, p. 11, for the passage.

¹¹ S. B. E., Vol. XXXVII, p. 8, Dinkard, Bk. VIII, ch. I. 16, note 3.

¹² *کتاب می و م کرد است* این! Manuscript Revâyet, of the Bombay University Library, Vol. I., Folio 109 A., l. 16. *Vide* also Fragments relatifs à la Religion de Zoroaster par Mohl et Olshausen, 1829. La second morceau, p. 12., l. 10

دین و م کرد! این! دین-ی-وایارکار (from an extract kindly supplied by Dastur Kaikobad Aderbad). For the originals of the Persian and Pahlavi passages, *vide* the Introduction to my Bundehesh, pp. 12-13.

I would like to say here a few words on the subject of the name of the original writer and the date of the Bundehesh. In reference to these subjects, I lay stress on the following passage¹³ of the Bundehesh (West, ch. XXXIII.).

Translation.

All other priests, who are spoken of in the Khodâi-nâmeh, as belonging to the same family, are of this family of Minôchêher. Also these Mobads, who are of the present times, call themselves of the same family, and also I (your) servant, whom the people call Dâtakiya (the son) of Asha-Vahishta (the son) of Goshan Jam (the son) of Vâhrâm Shâd (the son) of Zarthusht, which Zarthusht is (the son) of Adarbâd Marespand (am of the same family).

I conclude from this passage that the Dâtakiya, referred to here, was the author of the original Bundeheş, and he was the 5th in descent from Ådarbâd Marespand, who was the chief Dastur of the Court of Shapur II., who reigned from 309 to 379 A.D. Supposing that Ådarbâd Marespand flourished in the latter half of the period of Shapur's reign, say, at about 350 A.D.—and calculating 25 years for each generation, we can say that this Dâtakiya lived at the end of the 5th century ($350 + 125 = 475$).

¹³ Taken from DH. folio 229 a., line 16.

¹⁴ DH has *εγ* which is evidently miswritten for *γε* and which TD has written correctly.

¹⁵ DH has 513, which is miswritten for 511 and which TD has written correctly.

Dr. West translates the words 'Dâtakiya-i-Ashavahishta' in the above passage as "the administrator of perfect rectitude." He then begins a new sentence with the next word "Yudân-Yim." But on referring to the older manuscripts D. H. and T. D., we find that the words Asha-Vahishta and Yudân-Yim (Goshana Jam) have an "i" (⌚) between them. This shows that Asha-Vahishta also is a proper name and the (⌚) i between that word and the next word shows the line of descent. In the same way the ⌚ i between Asha-Vahishta and Dâtakiya shows the line of descent.

So, I think that the Bundehesh was written, at first, at the end of the fifth century. Later on, additions have been made to it from time to time. So, we find allusions to the Arab conquest and even to some subsequent events. Dr. West has referred to these allusions at some length. Dr. Darmesteter, in a paper read before the Jarthôshti-Din-ni-khol-karnâri Mandli in Bombay in 1887, referred to the words *Zing-i-Sidk pôsh* (*i.e.*, the black-skinned negroes) in chapter 23, and said that the words alluded to the Zangis or the people of Zanzibar. He thought that it was a reference to an event which occurred in 862 A.D. The people of Zanzibar had settled in the Eastern countries of Irân at the end of the seventh century. In 686 A.D. a chief, named Ali bin Abdul Rehman, said that he had descended from Ali, and that the Khalifate was due to him. He raised an army of Zanzibar slaves and conquered the Persian territories in the east of Irân. It was in 892 A.D. that the Persians finally drove away the Zangbaris from Persia. So Dr. Darmesteter thought that the above was an allusion to the Zanzibar people of that time, and placed the latest date of additions to the Bundehesh as late as from 862 to 892 A.D.

At the end of chapter 34 we find the following words in all manuscripts: "Âkhar val Tâzikân vazlûnt," *i.e.*, "at last (the sovereignty) went to the Arabs." The older manuscripts D. H. and T. D. give the following words instead of the above:—

"Vad zinâkîh aiyâft anshakui Tâzikân vad shant-i-chehâr sad chahal-ô-haft-i-Pârsikân. Kun panj bist-o-haft shant-i-Parsik."

I translate this passage as follows :—

"Up to the time the wretched Arabs got the place (of Irân), 447 years of the Parsis. Now 5 times 27 years of the Parsis."

I understand the passage to mean as follows :—In the paragraph preceding the one, where this sentence occurs, it is said of Ardeshir Bâbakân and the Sassanians, that they reigned for 460 years. Now the writer means to say that all these 460 years were not of the rule of the Sassanians. 447 years were of the Sassanian rule and the remaining (460-447) 13 were of the period when Yazdagird was flying here and there after his first defeat.

But the most important part about the latest date of the Bundeheşh is the last part, wherein the writer says:— “Now 5 times 27 years of the Parsis,” i.e., 135 of the Parsis. We know that even after the death of Yazdagird the Parsis ruled for some time here and there, in the mountainous tracts of Khorâssân and adjoining districts. So the writer means to say that the Parsis ruled here and there for 135 years after Yazdagird. And as he uses the word *kun*, i.e., now, it appears that the date when this part was added to the Bundeheşh was 786 A.D. (651 the date of Yezdazard + 135).

With these prefatory remarks I give the text and translation of the chapter.¹⁶

**Madam Chinvahar va
roban-i-vadardagan**
(D H f. 217 a. 1. 3).

On Chinvahar (bridge)
and the souls of the
departed.

1. Yemalelûneç pavan dîn,
aigh Chekâti i yâk sad gabrâ
bálâi, miyân-i-gehân, mun
Chekâti Dâiti karîtnnd, gôk¹⁷-i-

1. It says in religion, that
(the mountain) Chekâti, which is
as high as one hundred persons,
(and) is in the middle of the

¹⁶ This chapter is the 37th in order in T. D. as pointed out by Dr. West under the heading of "On the Chinavat bridge and the souls of the departed."—(S.B.E., V. Introduction, p. XXXVII.)

tarâzûk Rashna yezato. Tah¹⁸ pavan bûn-i-kôf-i-Albûrz pavan kôst-i-apâkhtar, va tahi pavan rôêshman kôf-i-Alburz pavan kôst-i-nîmrôj, mîyân madam zak Chekât-i-Dâitî yekavimûnêt.

world, (and) which is called Chekâtî Dâitî, (is) the place of the balance of the angel Rashna. One end (of the bridge) is at the foot of the mountain of Albûrz on the northern side, and one end on the top of the mountain of Albûrz on the southern side, and its middle part on that Chekât-i-Dâitî.

In that middle part (there is) a place with a sharp edge, which is like a sword, whose length and breadth (are) nine spears; and there are spiritual Yazatas there, who purify pious souls; and

Pavan zak mîyânê zinâk¹⁹ tahi²⁰-i-tîz-i-shûpshîr²¹ hûmânâk yekavimûnêt,²² mûnash nûhfñizê darnââ va pehnââ. Va tamman yekavî-mûnêt²³ mînôyân yazad-dân²⁴ mûn mînôyîkhâ rôbân-i-

¹⁸ Same as **هَيْ** tih p. ه single, bottom or ه single, a unit; end, point. cf. Pahlavi Vendidad XIX., 30. Spiegel, p. 217, l. 21.

هَيْ ه ه دادن ه (ه) ه دادن ه

i. e., It has two ends, one is in the Chekât-i-Dâitî and one on the Alburz. cf. **هَيْ** ه دادن ه Dâdistân-i-Dînîk, question XIX., S. B. E. West Pahl. texts,

II., chap. XX., 4 The word **هَيْ** can also be read tâb. p دادن ه to sharpen, to give an edge. In the Dadistân the word is written tig P. نیخ point of a spear.

¹⁹ T D. Zinâkî. ²⁰ T. D. omits.

²¹ ه شپشیر T D. has ه سیف arb. سیف (pl. سیوف) a sword, scimitar.

The writer of D H. seems to be doubtful about this word Shûpshîr, because he writes in Persian, below the word, م (bâ mim), i. e., he asks the reader to read the word with "m" instead of "p" shûmshîr instead of shûpshir.

²² In D. H. and T. D. we have "yekavimûnât yekavimûnêt," but the word seems to be written twice. T. D. has simply "yekavimûnêt."

²³ Dadistân ques. XX., S. B. E., XVIII., West, ch. XXI., 5.

هَيْ ه دادن ه دادن ه

²⁴ cf. Pahlavi Vendidad XIX., 30. Sp. p. 216 ه دادن ه دادن ه دادن ه

i. e., "Which (bridge has) spiritual angels of its own."

âhalôbân yôshdâsarend va kalbâ²⁵. i-mîndyî pavan rôêshman-i-zak pûhar vadûshakhû azîr zak puhar.

2. Amatmârdûm barâ vadîrend seh lêlyâ rôbân pavan nazdik-i-tan tamman aîghash rôêshman yehevûnt yetibûnêt; va zak lêlyâ mûn Vîzarîsh shêdâ va hamkârân kabad ân shap²⁷ avshân khadi-tûnêt, và hamâe pûshî lakhvâr val âtash vâdûnêt i tamman afrûkht yekavimûnêt. Hanâ râe zak seh lêlyâ vad yôm tamman aîghash rôêshman yehevûnt âtash pavani afrojashna yakhsûnd. Va amat zak âtash lôit pûshî lakhvâr val âtash-i-vâhrâm ayûp âtashân-i-ham-afrank²⁸ hêmand vâdûnêt. Den zak seh lêlyâ amat kari-nashna va vashûpashna val tan yâmtûnêt adinash aêtûndûshkhvâr medammûnêt chîgân g a b r â i amatash mâni²⁹ khefrûnd.

spiritual dogs (are) at the head of the bridge; and hell is below that bridge.

2. When men die, for three nights, the soul rests near the body, at that place, where there was the head; and on those nights, (he) who (is) the demon Vîzarîsh, with (his) co-workers, looks much at them during the night, and always turns his back towards the fire²⁶ which is kindled there. For that reason, during the three nights, up to (the dawn of) the day, the fire is kept burning there, where his head (is lying). And when the fire is not there, he turns his back to the Âtash-Vâhrâm, i.e., to the all glorious fires. During the three nights, when pain and misery come to the body, then as much uneasiness appears to him, as to a man when his house is being dug up.

²⁵ Compare this idea of the dogs watching at the gates of Heaven with the similar Vedic thought. "Fear not to pass the guards. The four-eyed brindled dogs—that watch for the departed." (*Vide* my Funeral Ceremonies of the Parsees, pp. 9-10.)

²⁶ It is a Parsee custom to keep the fire burning for three nights, in the room, where a dead body is placed before its removal to the Tower.—*Vide* my paper on "The Funeral Ceremonies of the Parsees," p. 10. Vendidad VIII., 79-80.

²⁷ پ. شب. This is a repetition, "zak lêlyâ" having been already mentioned a little above. The word can be read "andâz" P. انداز purpose, intention or measure. Then the phrase "kabad andâz" may mean "with great intention" or "several times, repeatedly."

²⁸ P. افروزیک dignity, grandeur.

²⁹ OH has mâni. Mân of TD is better, P. مان Av. مان. It can also be taken in the sense of "family."

3. Zak seh yôm rôbân pavan bâlin i tan pavan zak âhmid³⁰ yetibûnêt aigh yehevûnêt amat khûn tâpêt va vât val tan vazlûnêt³¹ va li lakhvâr vazlûntan tôbân yehevûnât. Va âkhar lêlyâ i seh yôm den bâmi ât zak rôbân âhloban denman yemallânêt aigh: "neyôk valman mân min zak i valman neyokih katarchâê, aigh li neyôk azam har kas neyôk, avam Aûharmazd pavan kâmé sharitâh³² yehabûnt."³³ Va ât zak rôban darvand yemallunet denman "Zak tan jân na karp mûnash levatman pavan dûbârishna, dûbârêt. Homanam³⁴ âkhar min latamman val aigh dûbâram."³⁵

3. For those three days, the soul sits before the head of the body, in the hope, that it may so happen, that the blood (of the dead body) may be heated and the wind may enter the body³² and "I may be able to go again (into the body)." And afterwards, on the third night at the dawn, if the soul be pious, it says thus: "He is good from whom goodness (proceeds) to any body else, i.e., (if) I am good: every body else will be good through me, Aûharmazd has created me with a free will." And if the soul be sinful, it says thus: "That person, whose life and body were together in a state of loitering, loafers. Then, to which place shall I run from here?"

4. Va ât âhloban tîz pavan zak gôbashna vâtî padirê yâtûnêt i shapir neyôktar v hubôtar pîrôjgartar min hamâk vâtân i pavan gêtîha mûn rôbân barâ hûravâkhmînêt. Va ât darvand vâtî padirê yâtûnêt gandétar va pûtêtar a-pîrôjgartar min hamâk

4. And if (the soul be) pious, immediately with those words, there comes before him a wind, which is better, more excellent, more fragrant, more auspicious than all the winds that are in the world, and which pleases the soul. And if (the soul be) sinful,

³⁰ For ۹۶۰ p. ۸۲۰. ³¹ i. e., the body may be resuscitated.

³² Lit royal will. Cf. Hâdôkht Nask II., 5.

— ۶۰ ۹۰ ۴۷۰ ۳۶۰ ۲۶۰ ۱۰۰ —

³³ DH yehabûnêt. ³⁴ In the sense of ۶۵۰

³⁵ Cf. Virâf XVIII., 7. ۶۱۰ ۹۲۰ ۲۷۰ ۳۱

vâtân pavan gêtîha mûn rôbân
dûshmarîha⁵⁶ pîm⁵⁷ yâmtunêt.

there comes before him a wind,
more stinking and more putrid
(and) more inauspicious than all
the winds of the world, which
brings to the soul a fear of evil
recollections.

5. Va ákhar yedrûnd át zak
rôbân val hamâk mûn âhloban
mûnach darvand. Át âhloban den
râs adinash tôrá-karp val padîre
yâmtûnêt farpih pûr pim mûn
r o b â n azash patîkhûh³⁸ va
charpih yâmtûnêt. Dûd³⁹ kanîk-
karp padîre yâmtûnêt hû-karp i
sapîd vastarg i pânzdah sâlê mûn
min hamâk kôstê neyôk mûn
rôbân patash shâd shayêt.⁴⁰
Dûd bôstân i-karp yâmtûnêt pûr-
bar pûr-maya pûr-mîvê pûr-
patîkhû mûn rôbân hu-ravâkh-
mînh va patîkhû-mînashnîh
yâmtûnêt. Aít bûm⁴¹ vahishtik

5. Then they carry that soul, whether (it belongs) to all who (are) pious, or who (are) even sinful. If pious, there comes before him in the way, the figure of a fat and milky cow, from whom come to the soul, happiness and sweetness. Again, there comes before him the figure of a damsel, who is well-formed, of white clothes, of fifteen years of age, who is good from all sides, (and) with whom the soul is pleased. Again, there comes the figure of a garden, full of leaves, full of water, full of fruits, full

³⁶ Perhaps miswritten for **उद्दृष्टि** unpleasantness. It will then be
the opposite of the above हुरवाक्षमिन्.

³⁷ P. ፲፻፭ cf. Virâf I. 20. ፳፭ ፳፯

ss ፩. This word occurs in Minôkhêrad II., 2, where its Pazend equivalent is ፩. Neryôsang gives its Sanscrit समृद्धि samriddhi (prosperity, oppulence). It is there used in the sense of prosperity. a Avesta ፩ or ፩ to nourish ፩ nourishment.

³⁹ Lit. another. Here used in the sense of 'secondly, thirdly.'

⁴⁰ DH 諸-般 諸-般 but TD has 諸-般 諸-般 which is better. P. شاد شود so perhaps shāyēt is from Pazend ॥᳚॥᳚ or it is miswritten for 諸-般 veħavünət.

41 DH ~~fig~~ but TD ~~fig~~

demman pîsh min hamâr dakhshê
pavan gêhân khaditûnêt.

of fertility, from whom blissfulness and fertile thoughts come to the soul. It is a paradise-like place, incalculably more (paradise-like) than that of which one sees signs in the world.

6. Aît mûn zak rôbân ayôk ayôk pûrsêt amatash padîrê yehevûnêt. Pûrsêt aîgh "lak mûn hûmanî mûn li aîtûn mayam-mûnêt? aîghat harvesp khvârih va âsânih." Patash aîtûn valmanshân ayôk ayôk pasakhun yemallûnd. "Li hûmanam âhloban Dîn i lak kûnashna⁴² ziyat varzit. Amat lak neyôkih kard li lak râê latamaman yehevûnt humanam.

7. Ât zak rôbân darvand adinash tôrâ-karp val padîrê yâmtûnêt khushk va zârva saham-kîn mûn rôbân khushk khushkih va zâr charpih azash yâmtûnêt. Dûd kanik-karp rasêt sahamkûnd dûsh-karp mûnash tar-mînashnih nehûft yêkavimûnêt min hamâk kôstê sahamkîn mûn robân azash bim va tarsashna yâmtûnêt. Dûd bôstân-karp yâmtûnêt avi-maya i avi darakht⁴³ avi-khvârih mûn rôbân dûsh-mînashnih yâmtûnêt.

6. There are some souls, who, when they meet, ask one another. One asks: "Who art thou, who appeareth thus to me? that is thou art all happiness and ease?" They, one by one, reply to him thus: "Oh righteous man! I am the Din (i.e., religious picture) of thy work, which you performed. When you performed good deeds, I was formed here for thee."

7. If the soul is sinful, then there comes before him the figure of a cow, without milk, and weak, and frightful, (and) from whom there comes to the soul, dry dryness and weak fatness. Again, there comes the figure of a damsel fearful, ill-formed, who has evil thoughts concealed in her, who is frightful from all directions, and from whom come to the soul, terror and fear. Again, there comes the

⁴² DH has ۱۱۹ which is a mistake for ۱۳۰۱۷, which we find in TD Cf Virâf IV., 23, 24. گه ۱۳۰۱۷ ۱۳۰۱۷ ۱۳۰۱۷ ۱۳۰۱۷ ۱۳۰۱۷ ۱۳۰۱۷ ۱۳۰۱۷ If we take simply 'kun,' the meaning would be "which you now performed;" but this evidently seems to be a mistake.

⁴³ گه ۱۳۰۱۷ miswritten for ۱۳۰۱۸

Ait i bûm i dûshakhâlik denman pîsh hamâr dakhshé gûyed.⁴⁴

8. Ait mûn valmanshân ayôk ayôk pûrsêt aîgh " lak mûn hûmanî? min lak hanâktar pavan gêthâ lâkhaditûnt." Pasakhun val valman yemalelund aîgh " âi darvand li din i lak munat nafsh-man kûnashna humanam. Amat lak zak i sarîtar varzit latamman lak râê yehevûnt humanam. Âi⁴⁵ paêtâk aîgh kolâ aish kunashnih nafshman padirê yehevûnêt.

9. Âkhar zak rôbân râinênd bûn i kôf i Albûrz aîgh tîgach i gôk⁴⁶ madam zak sâtûnêt vad bâlist i Chekât aîgh zak tîgi tiz yekavimûnêt. Âtarô i Farbag i pirôjgar târikih barâ zanêt va pavan âtash karp zak rôbân pavan zak tîg vadârêd. Avash zak mînôyân yazadân yôshdâsrênd mînôyiha pavan gok⁴⁷ i dadigar vadârêt vad val bâlist i Albûrz.

figure of a garden, waterless, treeless, dreary, from whom there comes to the soul evil thoughts. This is a hellish place, whose (hellish) character is said to be immeasurable.

8. There are those (souls) who ask one another : " Who art thou ? A more harmful (person) than thee is not seen in the world." They say in reply to that: ⁴⁸ O sinful ! I am thy religion, who (i. e., I) am thy own work. When you performed what was evil, I was formed here for thee;" that is to say, it is clear that one's own actions come before him.

9. Then they carry that soul to the foot of the mountain Albûrz, where it walks over it up to the very edge of the hill, up to the top of the Chekât where the edge is very sharp. The auspicious fire Farbag smites the darkness and that soul passes over the edge in the form of fire. Those spiritual yazads purify it, and it goes spiritually to another

⁴⁴ همای Zend Pah, Glossary, p. 33, l. 2. If read javid, the meaning would be "Its characteristic is quite of a different kind beyond measure."

⁴⁵ DH gives .. but TD correctly ..

⁴⁶ گوک P. كوك a dome. In the sense of a hill. If we read "tig-i-chigûk" it may mean the "edge of a knife" P. حدقه or حاقه. The Revâyet speak of "knives" in these matters. TD₂ has چین واد. Perhaps it is miswritten for چیناد Chinvad.

⁴⁷ T D₂ has چیناد Then it would mean, " It passes on with goodness."

Avash vâê shapîr yadman madam
vakhdûnêt val jinâk i nafshmân
yedrûnêt chegûn zak amat rôbân
makadlûnêt va tamman avaspârât.
Tanach amat pavan gêtih yôshdâ-
srênd pavan zak angôshidé
mînôyik.

10. Át zak rôbân darvand
amat pavan gôk madam val i
Chekât yâtunêt zak tîg i tîz pavan
ham tîgi barâ yekavimûnêt va
vadarg là yehabûnêt va avash
a-kâmaghâ madam ham-tig
sâtûntan ávâyêt pavan seh gâm
i farâz khanakhtûnêt i aêt dûsh-
mata dûshhûkhta dushhvartsa
ziash varzit yekavimûnêt. Farut
bardanêt min rôeshman i pûhar
sar-negûn val dûshakhû aûftêt
va khaditûnêt kolâ hanâkîh.

11. Denmanach yemalelunêt
âigh mûn pavan râdih âhlôban
yehavûnt yekavimûnêt, amatash
zak vât val pađirê rasêt, den
zak vât kanik karp khaditûnêt,
zak pûrsashna vâdûnêt. Avash
zak kanik pavan râs-nûmâh val
sarati⁴⁸ yedrûnêt mûnash seh
pâyak patash va pavan zak sarat
val garûtmân vazlûnêt pavan
seh gâm i aît⁴⁹ hûmata, hûkhta

summit, up to the very summit
of Albûrz. The Good Wind
catches hold of his hand, carries
it to its own place, as the soul
would like, and there it entrusts
it (to the heavenly beings). In
the same way, as that, in which
they purified the body in the
world (they purify it) spiritually.

10. If that soul is sinful, when
it comes from the hill up to the
Chekât, that sharp edge continues
to be of the same sharpness and
does not give a passage; and it is
forced against its will to walk
over the same edge, with three
steps, which it places forward
and which are evil thoughts, evil
words (and) evil actions which
it had performed. It retires
below from the top of the bridge,
(and) falls headlong into the
hell, and sees all kinds of harm.

11. It is likewise said, that he,
who has become righteous by his
generosity, when that wind
comes before him, sees in that
wind, the form of a damsel (and)
puts him that question. That
damsel takes him, under her
guidance, to a pleasant locality
which has three grades over it
and by that pleasant locality
takes him to the paradise, by

⁴⁸ Arabic سُرْرَاتِ surrat, the choicest part of a valley. Perhaps it is P. سُرَّاتِ sarat "travelling smoothly along the road" or سُرَّةِ sirât the straight road. In Korân, a bridge is spoken of as Al sirât, which corresponds to the Chinvat bridge.

⁴⁹ DH. has سَرَّاً but TD has correctly سَرَّاً. In the corresponding sentence in para. 10 also, we have سَرَّاً

hûvarshta. Nazdest gâm vad val setar-pâyak, dadîgar vad val mâhi-pâyak, sehđigar vad val khûrshid-pâyâk âigh garûtmân i rôshan.

three steps, which are good thoughts, good words and good actions. The first step is up to the Setar-pâyak (*i.e.*, star-grade paradise), the second up to the Mâhpâyak (*i.e.*, the moon-grade), the third up to the Khûrshid-pâyak (*i.e.*, the sun-grade), *i.e.*, the brilliant Garûtmân.

12. Ât pavan pûjih⁵⁰ darvand yehavûnt yekavimûnêt amatash zak vât padirê yehavûnt den zak vât kanik karp rasêt va zak pûrsashna vâdûnêt. Aît kûnashna tîg i tîz hûmânâk varqêd mûn hamâk tîg i tîz. Val zak robân yemalelûnêt âigh “darvand amatat kâmê va amatat la kâmê. Madam denman pavan gâm sâtûntan avâyet.” Adin rôbân yemalelûnêt âigh âtam pavan kardô i kabad tîgi borîni shapîr mayam-mûnêt aigh pavan gâm madam denman sâtûnam. Dadigar hamâinînê yemalelûnêt. R ô b â n pasakhun yemalelûnêt aigh âtam pavan tîr barâ makhitûni shapîr mayammûnî aigh madam denman pavan gâm sâtûnam. Sedigar hamâinînê yemalelûnêt. Valman pasakhun yemalelûnêt aigh âtam khayâ min tan barâ makhitûni shapîr mayammûnî aigh madam denman pavan gâm sâtûnam.

12. If, by his baseness, he has become sinful, when that wind appears before him, the form of a damsel comes in that wind and makes that inquiry. She is (a picture of his)actions, like a sharp sword which moves about like all sharp swords. She says to that soul : “O sinful ! what is your desire ? What is not your desire ? You shall have to walk on this with your steps.” Then the soul says : “If you will cut me, with a very sharp knife, it will appear better than that I should walk on this (sharp edge) with steps. For the second time (the damsel) speaks in the same way. The soul says in reply : “If you will kill me with an arrow, it will appear better than that I should walk with steps on this. For the third time (the damsel) speaks in the same way. It says in reply : “If you cut off (my) soul from (my) body, it will appear better than that I should walk with steps on this.”

⁵⁰ P. جُجْهُ vile, base, trifling. From the context it appears to be opposed to رَحْمَةٌ radih, generosity.

13. Adin⁵¹ ât⁵² zak kûnashna
dad i sahamgûn i là dastmôk
hûmârâk yehavûnet lavîn i rôbân
barâ yekavimûnêt. Zak rôbân
avîn tarset aîgh madam zak
pavan gâm sâtuñet va pavan seh
gâm farût bardanêt val dûshakhû
aûftêt. Munash vanâs va kerfê
kolâ dô râst adinash val hamistê-
gân yehabûnd. Hamistêgân râe
yemalclunêt aîgh jñâki chegûn
gêtî hûmânak. Kolâ aîsh pavan
zak pâyak zishân kerphê va
jñâk yehabûnd yetibûnand⁵³.

13. Them that (picture of one's) deed becomes like a frightful untamed wild beast (and) stands before the soul. The soul is so much frightened with it, that it walks over this (narrow path) with steps and retires down with three steps and falls into the hell. Those, whose sins and righteous acts are both equal, are then given into the Hamistêgân. It is said of the Hamistêgân that it is a place like the world. All persons sit in that grade, which is assigned according to his righteousness and position.

⁵¹ مک This word is not found in TD, but found in TD₂ and D H. Mis-written for مک adin 'then.' Perhaps miswritten for مک 'at once,' which is sometimes interpreted by كنون 'now' (Pahl. Paz. Glossary, p. 51).

⁵² This word has been subsequently added in DH. It is not necessary. The meaning can be complete without it.

⁵³ TD has the whole sentence thus ۱۴۰۱۹ ۲۰۰۶۵ + ۷۵ ۱۱۸ ۴۳۳ ۲۱۹
۱۱۸ ۴۳۳ i.e. All persons are given a place according to their
righteousness.

ART. VII.—A Note on some Gold Coins found in the Bijapur District. By SHRIDHAR R. BHANDARKAR, M.A.

(Communicated, September 1901.)

The six gold coins or pagodas on which the following note has been drawn up have been received from the Collector of Bijapur. They were found near the pathway of a village (Malghan), some sixteen miles south of Bijapur, having been unearthed by cattle constantly treading up the ground. They are circular pieces cut off from thin gold plates, the diameter being about an inch. Each weighs about 67 grains. The reverse is markedly convex and the obverse concave in the case of three of them, and less so, in the case of two. The sixth one is almost flat. Except for the raised lines due to the punches on the obverse, the reverse is blank.

The central design is that of a conical pagoda. Within the pagoda there is at the top the archaic form of श्री, and at the bottom the following letters on two of the coins:—

श्रीजगदे

कमल

On the other four, the letters at the bottom are simply:—

जगदे

कमल

The form of the letters is old Canarese. The *ma* especially is sharply distinguished from the modern Canarese or Telugu *ma*, and resembles closely that of the middle stage of the Canarese and Telugu type of the Southern India alphabets. Round about the central figure on all four sides of it, श्री has been punched in four different places, and also similarly between every two “*Sri*”s, more or less of the letters जगदेकमल. These punch marks do not have exactly the same relative position with regard to each other on any two of the six coins. In the first two, the four letters in the first line are crowded together, and in the other four the three letters are wider apart. In the former again there is a greater distance between क and ज than between म and ल. In the latter all the three are equally apart from each other.

The coins, therefore, seem to have been struck from the simplest form of a die in which, according to Elliot (*Coins of South. Ind.*, p. 54, last para.) there "appears to have been a reversal of the superior action of the punch by striking the gold plate upon the single symbol placed below, and then adding the additional symbols by the old-fashioned process around the central device, having the other side or reverse plain, except where it shows the grain of the anvil or basis on which it rested. The force of the blow has in many instances given the upper side a concave surface."

Such "a particular application of the Indian method of punch-marking, by which each portion of a definite design is impressed on the coin by a separate punch," the Chalukya (*i. e.*, the earlier Chālukya) coins are remarkable for (Rapson: *Indian Coins*, p. 57). The present coins then resemble them in that respect. The usual Chālukya emblem of the boar is, however, absent. But no coin which can be assigned to any of the later Western Chālukyas has yet been known to possess that emblem. There are two coins mentioned by Dr. Hultzschi at pp. 321-2 of the *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXV., which, on account of the legends on them, he would assign to the Chālukyas, one to a later Chālukya and the other either to a later or an earlier Chālukya. They do not, however, bear the emblem of a boar but of a lion.

As to which Jagadekamalla the present coins are to be assigned to, there are three of that name known so far. One is Jayasimha (A.D. 1018-1040) of the line of later Chālukyas called Jayasimha II. by those who would regard the earlier and the later Chālukyas as one. The second is one known among the records by that name only (A.D. 1138-1150). The third is Permaḍi Jagadekamalla, of the Sindas of Yelburga. He was not a Chālukya, but a great feudatory of the Chālukyas, who with his father helped Vikramāditya II. of the later Chālukyas in his wars, and who, during the reign of Jagadekamalla, ruled over provinces now forming part of the Bijapur and Dharwar districts. But as he was a feudatory only and, as according to Mr. Fleet (*Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I., Pt. II., p. 575) he was called Jagadekamalla-Permaḍi, because he was a feudatory of Jagadekamalla II., it is unlikely that the coins could have been stamped with his name, and that as Jagadekamalla.

To which of the remaining two Jagadekamallas the coins should be assigned, it is very difficult to decide. Perhaps the fact, that the

name Jagadekamalla, which originally at least is a *biruda*, should have been so far identified with the second ruler of that name, that his original proper name, if he had any, does not occur even once amongst the "some fifty" records of his reign that are now known (*Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I., Pt. II., p. 457), would seem to indicate that they should be assigned to him.

The presence of a pagoda on these coins instead of a boar as also that of a lion on one of the coins mentioned above, that Dr. Hultzsch would, on account of the legend on it, assign to a Trailokyamalla might, perhaps, be considered an additional reason for regarding the earlier and the later Châlukyas as separate dynasties besides those given in Dr. Bhandarkar's Early History of the Dekkan, pp. 79-80 (Second edition). In that case, however, the second coin mentioned by Dr. Hultzsch as bearing five punch marks representing a lion, which on account of the additional punch marks "Jaya" and "Deva," he would refer to Jayasimha, would have to be referred to Jayasimha (or Jagadekamalla I.) of the later Châlukya Dynasty, and to admit that in the case of that dynasty either the same king or two different kings (if the present coins are referred to Jagadekamalla II.) made use of two different emblems.

The word "pagoda" originally meant a temple, and has since come to mean a golden coin on account of certain golden coins having the figure of a pagoda stamped on them. Such coins, it therefore seems, were once very common even up to a recent date. Hence it appears very curious that the present coins should be the first ones of that kind which should have come up for notice.

ART. VIII.—*The Parsees at the Court of Akbar, and Dastur
Meherji Rāndā.*

(Read 19th December 1901.)

Akbar, who is spoken of as the Edward I. and the Henry VIII. of his race,¹ as the Joseph II. of Hindustān,² and as the first Darwinian before Darwin,³ had tried his best to unite his people in religion and government. To a certain extent, he tried to play the same part in India, as that which Ardeshir Babegān (Artaxerxes I. of the Greek historians) played in Persia and Soter or Ptolemy I. played in Egypt.

It is a little difficult to say what his new religion exactly was. It was a mixture of several elements. Prof. Blochmann calls it “monotheistic Parsi-Hinduism.” (Ain-i-Akbari, Vol. I., p. 212.) Comte de Noer chooses to call it a sort of Parsi-Soufi-Hinduism, of which the Irānian worship of the sun was the purest expression. He says:—

“On pourrait appeler la foi nouvelle une sorte de parsi-çoufi-hindouisme, dont le culte iranien du Soleil était l’expression la plus pure.⁴

Prof. Max-Müller says: “It is well known that the Emperor Akbar (1542—1605) had a passion for the study of religions, and that he invited to his Court, Jews, Christians, Mohammedans, Brahmans, and Zoroastrians, and had as many of their sacred books as he could get access to, translated for his own study.”⁵ As the latest edition of the Encyclopædia Britannica⁶ says, “Scepticism as to the divine origin of the Koran led him to seek the true religion in an eclectic system. He accordingly set himself to obtain information about other religions, sent to Goa, requesting that the Portuguese missionaries there would visit him, and listened to them with intelligent attention when they came. As the result of these inquiries, he adopted the creed of pure deism and a ritual based upon the system of Zoroaster.”

Captain Vans Kennedy⁷ says on this subject, “Akbar, however, seems to have been aware that deism was too spiritual a system to admit of its becoming a national religion, and that it was necessary,

¹ A Handbook to Agra, by Keene, p. 130.

² L’Empereur Akbar, par le Comte F. A. De Noer. Traduit de l’Allemand, par G. Bonet Maury, Vol. I., p. 346. ³ Ibid. ⁴ Ibid., p. 343.

⁵ Introduction to the Science of Religion, p. 17. ⁶ Vol. I., p. 434.

⁷ Transactions of the Literary Society of Bombay (1820). Reprint of 1876, Vol. II., pp. 277-278.

in order to recommend it to the people, to introduce some ceremonies and some visible mode of worship. But, anxious to divert the minds of men as little as possible from the direct contemplation of the Supreme Being, he adopted as intermediate objects of respect the sun and planets and as their representative the sacred fire. . . . The only ceremonies which were adopted were the principal annual festivals of the Zardushtian." Further on Captain Kennedy says, "It may be supposed that the worship of the sun and of the sacred fire was borrowed from the Hindus; but it seems more probable that it was adopted from the followers of Zardusht, as Akbar not only adopted their year but also their festivals."¹

Blochmann says, "The principles of toleration, which no king before Akbar had dared openly to confess, had even laid hold of the philologic mind of the king's subjects, and for the first time did the words of the worshippers² of 'the fire which Muhammad extinguished,' find a place in a dictionary, the compiler of which was, moreover, a Sayyid of the purest blood. Merely to flatter Akbar, who, though a Sufi in his heart, was a Parsee by his rites, could not have been the compiler's sole object." (Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. XXXVII., Part I., No. I., 1868, "Contributions to Persian Lexicography," p. 14.)

Prof. Rehatsek says: "He (Akbar) had no doubt considered that outward signs would be captivating to the minds of untutored natures, and therefore he began to worship the sun as one of the greatest manifestations of the omnipotence of the Creator; he revived the ancient Zoroastrian festivals, substituted their months for those of the Hegira, and also maintained sacred fires. As the number of Parsees was too small, these matters were not introduced from political motives."³

¹ Transactions of the Literary Society of Bombay, Vol. II., p. 285, Reprint of 1876.

² As an instance of Zoroastrian words used at the Court of Akbar, we may quote the following from Abul Fazl's work . . . "Royalty is a light emanating from God, and a ray from the sun, the illuminator of the universe.

. . . . Modern language calls this light *farr-i-izidi* (the divine light) and the tongue of antiquity called it *kīyān khwārah*" (Ain-i-Akbari, Abul Fazl's Preface, p. III., Vol. I., Blochmann). The *kīyān khwārah* referred to here is the *kavāēm khareñō* of the Avesta. The language of antiquity, referred to by him, is the ancient Pahlavi language.

³ The Emperor Akbar's Repudiation of Esllām, consisting of passages from the Muntakhab-Al Tawārikh of Badáoni, translated by E. Rehatsek (1866). Translator's Preface, p. II.

The Parsees of the 16th Century had an influence not only upon king Akbar, but also upon many great men of the age. Comte de Noer says on this point : "Il y avait aussi la religion des Guébres ou Parsis, dont le centre principal était sur la côte Ouest, notamment dans le Goudjarat ; c'est là qu'ils avaient transporté le feu sacré, et une partie de leurs livres saints, où était contenue la doctrine vénérable de Zarathustra Et, malgré leur petit nombre et leur peu d'importance politique, les Parsis ont exercé une influence considérable sur les plus grands esprits de l'Inde vers la fin du XVI^e siècle."¹

All these scholars then say that in his new religion Akbar was, to a certain extent, influenced by Zoroastrianism.

It appears, that Akbar's co-religionists themselves, knew well his leaning towards Fire-worship. We find Abul Fazl defending his king in the 72nd Ain.² Speaking of Akbar's adoration of God at morning, noon, evening and midnight, when the Sun has different positions in the sky, and defending his ways of adoration, he says : "But why should I speak of the mysterious blessings of the sun, or of the transfer of his greater light to lamps ? Should I not rather dwell on the perverseness of those weak-minded zealots, who, with much concern, talk of His Majesty's religion as of a deification of the Sun and the introduction of fire-worship ? But I shall dismiss them with a smile."

Now, the question is: Who were the Zoroastrians that went to the Court of Akbar and influenced him, to a small or great extent, towards Zoroastrian forms of worship, ritual and festivals, as referred to above? Were they Indian Zoroastrians or Persian Zoroastrians? In a paper entitled "Akbar and the Parsees"³ read before our Society on the 8th of August, 1896, by Mr. R. P. Karkaria, it has been attempted to shew, that it was the Persian Zoroastrians from Persia, under Ardeshir, who had an active hand in influencing king Akbar, that the Indian Zoroastrians under Dastur Meherji Rana had very little to do in the matter, and that Akbar must have called the latter to his Court only "out of curiosity."⁴ This is not the

¹ L'Empereur Akbar, par Comte de Noer, Traduit par G. B. Maury, Vol. I., p. 23. ² Ain-i-Akbari, by Blochmann, Vol. I., p. 155.

³ Journal of the B. B. R. A. Society, Vol. XIX., No. LIII., pp. 289-305.

⁴ Ibid, p. 296.

first time, that doubts have been raised against Dastur Meherji Rana's mission to the Court of Akbar. Unfortunately, latterly there has been a division of parties among the priesthood of Naôsâri. Some are opposed to the family of Meherji Rana and its associates. Some of them have, ere this, raised such doubts, several times, in some of the Gujarâti papers. But it was for the first time, that the question was transferred by the abovementioned paper, to the platform of this Society.

At the time when the paper was read before our Society, the question was discussed with some warmth in the Bombay papers.¹ I then took only a passive interest in the question. But at the instance of a friend, who lately came to Bombay from Europe, and who takes a great interest in the question, I have gone over the question and studied it. So, I beg to place before the Society, a few facts, which lead me to a conclusion, different from the one arrived at in the above-mentioned paper. I have fortunately been able to secure some original documents and old manuscripts bearing on the question, and these I beg to produce before the Society to-day.

I will treat the whole question under three heads. I.—Firstly, I will try to prove, that it was the Naôsâri Parsees, who influenced Akbar. II.—Secondly, I will try to prove that, it was Dastur Meherji Rana, the leader of the Naôsâri Parsees who influenced Akbar. III.—And thirdly, I will examine the objections that have been raised to these two facts. I will then give in the Appendix, copies of some of the documents referred to in this paper, with my translations and observations.

L

Before going into the subject of our paper, in order to have a clear grasp of all the events of king Akbar's reign, referring to this matter, I will give here a chronological table of those events. The dates of the events, referring to his reign and to the religious discussions of his Court, are given on the authority of Badâoni. Most of them are taken from Blochmann's version of the extracts from Badâoni given in his translation of the *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol. I., pp. I.—XXXVI. 167—213. (For the comparison of Hijri years with the Christian years, *vide ibid.*, p. 168, note 2. Also Elliot's *History of India*, Vol. V., p. 246. The Hijri year 981 began on 3rd May, 1573.)

¹ I am indebted to Mr. Kharshedji Manockjee Shastri for kindly placing at my disposal his very interesting file of extracts from papers on this subject.

Chronological Events of the Reign of Akbar.

Events.	Dates.	A. D.	Hijri
Akbar born	... ... ...	14th October 1542	949
Mubârak, father of Abul Fazl, attached himself to the religious movement suggested by the approach of the first millenium of Islâm, when Imâm Mâhdi was to appear. (The movement had first begun in 900 Hijri.)	...	1549	956
Shaikh Alâî appeared as a Mâhdi			
Abul Fazl born ¹	... ... ...	14th January 1551	6th Mohar-
Akbar ascended the throne	... 10th March	1556 ²	ram 958
Akbar assumed the reins of govern- ment from the regent, Behrâm Khân	... ... ...	March 1560	963
A document of the Naosari priests agreeing to perform religious cere- monies properly. Meherji Rana signs it at the top...	... ...	1566	
A document of the Naôsâri priests agreeing that they should not drink toddy when engaged in the Atash Beharâm (Fire temple). Dastur Meherji Rana signs it at the top	... ... ...	1570	
A document of the Naosari Parsees entrusting a piece of land to Dastur Meherji Rana	... ...	1573	
Abul Fazl received favourably at court. (Long before this he had talked with the wisest men of differ- ent religions.) He says in the Ak- bar-nâmeh ³ : " My mind had no rest, and my heart felt itself drawn to the sages of Mongolia, or to the hermits on Lebanon ; I longed for interviews with the lamas of Thibet or with the pâdrîs of Portugal, and I would gladly sit			

¹ Ain-i-Akbari, Blochmann's, Vol. I., Introd. p. 1.² Vide Elliot, Vol. V., p. 246.³ Blochmann's Ain-i-Akbari, Vol. I., Introduction, p. XII.

	Dates.	
	A. D.	Hijri
with the priests of the Pársis and the learned of the Zend Avesta.") Abul Fazl speaks, under the events of 981 Hijri, of his interviews with Mobeds. (Bengal Asiatic Society's Akbar námah, by Maula- wi' Abd-ur-Rahim, Vol. II., p. 84.)	1573	981
Badáoni introduced at the court of Akbar	1574	981
Badáoni appointed Court Imám ... Commencement of the religious discussions, of which Badáoni gives an account	1575	982
The appearance of a comet (Rôz Ard 25 (Arshisang) Mâh Abân). Badâoni mentions the event of the coming of Naôsâri priests under the events of the year 986 Hijri. ¹ They must have come some time before, because Badâoni speaks of it as a past event, وَهُوَ مُنْتَهٰى.	1576	983
'The Dabistân also, in the events of the year preceding Rajeb 987, speaks of the event as a past event. (وَهُوَ مُنْتَهٰى. Bombay Lithographed Edition of 1277 Hijri, p. 266, l. 4)	1577	985
Abul Fazl refers to the presence of Parsees at Akbar's Court under the events of this year (Akbar-nâmeh, Calc. ed. III., pp. 252-53, Elliot VI., p. 59) ...	1578-79	986
Abul Fazl brought up, at the Thursday evening meetings at court, the question that the King was the temporal as well as the spiritual head and guide of the state	1579	986
The date of the document, wherein Meherji Rana is referred to as the leader of the Naôsâri priests ² ...	12th March	1579
The date of the document "unique in the Church History of Islám," which Shaikh Mubârak, in con-		

¹ Lowe's translation, p. 260. Lées and Ahmad Ali's text, p. 261.

² Parsee Prakash, Vol. I., p. 8. *Vide Appendix* for the original document.

junction with his sons Faizi and Abul Fazl had drafted, and by which Akbar was certified to be "a Mujtahid, i.e., an infallible authority in all matters relating to Islâm"¹

Mir Jamaluddin commences his new Persian dictionary, the Farhang-i-Jehangiri²... ...

The principal religious disputations at the Court, in which the Parsees were concerned, came to an end, because the unique document ~~was~~^{was} signed, and on the 16th (15th according to Rehatsek's translation) of the Rajab of this year, the King left for Ajmere (p. 272, l. 17, Vol. II., Lees and Ahmad Ali's Edition of Muntakhab-al-Tawârikh. Rehatsek, p. 33), and from the new Jalali year the King openly adopted Sun and Fire-worship

Date of the second document, wherein Meherji Rana is referred to, as the leader of the Naôsâri priests³ (Samvat 1336)

King Akbar openly began to worship the Sun and Fire from the New Jalali year⁴

King Akbar established 14 holidays and adopted calendar according to the manner of the Zoroastrians(Rehatsek, p. 53).

Abul Fazl lost his mother. Akbar personally went to console him.

Dates.

A. D.

Hijri

September 1579 Rajab 987

1579 987

1579 987

1st September 1580

1580-81 988

1582 990

¹ Badaoni's Muntakhab-al-Tawârikh. Lees and Ahmad Ali's Edition, p. 272, l. 7, Vol. II., Rehatsek's translation,p. 32. It was of this time that Abul Fazl wrote,:—"The Court became a gathering place of sages and learned of all creeds ; the good doctrines of all religious systems were recognized and their defects were not allowed to obscure their good features." Blochmann's translation of Ain-i-Akbari, Vol. I., Introduction p. 14.

² Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Part I., No. 1., 1868, p. 12.

³ Parsee Prakash, Vol. I., p. 9, *Vide Appendix for the document.*

⁴ Muntakhab-al-Tawârikh. Lowe's Translation, Vol. II., p. 269. Lees and Ahmad Ali's Text, Vol. II., p. 261,l. 16. Blochmann's translation in Ain-i-Akbari, Vol. I., p. 184. Rehatsek, p. 27.

	A. D.	Dates.	
		Hijri	
("Religious matters had in the meantime rapidly advanced. The Islamitic prayers were abolished at court and the worship of the 'elect' was based on that of the Pârsis and partly on the ceremonial of the Hindûs. The new era (Târikh-i-Ilâhi) which was introduced in all Government records, as also the feasts observed by the emperor, were entirely Pârsi") ¹	1st September 1589	997	
The date of a letter from Naôsâri to Div, in which Meherjee Rana is referred to as the head of the priests ²	6th August 1590	998	
Meherjee Rana died 	1st November 1591	1000	
Mir Jamaladdin received orders from King Akbar to complete the Dictionary (Farhang-i-Jehangiri). ³			
Akbar granted sums for the purchase of manuscripts and called Ardeshir from Persia to assist Mir Jamáluddin 	1592	1000	
Shaikh Mubârak died 	4th September 1593	1001	
Date of the grant of 100 Bigâhs of land to Dastur Kaikobâd in addition to 200 granted, to his father Dastur Meherji Rana ⁴ ...	1595	1003	
Badâoni's History ends ⁵	1595-96	1004	
Abul Fazl completed the Aîn-i-Akbari 	1596-97	1005	
The date of the letter of Ardeshir of Kermán to Kamdin Padam of Broach ⁶ (Roz 24 Mâh 1. 967 Yazdzardi Kadmi) 	20th November 1597	1005	
Abul Fazl killed by Jehangir ...	12th August 1602	4th Rajab	
		1011	

¹ Aîn-i-Akbari, Blochmann, Vol. I., Introduction, p. XVI.

² Khan Bahadoor B. B. Patel's Parsee Prakash, Vol. I., p. 9. *Vide Appendix for a true copy.* ³ Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Part I., No. 1, 1868, p. 12. *Vide below*, pp. 19-20. The preface of the Farhang-i-Jehangiri.

⁴ roz 10 mah 12 year 964 Yazdajardi 2nd November 1895.

⁵ Elliot's History, Vol. V., p. 479. ⁶ Parsee Prakash, Vol. I., p. 10 gives roz 23. Mr. Manockjee R. Unwala's lithographed edition of the Revâyet, Vol. II., p. 458, l. 7. *Vide below*, p. 24. This date corresponds to 29-12-996 Shâhanshâhi.

	Dates.		
	A. D.	Hijri.	
Akbar died... ...	13th October 1605	1014	
The Dictionary called Farhang-i-Jehangiri (so called because finished in the time of Jehangir), for which Ardeshir had come to India, finished	1608	1017	
The author of the Dabistân born some time about	1615	1024	
The last event mentioned in the Dabistân relates to the year 1653. So the Dabistân must have been written after 1653	1653	1063	

Having this chronological list of the events of Akbar's reign before us, we will now proceed to the subject of the question, as to who it was that led Akbar toward Parseeism? Were they the Zoroastrians of Persia or those of India? There are two works of history which show directly and two works which show indirectly that they were the Zoroastrians of India.

I.—The first and the most important work, which refers to this question, and to which frequent references are made in this matter, is the Muntakhab-al-Tawârikh of Abdul-Qâdir ibn-i-Mulûk Shâh Badâoni. We find the following passage in this work referring to the Parsees that went to the Court of Akbar, to take a part in the religious discussions there:—

BADÂONI.

و آتش پرسنگان که از شهر نوساری از ولایت گجرات آمدند بودند دین زردشت را حق نمودند و تعظیم آتش را عبادت عظیم گفتهند و بجانب خود کشیده از اصطلاح و راه و روش کیانیان واقف ماختند تا فرمودهند که آتش را با تمام شیخ ابوالفضل بروش ملوک عجم که آتشکده ایشان پمیشه بر پایی بود دایم الاوقات چه در شب چه در روز در محل نگاه میده اشتر باشند که آیتی است از آیات خدا و نوریست از انوار وی و چون که عبادت امتن از آتش پوسنی بموافقت دختران راجه های بند خود از عنقران شباب درون حرم معمول بود و در ایام نوروز سال بیست و پنجم از جلوس سجدۀ آفتاب و هم سجدۀ آتش علانیه میگردند و مقربان نیز در وقت افروختن شمع و چراغ قیام لازم ماختند

(Page 261, l. 7. The Muntakhab-al-Tawârikh of Badâoni, edited by Capt. Lees and Munshi Ahmad Ali, Vol. II., Calcutta 1865.)

Translation by Blochmann. (The *Âin-i-Akbari*, by Abul Fazl, translated by Blochmann, Vol. I., p. 184.)¹

¹ Badâoni's passages about the religious views of Akbar have been translated by other scholars also. *Vide* (*a*) The Emperor Akbar's Repudiation of Esllâm, by Prof. Rehatsek. For this particular passage, *vide* p. 26. (*b*) Works of Prof. Wilson, Dr. Rost's Collection, 1862, Vol. II., pp. 379-400. Wilson gives

"Fire-worshippers also had come from Nausârî in Gujrât and proved to His Majesty the truth of Zoroaster's doctrines. They called fireworship 'the great worship,' and impressed the emperor so favourably, that he learned from them the religious terms and rites of the old Parsis, and ordered Abul Fazl to make arrangements, that sacred fire should be kept burning at court by day and by night, according to the custom of the ancient Persian kings, in whose fire-temples it had been continually burning ; for fire was one of the manifestations of God and 'a ray of his rays.'"

"His Majesty, from his youth, had also been accustomed to celebrate the Hom (a kind of fire-worship) from his affection towards the Hindu princesses of his Harem."

"From the New Year's day of the twenty-fifth year of his reign (988) His Majesty openly worshipped the sun and the fire by prostrations, and the courtiers were ordered to rise, when the candles and lamps were lighted in the palace."¹

rather a free rendering or purport than a literal translation. For the particular passage about the Parsees, *vide* p. 389. (c) Elliot's History of India, Vol. V., p. 530. (d) The work has been translated by Prof. Lowe, 1884 ; *vide* Vol. II., p. 268, for the passage. (e) Blochmann's versions have been quoted by Prof. Max Müller in his Introduction to the Science of Religion ; *vide* Edition of 1882 (pp. 220-234), p. 231, for this passage.

¹ The *Ain-i-Akbari* also refers to the king's reverence for fire and light. It says :—

گیهان فروز روشن دل نور دوستی را ایزد پرستی شمارد و متابیش
الهی اندیشه نادان قیره خاطر دادار فرامشی و آذر پرستی خیال
کند خرد پژوهه ژرف بین نیکو داند چرگاه نیایش صورتی بر گزیدگان
طواز شایستگی دارد و نکردن را نکوپیده بر شماره بزرگ داشت این
والا عنصر که مسماطی پستی و پایندگانی صدرم زاد بود چکونه سزاوار
نباشد و چرا بدآن تباہ خیال در شود و شیخ شرف الدین منیری چه
خوش میدگوید چرکرا آفتاب فرو شود اگر با چراغ نسازد چه کند شعلم
از آن سرچشمگه آلهی نورست و نشان آن که بقدسی اگر خور
و آذر نبودی غذا و دوا از کجا صورت بستی و چشم بینا بچه کار
آمدی آتش این شمع اقبال آسمانی است

Blochmann's Text of the *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol. I., p. 43, 18th *Ain*.

Translation.

"His Majesty maintains that it is a religious duty and divine praise to worship fire and light ; surely, ignorant men consider it forgetfulness of the

Now what do we find from this passage of Badâoni's history? We find the following facts:—

(1) That the Parsees from Naosâri "proved to His Majesty the truth of Zoroaster's doctrines."

(2) That they "impressed the emperor so favourably that he learned from them the religious terms and rites of the old Parsis."

(3) That Akbar thereupon "ordered Abul Fazl to make arrangements, that sacred fire should be kept burning at court by day and by night, according to the custom of the ancient Persian kings."

(4) In Hijri 988 (A. D. 1581), i.e., about two years after the coming of the Naosâri Parsees to the court, "His Majesty openly worshipped the sun and the fire by prostrations; and the courtiers were ordered to rise when the candles and lamps were lighted in the palaeæ." (This is a practice which is even now observed by many Parsees.)

Thus, we find from the above passage of Badâoni, that the Parsee mission from Naosari was successful in showing satisfactorily to Akbar, the fundamental principles of their religion. Badâoni says nothing about any mission of Persian Parsees. Had any Parsee mission come from Persia at this time, he would have alluded to it. He only speaks of the Naosari Parsees. It was on the authority of the above passage from Badâoni, that an eminent orientalist, like the late Prof. H. H. Wilson, in his paper entitled "Account of the Religious Innovations attempted by Akbar," printed in the *Quarterly*

Almighty, and fireworship. But the deep-sighted know better. As the external form of the worship of "the select" is based upon propriety, and as people think the neglect of some sort of worship abominable, there can be nothing improper in the veneration of that exalted element, which is the source of man's existence and of duration of his life; nor should base thoughts enter such a matter.

"How beautifully has Shaik Sharaf-ud-din Munyari said, 'What can be done with a man who is not satisfied with the lamp, when the sun is down? Every flame is derived from that fountain of divine light (the sun); and bears the impression of its holy essence. If light and fire did not exist, we should be destitute of food and medicines; the power of sight would be of no avail to the eyes. The fire of the sun is the torch of God's sovereignty.' (The *Ain-i-Akbari*, translated by Blochmann, Vol. I., p. 48). The tone of justification for sun-worship adopted here by Abul Fazl in the words, "If light and fire did not exist, we should be destitute, etc." reminds us of a similar tone of justification used in the *Avestâ* in the *Khurshed Nyâish* and *Khurshed Yasht* (The Invocation in honor of the Sun) and implied in the words "should not the sun rise up then the Daevas would destroy all things, etc."

અનુભૂતિ, ગ્રંથ, સાહિત્ય કાળજી (yt. vi. 3. S. B. E., Vol. XXII., p. 86).

Oriental Magazine, Calcutta, in 1824, said that a number of fire-worshippers from Naosari had influenced King Akbar in favour of Zoroastrianism.

Extracting from the work of Badâoni, "the substance of those passages which relate to the new religion of Akbar,"¹ he says, "A number of fire-worshippers who arrived from Nausarî in Guzerat, gained many converts to the religion of Zerdusht. The emperor was, to a certain extent, amongst them ; and he committed the charge of maintaining a sacred fire in the palace night and day to Abul Fazl. He also assisted at the Homa, a species of fire-worship, which was performed daily in the inner apartments by those ladies of the harem, who were of Hindu descent."²

We must bear in mind, that this evidence from the work of Badâoni is the evidence of one, who was a staunch Mahomedan, and who was quite hostile to the religious discussions at the court, and to the Emperor's spirit of toleration. Badâoni wrote, as Prof. Max Müller says, "with an undisguised horror of Akbar's religious views."³ His "book was kept secret, and according to a statement in the *Mirât-ul' ålâm*, it was made public during the reign of Jahângir."⁴ So, had the Naosâri Parsees failed in their mission, he would not have hesitated to say so. It is on the authoritative testimony of such a contemporary writer, that Wilson bases his statement. He understands Badâoni clearly to say, that it was the fire-worshippers of Naosâri, who influenced King Akbar in the matter of Zoroastrianism.

No authority can be stronger than that of Badâoni, in the matter of describing the result of the visit of the Naosâri Parsis to the court of Akbar, and no authority can be stronger than that of Wilson, in the matter of properly understanding Badâoni's passage about the Naosâri Parsees.

There is another author, who has clearly understood Badâoni, as saying, that it was the Naosâri Parsees, who instructed King Akbar in Zoroastrianism. It is the Comte de Noer (1830 to 1881). I quote his words as translated from the German by M. G. Bonet Maury. "Il y avait à Naousari, dans le Goudjerat, des disciples de Zarathushtra, descendants de réfugiés persans, qui avaient été proscrits pour cause de

¹ Works of H. H. Wilson, collected by Dr. Rost, Vol. II., p. 381.

² Ibid., p. 389.

³ Introduction to the Science of Religion, Edition of 1882, p. 209.

⁴ Blochmann's *Àin-i-Akbari*, Vol. I., p. 104, note 2.

religion et avaient trouvé dans l' Inde une nouvelle patrie ; on les appelaient Parsis, c-a-d. adorateurs du feu. Quelques ans de leurs prêtres furent mandés à Sikri, et initierent l' empereur à leur religion."¹

II.—The next important work which refers directly to this question, and to which frequent references are made in this matter, is the Dabistân, which was written, at least about 57 years after Badaoni's death.² The passage referring to this matter is as follows :—

و همچنین آتش پرستان که از قصبه نوساری که از ولایت گجرات
امست آمدۀ بودند دین زردشت را حق و تعظیم آتش راعبادت عظیم
می گفتند حضرت ایشانرا بجانب خود خواند از راه و روش کیانیان
وقوف حاصل نمودند و هم اردشیر نام زردشتی دانارا زر فرستاد از
ایران آوردنده و آتشرا با هتمام تمام بنواب علامی شیخ ابوالفضل
سپرده و مقرر مساختند که بر آئین موبدان بطريقی که آتش کده
ملوک عجم پیش بربا بود دائم الاوقات چه در شب چه در روز در
اندرون شبستان نگهدازند که آیتی امست از آیات خداوند و نوریست
از انوار ایزد بلند و همچنین از کومن آتش پرستانرا بخواند و دقیق
دین زردشت از ایشان پرسیدند و نامها با آذر کیوان که سر کوده
یزدانیان و آبادانیان بود نبیشند و او را به پنه طلبیدند

(p. 266 of the Bombay Edition of the Dabistân of 1277 A. H.
تعلیم دهم در عقاید الهیه . نظر دوم از تعلیم دهم در بحث های اول
ادیان)

Translation.

"In like manner, the fire-worshippers who had come from the town of Nôusarî, situated in the district of Gujerât, asserted the truth of the religion of Zoroaster, and the great reverence and worship due to fire.

¹ L'Empereur Akbar par le Comte de Noer, traduit par G. B. Maury, Vol. I., pp. 314-315.

² The Dabistân, translated by Shea and Troyer. Introduction.—The author of the Dabistân mentions dates from A. D. 1618 to 1653, so it must have been written at least after 1653. He lived from A. D. 1615 to 1670. Badaoni died about 1596.

The emperor called them to his presence, and was pleased to take information about the way and lustre¹ of their wise men. He also called from Persia a follower of Zardusht, named Ardeshir, to whom he sent money; he delivered the sacred fire with care to the wise Shaikh Abu'l-Fazil, and established that it should be preserved in the interior apartment by night and day, perpetual henceforth, according to the rule of the Mobeds, and to the manner which was always practised in the fire-temples of the Kings of Ajem, because the *Iti* set² was among the sentences of the Lord, and light from among the lights of the great Ized. He invited likewise the fire-worshippers from Kirman to his presence, and questioned them about the subtleties of Zardusht's religion; and he wrote letters to Azer-Kâivân, who was a chief of the Yezdâniyan and Abâdâniân, and invited him to India. (Dabistân, Vol. III, pp. 95-96, translated by Shea and Troyer.)

We learn from this passage the following facts:—

(1) That “the fire-worshippers, who had come from the town of Nôusarî, situated in the district of Gujerat, asserted the truth of the religion of Zoroaster and the great reverence and worship due to fire.”

(2) That “the emperor called them to his presence and was pleased to take information about the way and lustre¹ of their wise men” (*Kiâniân*).

(3) He ordered Abul Fazl to keep the sacred fire burning day and night.

Thus we see that the three facts found in the passage of Bâdâoni are repeated in the above passage from the Dabistân.

But in the passage of the Dabistân there is one more statement which is not found in Bâdâoni. It is —

That Akbar “also called (mark the word ‘ham,’ in Persian, *i. e.*, also) from Persia a follower of Zardusht, named Ardeshir, to whom he sent money. He invited likewise (mark the word “*hamchunin*” in Persian, *i.e.*, likewise) the fire-worshippers from Kirman to his presence and questioned them about the subtleties of Zardusht's religion; and he wrote letters to Azer-Kâivân.”

¹ The word is روش not روشن; so it means customs.

² The English translator has not properly understood this passage. It is bodily taken from Bâdâoni, where it is translated by Blochmann as “Fire was one of the manifestations of God.”

Now it is sought to infer from the additional fact mentioned in the Dabistân that "Akbar must have been dissatisfied with the priests from Naôsari whom Badâoni mentions, and seeing that they could not teach him much, determined to go further afield and invite Ardeshir and other Parsees from Kirman."¹ The Dabistân does not at all permit that inference.

Firstly, in connection with this matter, simply from the fact that the Dabistân gives the above additional fact, it is supposed to give "a fuller and more detailed account."² A careful examination of the above two passages from Badâoni and the Dabistân in their original Persian, shows that the account of the Dabistân, on this subject, is no way "fuller and more detailed." It is an almost verbatim reproduction of Badâoni's passage. Were it not for the fact, that it is the old oriental authors that are concerned, among whom such things were, to a certain extent, common, such a reproduction, in modern parlance, would be called plagiarism pure and simple. I give below, side by side, the passages, both from Badâoni and from the Dabistân in their original Persian, which will enable any one to see at a glance that the Dabistân passage is nothing but a reproduction of the Badâoni passage, with the exception of the statement about Ardeshir and the fire-worshippers from Kirman.

BADÂONI.

Va átash parastán kē az sheher i Naôsûrî az velâyat i Gujrât ámadé bûdand,
din i Zardusht râ hak namûdand
ra taurizm i átash râ ébâdat i azim goftand, va ba jáneb i khûd kashidé az estelâh va râh va ravesh i kiânyân râkef sâkhtand.

DABISTÂN.

Va hamchunîn átash-parastân kē az kasbê i Nâosûrî kē az velâyat i Gujrâtast ámadé bûdand,
din i Zardusht râ hak
va taazim i átash râ ébâdat i azim mi-goftand. Hazrat îshân râ ba jáneb i khûd khoând az râh ra ravesh i Kiânyân rakuf hâsel namudand.

va ham Ardashir nâm Zardushti dâna râ zar firastâd va az Irân avurdand.

¹ Mr. Karkaria, "Akbar and the Parsees," Journal of the B. B. R. A. Society, Vol. XIX., No. LII, p. 296.

² Ibid., p. 295.

tâ farmûdand kê átash rá ba
ihtamám Shaikh Abu- al- Fazl ba
ravesh mulük i Ajam kê átash-
kadéh i îshân hamishé bar pâé
bûd dâyam al avkât ché dar shab
ché dar rôz dar mahl negâh mi-
dâshâté bâshand ke áyatî ast az
áyât i khûdá va nûrist az anvár i
vaé.

va átashrá ba ihtamám i tamâm
ba navâb elâmî Shaikh Abu- al-
Fazl sepurdand va mukarar sâkh-
tand kê bar âin i môbadân ba
tarikî kê átash- kadéh i muluki
Ajam hamishé bar pâé bûd dâyam-
al-avkât ché dar shab va ché dar
rôz dar andarûn i shabastân negeh
idârand kê áyatî ast az áyât
khûdá va nur-ist az anvár i Izad
bulaud.

The author of the Dabistân has taken bodily, not only the above passages from Badâoni's Muntakhab-al-Tawarikh, but a large portion of this subject of religion. Take for example Raja Birbal's praise of the sun, (Compare Dabistân's Persian Text, Bombay Edition of 1277, p. 265, l. 12, and Muntakhab-al-Tawarikh, by Lees and Ahmed Ali, Vol. II, p. 260, l. 14. Compare Shea and Troyer's translation of the Dabistân, Vol III, p. 93, and Rehatsek's translation of Muntakhab-al-Tawarikh in his "The Emperor Akbar's Repudiation of Esllâm," p.25) and Abul Fazl's argument with Badâoni on the subject of the previous authors not doing full justice to ancient prophets. (Compare Bombay Edition of the Dabistân, p. 266, l. 14, and Lees and Ahmed Ali's Muntakhab-al-Tawarikh of Badâoni, Vol. II., p. 262, l. 7. Compare the above-mentioned translations. Shea and Troyer III., p. 96 Rehatsek, p. 27).

Many other passages show that the author of the Dabistân has taken passages bodily from Badâoni, with slight changes of words here and there, and with this difference, that while Badâoni, strict Mahomedan that he was, has shown his bigotry in his expressions, the author of the Dabistân is free from it.

As to which is a better authority, the Muntakhab-al-Tawârikh of Badâoni or the Dabistân of the supposed author, Mohsan Fani, we have the following opinion of Prof. Wilson. He says :¹ "The Dabistân gives us an account of the religious disputations, which were held in Akbar's presence, and in the character of a philosopher may be supposed to personify the opinions of the king. This work does not, however, state the particular dogmas of the sect instituted by the monarch, and the sentiments of the sage are more of a negative than

¹ Works of Prof. Wilson by Dr. Rost (1862), Vol. II., pp. 379-380.

affirmative description, subversive of all existing systems rather than the foundations of a new code of belief. From this uncertainty, however, we have a satisfactory appeal, and find in a work written towards the close of Akbar's reign, a most minute recapitulation of progress of the Emperor's deflections from the faith of Mohammed, and the new institutes and observances which he laboured to introduce. The work is the *Muntakhab-at-Tawârikh* compiled by Abd-ul-kâder Maluk Shah Bedâoni."

Professor Blochmann takes the same view. Giving extracts from Badâoni on the religious views of Akbar, he says: "The above extracts from Badâoni possess *a peculiar value*, because they show the rise and progress of Akbar's views, from the first doubt of the correctness of the Islam to its total rejection, and the gradual establishment of a new Faith, combining the principal features of Hinduism and the Fireworship of the Pârsis. *This value does not attach to the scattered remarks in the Ain, nor to the longer article in the Dabistân.* As the author of the latter work has used Badâoni it will only be necessary to collect the *few remarks* which are new" (Blochmann's *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol. I., p. 209). As to the discussions at the religious meetings, as described by the Dabistan, Elphinstone thinks them to be "probably *imaginary*" (Bk. IX, Chap. III., Cowell's ed., p. 535. The italics are mine).

Now, let us see, if we can account for the additional statement in the Dabistan, *viz.*, Ardeshir's visit to the court of Delhi. That a learned Persian Zoroastrian, named Ardeshir, came from Persia at the special invitation of Akbar is certain. That is proved from the independent source of the *Farhang-i-Jehangiri*. But the facts (1), that he came for quite another purpose, *not* for the purpose of taking any part in those religious discussions, which led Akbar to openly acknowledge Zoroastrian forms of worship, and (2) that he came a long time *after* the years 1581 and 1582 when Akbar adopted these forms of worship, are equally certain, and can be placed beyond any shadow of doubt.

As to the first fact, *viz.*, that Ardeshir was sent for, from Persia, by Akbar, for quite another purpose, we have the authority of Mir Jamal-ud-din, a writer contemporary with Akbar. He was the writer of the well-known Persian lexicon, *Farhang-i-Jehangiri*. This work was begun by him in the reign of Akbar, who had patronized it, and finished in the reign of his successor Jehangir, after whom it was called *Farhang-i-Jehangiri*. We will give here, in the words of the

author himself, an account of his dictionary, as far as Akbar was connected with it. He says in the preface ¹ :

Translation.

" From the prime of youth, I had the inclination and desire of reading and perusing the poems of the ancients, and in the company of friends and companions, a good deal of my time was spent in (reading) the discourses and collected poems of teachers of old times; and when many of their poems contained Persian, Pahlavi and Dari words and idioms, &c., I had helplessly to refer to Persian vocabularies called *farhangs*. And I came across many words and idioms in the poems of the ancients, which were not found in any dictionary; and in the case of those that were found, there was a good deal of contradiction and confusion. As the bankers of the thread of learning and wisdom, had written much in investigating and ascertaining the origin of words and idioms, but had made no difference between Persian and Arabic words, the object was not fulfilled, and necessary questions (of difficulties) remained neglected. Therefore, the desire of preparing a book in this noble branch of learning, became fixed in my poor mind. I collected in several parts, all the unknown words that came across my sight in books of poetry and prose. In short, I spent, well nigh one generation, which is the period of 30 years, a good deal of my time and a good deal of my life in making researches in Persian, Pahlavi and Dari words and idioms, &c.

" 'I worked hard for 30 years and revived Persia with this Persian.' ² The hand of eloquence became strong through me. I finished the book of Pahlavi. After many researches and investigations, such a number of words and idioms were collected as had not come to the hand of any other lexicographer. But the arrangement of those, on account of difficulties, the description of the encounter of which is of no great advantage, had fallen into the sphere of delay; and from the excess of my inquiries,

¹ Lucknow lithographed edition, of 1293 Hijri (١٢٩٣ھ) Introduction, from page 3, l. 5. Mr. Manockji Rustomji Unwala's old manuscript, p. 1, l. 16. As far as I know, this portion from the preface of the Farhang has not been translated. So I give my own literal translation of it.

² Quoted from Firdousi. Mohl, Vol. I., Preface, p. XC., l. 20. Macan's Calcutta edition, Vol. I., p. 65, l. 18.

my excellence in this art (of writing a lexicon) had reached such a stage, that very few words and phrases have remained uninvestigated by this slave (*i.e.*, myself) by means of his fiery inquiries of proofs; so that many just-minded friends, knowing me to be worthy of confidence in this kind of learning, brought before me every difficulty which they met with, in their study of prose and study of words In short, the excellence of this servant, in this (branch of) learning, being sufficiently well known, in the month of Zi'l-qu'da (*i.e.*, the 11th month) of 1000¹ Hijri, at the time, when the banner of Akbar Badshâh, the sun of the nobles had the honour of appearing in the city of Srinagar, which is the capital of Cashmere, one of my friends spoke in the paradise-like assembly (of the king) about the researches of Persian words and phrases which I had been fortunate to make. The members of His Majesty's court, as soon as they heard this matter, called the humblest of sincere friends (*i.e.*, myself) in the noble and holy presence of his Majesty. His Majesty said very gracefully and elegantly (lit. with a tongue that drops pearls and scatters jewels) 'since the time the Arabs had the hand of authority in the country of Persia, the Persian language having been mixed with Arabic words, most of the Parsi and Dari and Pahlavi words have become obsolete, nay, have disappeared altogether. So the explanation of the books which have been written in old Persian languages, and the meaning of the poems, which poets of old times have adorned with ornaments of poetry, have remained concealed and hidden under the curtain of concealment and the veil of privacy.

¹ The lithographed edition from which I translate gives the year 1000 (*i.e.*, 1050), which is evidently a mistake for 1000 (*i.e.*, 1000). A manuscript copy of the Farhang-i-Jehangiri, lent to me by Mr. Manockji R. Unwala, gives 1005 (*i.e.*, 1005). That also is a mistake. Blochmann's manuscript (Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1868, Part I., No. 1, p. 12) gives 1000. This is correct, because the writer connects the event with Akbar's visit to Srinagar, and we know that Akbar visited Cashmere in 1000 Hijri, "and reached his destination on the sixth of Muharrum (the first month) of the year one thousand and one" and spent nearly a month in "his private garden" مکان خالی (Muntakhab-al-Tawârikh, translated by Lowe, Vol. II., p. 398, Lees and Ahmad Ali's Edition, Vol. II., p. 384, ll. 19, 20). Thus according to Badâ'în, on the 6th of Muharrum (the first month) of 1001, he arrived in Cashmere (*i.e.*, the capital). So the interview with Jamal-ud-din may have taken place a few days before.

Therefore, before this time, I had ordered some of the members of this court, which protects learned men, to prepare a book containing all the old Persian words and phrases. No body could perform that work as it should be.¹ It is necessary that in this noble branch of learning, you should prepare a book of good fame, and sublime name, so that in consequence of its always being united with my good fortune, its effect may remain permanently on the pages of time for day and night (*i.e.*, the book may be connected with my name and prove useful for ever).

The author then goes on to say, that he then began to collect about 44 previous *farhangs* or lexicons, Zend and Pazend books and other Persian works. But, before he completed his work, Akbar died in 1014 Hijri (1605 A.D.). Akbar's son Jehangir came to the throne, and the dictionary was finally completed in his reign, three years after Akbar's death. So the author named it after Jehangir and called it *Farhang-i-Jehangiri*.

He says—

مُرتبٌ كُشت اين فرنگ ناصي
با سم شاه جمیعه جهانگیر

چو جستم سال تاریخش خود گفت
زی فرنگ نورالدین جهانگیر

Translation.

i.e., this famous dictionary became honoured by the name of king Jehangir, who is like king Jamshed in dignity. When I looked for its date, wisdom said: "Zahi Farhang Nur-ud-din Jehangir," *i.e.*, Well done, the dictionary of Nuruddin Jehangir!

The numerical value of the letters of the above *mīqra* is 1017 Hijri (1608-09 A.D.). This is the date of its completion.

We learn from this long passage several facts. *Firstly*, we learn, why it was that king Akbar patronized it, and *secondly*, we learn the different dates of its commencement, its patronage by Akbar, and its completion. We will speak of the dates later on.

Firstly, as to the patronage extended to it by king Akbar, we learn that the speciality of this new lexicon, to which the author attaches great importance, and to which the king himself also attaches great importance, is that it contains many old Persian words, especially of Zend and Pazend origin. It is for this purpose, that the author collected several Zend and Pazend books.

¹ Arabic 'ka-ma-yambagi' meaning "as it should be."

Now, it was to assist Mir Jamal-ud-din, the author of the Farhang, in his work, that king Akbar had specially sent for Ardeshir, a learned Persian of Kerman, to whom the Dabistan refers. Blochmann says on this point: "From the preface of the dictionary it appears that the labours of the compiler extended over thirty years. A. H. 1000, or thirteen years after the commencement of the compilation, when Akbar was at Srínagar, Mir Jamál-ud-din received the order to complete his dictionary. Not only did Akbar grant sums for the purchase of manuscripts, but he even called learned men from Persia to assist Mir Jamal-ud-din in the compilation. The historian Badaúní indeed tells us that many a word was investigated in Akbar's *majlis-i-kháç*, the emperor himself evincing that taste for the study of words which Muhammadans so eminently possess The Zand and Pazand words form a peculiar feature."¹

We learn from the Farhang-i-Jehangiri itself, that Ardeshir was sent for from Persia, for the purpose of this dictionary. Blochmann refers to this passage in his abovementioned paper on "Contributions to Persian Lexicography."

برسام . . . شرح این لغت از مجموعی که در دین خود
بغایت فاضل بود و اردشیر نام داشت و او را مجموعیان موبیه می
دانستند و حضرت عرش آشیانی ^۲ مخصوص بجهت تحقیق لغات فرس
مبلغها از برایش فرستاده از گرمان طلبیده بودند تحقیق نموده نوشت

(Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. XXXVII., Part I., No. 1, 1868, p. 14, article by H. Blochmann.)

As Blochmann has not translated this passage, I give my own translation.

Translation.

"Barsam.—The meaning of this word is written, after being ascertained from a Majús (Magus), who was very proficient in the knowledge of his religion, and who had the name of Ardeshir, and whom the Magi held as their Mobed (priest), and whom His Glorious Majesty,

¹ Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. XXXVII., Part I., No. 1, p. 12-14, 1868. Paper on "Contributions to Persian Lexicography."

² Ervad Manockji Rustomji Unwala's old manuscript of the Farhang-i-Jehangiri gives the word as *مسناتی*. It would then mean "of the throne-like threshold." But the word as given in Blochmann's manuscript is correct, because *عرش آشیانی* meaning "nestling at the foot of the divine throne" was "a name given to the Emperor Akbar after his decease."—(Steingass.)

having sent money for him, had specially called from Kerman for the purpose of ascertaining (the meanings of) Persian words." The word 'barsam' is an old Zand Avesta word. Firdousi uses it.¹

The long explanation, which the author gives, of the word *Barsam* is very technical, and so he refers to his authority.² In the case of another word also, we find, that the author of the *Farhang-i-Jehangiri* gives his authority. It is in the case of the word *Azar* آذر. He does not give the name of the person but simply refers to him as an old person of the Zoroastrian faith. Blochmann thinks, that perhaps this is a reference to the same person Ardeshir. We read the following under the word *Azar*, or آذر. I follow the text of Mr. Unwala's manuscript.

فَقِيرٌ كَمْ رَاقِمْ أَيْنْ حَرُونَمْ پَیْرِی اَزْ پَارْسِیَانْ رَا كَمْ در دَینِ زَرَدَشْتَ بُودْ دَیدَمْ كَمْ جَزُوَّی چَنَدْ اَزْ كَتَابَ زَنَدْ وَوَسَتاً دَامَشْتَ چَوَنْهَهْ مَسَراً رَغْبَتْ وَ مَسْعَفَ تَمَامَ بِجَمَعِ لَغَاتِ فَرَسْ بُودْ وَ در فَرَسْ اَزْ زَنَهَهْ

¹ The author of the *Farhang-i-Jehangiri* quotes the following lines in which Firdousi uses it:—

پُورَستَندَهْ آَذَرْ زَرْ دَهْشَتْ
چَهِيرَفَتْ باَ باَوْ بُورَسَمْ بَهْشَتْ
چَوَ اَزْ دَورْ جَایْ پُورَسَشْ بَدَیدَهْ
شَدْ اَزْ آَبْ دَیدَهْ رَخَشْ نَافَدَیدَهْ
فَرُودْ آَمَدْ اَزْ اَسَپْ بُورَسَمْ بَهْشَتْ
بَنَمْ زَمْ چَمِيَّلَاتْ وَ لَبِرَا بَبِسَتْ

The first couplet is from the account of Behramgour's reign (Mohl VI., p. 64, couplet 705, Macan's Calcutta Edition, Vol. III., p. 1579). The next couplet can be traced, with a little modification, to the account of the reign of Khusro Parviz (Mohl VII., p. 186, couplet 2205, Calcutta Edition, Vol. IV., p. 1949), but the third couplet, which seems to be in continuation of the second couplet, I am not able to find in any of the copies of the *Shâh-Nâmeh* with me.

² The word is so obsolete, from a non-Parsee point of view, and the explanation is so technical, that the later lithographed editions of the *Farhang-i-Jehangiri* have omitted the word 'barsam,' perhaps as being of no use to the modern students. Blochmann's manuscript of the work has given it. Mr. Manockji Rustomji Unwala's MS. which I have used for this purpose gives the word, *vide* p. 155.

³ Blochmann's copy has the word correctly written زَنَدَا وَسَتا (Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. XXXVII., Part I., No. 1, 1868, p. 14).

⁴ The lithographed edition of Lucknow of 1293 Hijri (1876 A.D.), p. 56, has شَفَقَتْ

و وستا^۱ کتابی معتبر تر نیست بجهت تحقیق لغات با او صحبت میداشتم
و اکثر لغاتی که در خاتمه این کتاب از زنده و بازند و وستا نقل شده^۲
از تقریر آن^۳ زرد و شدیست و او هرگاه قراءت ژنه مینمود باین لغت
که میروزید آدر بضم دال غیر منقوطه مینخواهد و میگفت که در کتاب
ژنه و وستا این لغت بدال منقوطه نیامده^۴

Translation.^۴ (I give my own translation, as Blochmann's is rather a free one.)

"I (lit. my humble self) who am the writer of these lines, saw an old man of the Parsees, who was of the Zoroastrian religion, and who had a few parts of the Zend Avesta books. As I had a great longing and yearning for the collection of Persian (*fars*) words, and as there is no more authoritative work for the Persian than the Zend Avesta, I kept up a friendly intercourse with him for ascertaining (the meanings of) words. And most of the words, which are given in the supplement of this book, from the Zend and the Pazend and the Avesta are as explained by that Zoroastrian. While reading the Zend whenever he came to this word (Āzar) he read it Ādar with a *zamma* (or 'pesh') over *dāl* without the *nukta*, and said that in the book of Zend Avesta this word does not occur with a *dāl* with the *nukta*."

Of these two passages, the first is very clear. It distinctly says, "that Ardeshir was (mark the ord **حص**) specially sent for, from Kirman for the purpose of ascertaining Persian words."

Dastur Aspandyâr Kâmdin of Broach (who lived from 1751 to 1826) in his book entitled કદીમ તારીખ પારસ્પોર્માની કસર. (pp. 50-51) published in 1826, a short time before his death, refers to the fact of Ardeshir's being called to India for the Farhang-i-Jehangiri.

¹ The Lucknow edition adds **ذوق پر** before this word.

² Blochmann's MS has **زرتوشتی است**

³ The Lucknow edition adds **پا زنده** before this.

⁴ Blochmann's translation runs as follows:—"I knew an old Persian, a Zoroastrian, who possessed some parts of the Zend Avesta. As I have a passion for collecting Persian words, and as no book enjoys a greater authority for Persian than the Zend Avesta, I often met him for the purpose of investigating some words; and indeed most of the Zand words which the Khatimah of my dictionary contains, have been extracted by this Zoroastrian from the Zend Avesta. Whenever he came across the word **آدر** in reading to me from his holy book, he pronounced it *ādur*, not *adzar*, etc." (Journal of the

But one may argue, that Ardeshir, even if specially sent for, for the purpose of the Dictionary, may have taken an active part in influencing Akbar to Parsecism. In order to meet that argument, we must try to fix the date of Ardeshir's visit to India.

We find in the Persian Revâyets, a letter from this Ardeshir to Dastur Kiamdin Padam of Broach, on the subject of fire-temples. The letter ends thus—

نېشتم شه در روز دین صاه فروردین قادیم سنه ۹۶۷ یزد جرد شاه پنځایا

i.e. Written on the day Din month Farvardin 967 Yazdazardi.¹ After copying that letter, the compiler of the Revâyats makes the following note :—

وقدی که دستور اردشیر نوشیروان کومنانی از ایران زمین در ملک چند وستان پیش شاهه اکبر آمدہ بود آنگاه این مكتوب به ستور قیام دین پدم نوشته بود (p. 458, l. 9)

i.e. At the time, when Dastur Ardeshir Noshirwân Kermâni had come from the country of Persia, to the country of Hindustan, before king Akbar, this letter was written to Dastur Kiamdin Padam.

From the body of the letter it appears that Ardeshir had received a message from Dastur Kâmdin of Broach at Mooltan, when he was

Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. XXXVII., Part I., No. 1, 1868, p. 14.) Prof. Max Müller refers to this passage and says (Introduction to the Science of Religion, Edition of 1882, p. 18) : "We have the Zend Avesta, the sacred writings of the so-called fire-worshippers, and we possess translations of it, far more complete and far more correct than any that Emperor Akbar obtained from Ardeshir, a wise Zoroastrian, whom he invited from Kirman to India." Prof. Max Müller does not say a single word more than this, and still he is quoted in the paper, above referred to, as supporting the inference that "Akbar must, out of curiosity, have called Parsees from his own recently-conquered province of Guzerat for information, but, seeing that he could not get much out of them, he had to call others from Persia." (pp. 296, 297.) One can easily see from the full quotations from Blochmann and Max Müller that there is nothing at all in Max Müller's words supporting the above inference. The author of the Farhang-i-Jehangiri says that Ardeshir had "some parts (juz or juzwe, i.e., a little, a trifle) of the Zend Avesta," and what Prof. Max Müller wishes to say is merely this : that in our times we have "far more complete and correct" manuscripts and translations than those brought by Ardeshir. Yet he is represented as supporting the above inference !

¹ Lithographed edition of the Revâyet, which is being printed by Mr. Manockji Rustomji Unwâlâ, Vol. II. (pp. 455-458), p. 458, l. 7.

on his way back to Persia. Ardeshir says, that had he received the message at Lahore, he would have thought of going to Dastur Kamdin at Broach.

چون در ملتان رسیدم بهدین کاوس ماهیار را دیدم اگر این
فقیر بهدین کاوس را در لاہور میدید البته در خدمت صیرصیہ
i.e. When I reached Multan, I saw Behedin Kaus Mâhiâr. . . . Had I
seen Behedin Kaus at Lahore, of course, I would have come (p. 456, ll. 7-11).

This passage shows that Ardeshir left India in 967 Yazdajardi (1597 A.D.). This is the date of the departure of Ardeshir. Now let us see, if we can fix the date of his arrival. The above quoted long passage from the preface of the Farhang-i-Jehangiri helps us to do that.

We learn from that long passage of the preface, that Mir Jamâluddin had devoted 30 years to the work of his lexicon, and that it was during the time of Akbar's visit to Srinagar in 1000 Hijri (1592 A. D.) that the King extended to him his patronage. Now, as we saw, that Ardeshir was specially sent for, for the work of the lexicon by king Akbar, and as we further saw, that Akbar extended his hand of patronage to the author of the lexicon, only in A.D. 1592 (Hijri 1000), it is quite evident that Ardeshir must have come to India *after* A.D. 1592. This was then about 13 years *after* the date (1579 A.D.), when the religious discussions at the Ibâdat Khânâh, which influenced Akbar towards Parseeism were closed, about 11 years *after* the date (1581 A.D.) when Akbar openly accepted the outward forms of the Parsee worship, and one year *after* the death (1591 A.D.) of Dastur Meherji Rana.

Thus we see, that the Farhang-i-Jehangiri clearly proves the two facts (1) *firstly* that Ardeshir came from Persia, *for the purpose of the dictionary*, and (2) *secondly* that Ardeshir came to India *after* 1592, A.D., a long time before which, Akbar had openly adopted some of the visible forms of Parsi worship. This clearly shows then, that it was the Indian Parsees of Naosari, who had explained to Akbar the Parsee religion and not Ardeshir from Persia.

The discussions, which are called "the learned and philosophic discussions of the Ibâdatkhana,"¹ and to take part in which, none of

¹ The Ibâdat Khânâh is spoken of in the Tabakat-i-Akbari as—**نشیمن قدس**—کشائے آتش—i.e. the holy seat, the place of fire (Munshi Newul Kishore's Edition of 1875, p. 328, l. 4).

the Gujarat Parsees are supposed to "have possessed the requisite ability"¹ were practically closed in 1579 A.D. (987 Hijri). Blochmann says "*the disputations had now come to an end* (A.D. 1579), and Faizi and Abul Fazl had gained the lasting friendship of the emperor."²

It may be said that the religious disputations were not closed in 1579, because missionaries continued to come and go, long after that year.³ But the later missions in after years, had nothing to do with the religious disputations of the Ibâdat-khaneh. Anyhow, as far as the Parsees and their influence on Akbar were concerned, the disputations were closed. This is proved by several facts on the authority of Badâoni.

¹ Journal B. B. R. A. Society, Vol. XIX., No. LIII., p. 297.

² *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol. I., Introduction, p. XV.

³ The dates of these missions differ according to different writers.

I give below the dates according to different authors:—

	Father Catrou, on the authority of Manouchi.	Comte de Noer, on the authority of Du Jarric.	Murray.
First Mission.	Arrival.—(Does not give the exact date, but it can be calculated by references.)	Arrival 1580.	Arrival 1570.
	About 1576 or 1577.	"Departure probably 1582."	Departure 1583.
	Departure.—1579 or 1580. (Rudolph Aquaviva left in 1582 or 1583.)	(Rudolph Aquaviva probably left in 1585.)	
Second Mission.	Arrival.—1589 (date of departure from Goa).	Arrival 1591.	Arrival 1591.
	Departure.—Date not given, but their stay appears to have been short.	Departure.—Gives no date, but their stay appears to have been short.	Departure.—Gives no date, but their stay seems to have been short.
Third Mission.	Arrival.—No date given, but it must have been before 1597 as a great fire, which took place in 1597 is said to have taken place when the mission was there.	Arrival 1595.	Arrival 1595.
	Departure.—The mission remained till the death of Akbar.	Departure.—Gives no date.	Departure.—Gives no date, but says that the mission left, when Akbar went to conduct a war in the Deccan. That was in 1596 (Elliot, Vol. VI., p. 92).

(1) From the new Jalâli year (988) 1580-81, the king openly adopted sun and fire-worship (Badâoni: Lowe, Vol. II., p. 269; Blochmann's Âin-i-Akbari, Vol. I., p. 184; Rehatsek, p. 27). (2) Two years after, i.e. in 1582 (990) he "established 14 holidays according to the manner of the Zoroastrians (Badâoni: Lowe, Vol. II., p. 316; Blochmann's Âin-i-Akbari, Vol. I., p. 195; Rehatsek, p. 53). (3) The document "unique in the Church History of Islam," which was the result of these disputations, and which separated Akbar from orthodox Mahomedanism, was signed in 1579 (Rajab 987) (Badâoni: Lowe, Vol. II., pp. 278-279; Blochmann's Âin-i-Akbari, Vol. I., p. 186; Rehatsek, p. 31). It was a document for preparing which Badâoni applies to Abul Fazl, the proverb, "He prefers hell to shame on earth." (4) After the signing of this document, the king left for Ajmir on the 16th Rajab of the same year 987 (1579 A. D.). (5) He adopted the Parsee Calendar and established his era after the manner of the ancient Persians in 1584 (992), (Âin-i-Akbari, Vol. II. (Jarrett), pp. 30-31.). Badâoni describes this change under the events of 990 Hijri (1582), (Lowe II., p. 316; Blochmann's Âin-i-Akbari, Vol. I., p. 195; Rehatsek, p. 53).

Though the later missions came as late as 1595, they had nothing to do with the original discussions of the Ibâdat-khana. It is only the first mission, that seems to have taken a part in the discussions at the Ibâdat-khana. All the three missions had to leave Akbar's Court disappointed, as far as the king was concerned.

Father Catrou says of the first mission that "Akbar seemed to have countenanced, for a season, the cause¹ of Christianity from a principle of curiosity only." Comte de Noer says something similar.

According to Abul Fazl, the first mission of Father Rudolf (Padri Radif) took part in the discussions at the Ibadat-khaneh in 986 Hijri (1578-79 A.D.) (Akbar-nâmeh, Vol. III., p. 254, l. 20, Asiatic Society's Calcutta Edition. Elliot VI., p. 60). Badaoni places under the events of the year 986 Hijri (1578-79 A.D.) the event of Akbar ordering "Prince Murâd to take a few lessons in Christianity." (Badaoni-Ahmed Ali's text, Vol. II., p. 260, l. 6. Lowe's translation, Vol. II., p. 267. Blochmann's Âin-i-Akbari, Vol. I., p. 182. Rehatsek, p. 25). Now it was Father Monserrat, a member of the first mission, who gave these lessons to this prince (Calcutta Review, January 1886, Vol. LXXXII, No. CLXIII, pp. 2 and 4). So according to Badaoni the date of the first mission was 986 Hijri (1578-79 A. D.).

1 History of the Mogul Dynasty, p. 118.

He says "Mais ayant manqué le but réel de l'entreprise, qui était a conversion d'Akbar, les Padres retournèrent à Goa (L' Empereur Akbar, Vol. I., p. 330)." Murray says the same thing. "One of the courtiers however, allowed it to transpire that his (Akbar's) sole aim was curiosity and entertainment." (Vol. II., p. 90.)

As to the second mission, the discussions at the Ibâdatkhana were long before over, and according to Father Catrou, we do not find them carrying on any "learned and philosophical discussion" whatever with the courtiers. They expected Akbar to be a Christian. "He often visited the fathers, proposing to them the most specious objections to our sacred mysteries, and appearing satisfied with the mysteries (explanation) he received." Nothing further happened. They had instructions to leave "whenever they should be satisfied that their mission had failed in its object." Their mission failed, and so they returned to Goa.¹

According to Comte de Noer also, the second mission left without achieving any result. "Ils quittèrent L' Empire, sans avoir obtenu aucun résultat religieux."²

From Murray also we find, that they "went through nearly the same career as their predecessor. So long, indeed, as they were willing to swell the pomp of his court, and to amuse him by the display of relics and images, he appeared glad to have them about him They found that there was as little as ever of any serious intention of acceding to their wishes."³

Coming to the third mission, we find the same thing in their case. From Catrou, we do not find them taking any part in any discussions whatsoever. They converted some of the people. Akbar appeared at times well inclined toward them and their religion. But says Catrou "Nevertheless, some vestiges of his former superstition would escape him at intervals Heaven punished the pride and impiety of the prince in a remarkable manner."⁴

According to Comte de Noer, the third mission had a political object rather than a religious one. He says : "L'Ordre jugeait avanta-

¹ History of the Mogul Dynasty, Catrou, pp. 126-127.

² L' Empereur Akbar, Vol I., p. 330.

³ Discoveries and Travels in Asia, Vol II., pp. 92-93.

⁴ History of the Mogul Dynasty, p. 128.

geux d'entretenir des agents politiques, à la cour du Grand Mogul, comme à d'autres cours."¹ From Murray also we learn the same thing. "There remained in the breast of the monarch a strong hold of idolatry, on which they could never make any impression." Thus, we see, that as Blochmann says, the discussions at the Ibādat-khana were closed in 1579, and that the later Christian missions had no part in those discussions.

But even, if, for argument's sake, we take it for granted, that the discussions by the Christian missionaries continued after 1579 A. D., that does not affect the main issue, that by 1582 Akbar had openly adopted some of the Parsee forms of worship, the Parsee calendar and the Parsee festivals, whereas Ardeshir came long after that in 1592.

We said above, that the influence of Parseeism on king Akbar, was a *fait accompli*, sometime before the arrival of Ardeshir from Persia into India, because, he had adopted long before 1592, many of the Parsee forms of worship and observances. Among these was his adoption of the Parsee festivals. We find a reference to this fact in the *Ain-i-Akbari* also. We read the following (*Ain* 22, Book II.)² :— "His Majesty enquires into the excellent customs of past ages, and without looking to the men of the past in particular, he takes up that which is proper, though he have to pay a high price for it. He bestows his fostering care upon men of various classes, and seeks for occasions to make presents. Thus when His Majesty was informed of the feasts of the Jamsheds, and the festivals of the Pārsī priests, he adopted them and used them as opportunities of conferring benefits. The following are the most important feasts. The New Year's day feast³ Again, His Majesty followed the custom of the ancient Pārsis, who held banquets on those days the names of which coincided with the name of a month"

III. The third important work which refers—though indirectly—to the question whether it was the Indian Parsees or the Persian Parsees, who took a prominent part in the discussions of the Ibādatkhana in 1578-79 is Abul Fazl's *Akbar-nâmeh*. Abul Fazl refers to the presence of Zoroastrians in the assembly for religious discussions under the events of the commencement of the 23rd year of King Akbar's reign (986 Hijri, 1578 A.D.), a long time before Ardeshir's arrival. He thus speaks of a meeting for religious discussions on the 20th of the month Meher.

¹ L'Empereur Akbar, Vol. I., p. 331. ² *Ain-i-Akbari*. Blochmann, Vol. I., p. 276. ³ "Badānī generally calls this day Nārūz-i-Jalali."

بیستم مه و ماه الهی در آن عبادت خانه خلوت تجهزه را در بزم
 تعلق چراغ افروختند و نقد دانش اندوزان مدرسه و خانقاہ بعیارگاه
 بردنده صاف از درد و سرمه از مغشوش جدا کردن آغاز شد و قراخی
 حوصله و بسطت ظل الهی چهره آرای گشت صوفی حکیم متکلم فقیه سنتی
 شیعه برهمن جنی سیپورا چار باک نصاری ا یهود صابی زرد و شنی و مسایر
 گوناگون مودم از دید آرامش مصحف چهارپون..... نشاط فارغبالی نمودند

(Akbar-nameh, Vol. III., pp., 252-53, I. 22, Calcutta Edition of Abd-ur Rahim) Translation.

"On the 20th Mîr¹, in that place of meeting, the lamp was kindled to brighten the solitude of seclusion in the banquet of society, and merits of the philosophers of the colleges and monasteries were put to the test of the touchstone. [Health from disease, and good money from false money, began to be separated. Abundance of spirit and excellence of divine power enlightened faces.]² Sâ'fis, doctors, preachers, lawyers, Sunnis, Shi'is, Brahmins, Jains, Buddhists, Chârbâks,³ Christians, Jews, [Sabeans]² Zoroastrians and learned men of every belief were gathered together in the royal assembly, and were filled with delight"⁴. (Elliot's History of India, (Dowson,) Vol. VI., p. 59.)

As Ardeshir came after 1592, as already shown, the Zoroastrians present at the above discussions in 986 Hirji (1578 A.D.), were those of India.

As the author of the Farhang-i-Jehangiri says. Ardeshir was, no doubt, a learned priest. So one must naturally expect an inquisitive king like Akbar, to take advantage of his presence at his court, and make inquiries from him about Zoroastrianism as observed in Persia.⁵ It is this fact, that the Dabistân takes note of, in adding one statement more, to those, that it had copied verbatim from the work of Badâoni.

¹ Meher. ² As Elliot has omitted to translate this portion, I have given my own translation in brackets. ³ "Hindu materialists." The preceding words ought to be *Jatis* and *Sewras*, which are names of races. ⁴ Lit. showed exultation of joy at the sight of the pleasure of the royal assembly. ⁵ Things like that may happen even now. Several Zoroastrian rites and ceremonies performed by the Parsees of India, even now, differ from those performed by their co-religionists in Persia. Though I have personally officiated at Parsee marriages on several occasions in Bombay, it was only this month, that I had an occasion to witness a marriage of a Persian Zoroastrian, when I found a good deal of difference in the ritual.

It is this fact, which Comte de Noer alludes to when he says: "Akbar avait fait venir de Perse, à grand frais, un prêtre parsi Ardjer, qui initia l'empereur aux rites antiques de sacroyance." (Maury's Translation, Vol. I., p 340). But there is not a particle of evidence to show, that Ardeshir took any part in leading Akbar to the adoption of some of the Zoroastrian forms of worship and of Zoroastrian festivals, &c. The fact, as shown above, by authentic dates, proves that Ardeshir came long *after* the event.

Again, apart from the question of dates above referred to,—and that is a question of very great importance in the consideration of the main question,—there is nothing whatever in the Dabistān, to any way belittle the work of the Nāsārī Parsees. It nowhere says that Nāsārī Parsees had no influence upon Akbar, and that it was because the Naosari Parsees had failed to explain their religion to Akbar, that Ardesir was sent for, from Persia. It says nothing of that kind. On the contrary, it says in the very commencement that (*a*) the Naosari Parsees "asserted the truth of the religion of Zoroaster" and (*b*) that the Emperor "was pleased to take information" from them.

If from the mere fact, that king Akbar called Ardesir from Persia, long after the visit of the Nāsārī Parsees to Akbar's court, we were to infer, that the Nāsārī Parsees did not satisfy the king, then there remain, several facts to be explained.

1. The Dabistān further says that the king "invited likewise the fire-worshippers from Kirman to his presence, and questioned them about the subtleties of Zardusht's religion."¹ If it was Ardesir, who, as alleged "took a prominent part in leading Akbar to Parseeism," and not the Nāsārī Parsees, why was there the further necessity of inviting more Zoroastrians from Persia?

2. Again, we learn further on from the Dabistān, that Akbar "wrote letters to Azer Kāivān, who was a chief of the Yezdāniān and Abādāniān and invited him to India."² Now, if it was Ardesir, who had "been able to take part in discussions showing skill and dialectical ability," why was there the necessity of inviting Azer Kāivān also.

3. Then take the case of another community, the Christian. We know that Akbar called from Goa, some of the learned

¹ Shea and Troyer, Vol. III., pp. 95-96.

² *Ibid.*, p. 96.

Portuguese missionaries. They were Rodolfo Aquaviva, Antonio de Monserrat and Francisco Enriques.¹ We learn from the same authorities, which give these names, that later on Akbar sent for some other Christian missionaries. They were : " Edouard Leioton, Cristophe de Vega and a layman."² Again later on, a third party of missionaries, consisting of Jérôme Xavier, Emmanuel Pignero and Benoit de Gois³, came to the Court of Akbar. Are we then to understand, that Akbar sent for these two other bands of missionaries, because he was *not satisfied* with the learning and the teaching of the first missionaries ? No, these later parties of missionaries had little to do with the discussions at the Ibâdat-khaneh. They were latterly sent for, for other reasons, but not because Akbar was dissatisfied with the first party.

Again, one must mark the words *पर* and *عیال* meaning 'likewise' used in the Dabistân, in connection with both (a) Ardeshir, (b) and the other Zoroastrians from Kerman. Even, suppose, for argument's sake, that Akbar sent for Ardeshir from Persia, both for the purpose of the dictionary, and for seeking knowledge on Zoroastrianism. But that does not show, that he was *not satisfied* with the Naôsâri priests. If an inquirer after truth, goes on sending for experts from different parts of the world, that does not necessarily show, that he is dissatisfied with the first batch of experts. His inquisitive mind may crave for knowledge from different quarters.

We find from these facts, that according to Badâoni and according to the Dâbistan also, it was the Naôsâri Parsees, who explained to king Akbar, the tenets of Zoroastrian religion, and influenced him, and not Ardeshir and the Parsees from Persia. Ardeshir did not come to India earlier than 1592. Long before that year, the religious discussions at the Ibâdat-khaneh, in which the Parsees were concerned, had been closed, and according to Badâoni, the contemporary historian

¹ L'Empereur Akbar, par Le Comte de Noer, translated by Maury, Vol. I., p. 326. The names are given on the authority of du Jarric. History of the Mogul Dynasty by Father Catrou, translated into English (1826), p. 105. Murray's Historical Account of the Discoveries and Travels in Asia, Vol. II., p. 83.

² *Ibid.* Comte de Noer, p. 330 ; Catrou, p. 126 ; Murray, (p. 92,) alludes to this mission but does not give names.

³ *Ibid.* Comte de Noer, p. 331 ; Catrou, p. 127 ; Murray, (p. 93,) alludes to the third mission, but does not give names.

of Akbar, in 1581, *i. e.*, at least about eleven or twelve years before the arrival of Ardeshir from Persia, the king had openly accepted Parsee forms of worship. Badâoni is very clear on this point. "From the New Year's day of the 25th year of his reign (988 Hijri, *i. e.*, 1581 A. D.), His Majesty openly worshipped the sun and the fire by prostrations; and the courtiers were ordered to rise when the candles and lamps were lighted in the palace. (Blochmann's *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol. I., p. 184. Lowe's Translation, Vol. II., p. 269.)

IV. There is another work of history, which distinctly says that in the 24th year of his reign (*i. e.*, in 1579 A. D.), Akbar was led away from Mohamedanism by several learned men, among whom it includes "several infidel and impious Parsees, who are devoted to the religion of the Magi." The writer here gives the exact date of the influence of the Parsees, *viz.*, the 24th year of his reign, *i. e.* 1579 A. D., the very date when the Naôsari Parsees were at Akbar's Court according to Badâoni. Ardeshir came at least 13 years after this date. This work then leads us to conclude, that it was the Naôsari Parsees, and *not* the Persian Parsees, who led Akbar towards Zoroastrianism. Though the work is later, its statement is supported, both by Badâoni and the author of the *Dabistân*. It is known as *Târikh-i-Mamâlik-i-Hind* (تاریخ ممالک ہند) *i. e.*, The History of the countries of India.¹

¹ It was written by one (غلام باسط) Gulam Basit, in 1196 Hijri (1782 A.D.) at the desire of an English officer named (جنرل جایلس اسٹبٹ) General Giles Istibat. I read the name, as it is given in the manuscript copy of the Mulla Firoz Library (Rehatsek's Catalogue IV. (History), No. 15, p. 76). Elliot (History of India, Dowson, Vol. VIII., p. 200-201) reads the name of the officer, from the manuscript he saw, as General Charles Burt. Rehatsek reads the name from the Mulla Firoz MS. as General Jayles Estbet (?). The author says in his preface, that he had made two copies of his work, one for the General and one for himself. Prof. Rehatsek seems to have committed two mistakes in his catalogue—(1) about the name of the author, and (2) the date of the works. He says, "The compiler of this work, Kuhmân Singah, states that he began it A. H. 1196 at Calcutta, by order of the English General Jayles Estbet (?), in whose service he was, and at the end of the MS. he states that he completed it A. H. 1240 (*i.e.*, 44 years afterwards)." Prof. Rehatsek has evidently committed a mistake here. Kuhman Singah is not the name of the compiler or author, but of the copyist, and the date is not the date of the completion of the work, but of that of the copy. This is clear from the following passage which we read at the end of the book :—

تاریخ ممالک ہند بروز پنځښه ماہ ربیع الاول سنہ ۱۲۴۰ ہجری
بدسخت بندہ کمترین کہانی نہ صورت اظہام یافت

In describing the events of king Akbar's reign, the author says, "Birbal and chiefly the infidel (Kâfar) Parsees brought about a change in the mind of Akbar." The words in the original are :—

دو سنن ۲۴ جلوه‌می خود پس‌بین موافق اکثر علمای دین فروش
و این الغرض مثل ابوالفضل و فیضی و برمدان خلاف عقایه مثل
بیرون و اکثر کفار و ملحد و پارسی که بدین سچوهمی مقید آند و بعضی
جوکیان انحراف در مزاج باد شاه افقاد ازین معنی نعوذ بالله چندان در
مقدمة شریعت اعتقاد نداشت

(Mulla Firoz Library's MS. folio 287a, ll. 6-13, Rehatsek's Catalogue of 1873, IV, History, No. 15.)

As this work is not translated I give my own translation of the above passage.

"In his 24th Jalûsi year, through association with several learned men, who were irreligious and interested—in short, men like Abul Fazl and Faizi, and Brahmins of opposite faiths, like Birbar and chiefly infidel and impious Parsees, who are devoted to the religion of the Magi, and many Jogis—a change came upon the mind of the king. On that account, may God save us from such an evil (*na-uzu-billah*) he had not much faith in the principles of the faith (of Islâm)."

Now, though these are the words of a later historian, they are supported by Badâoni and the author of the Dabistân.

i. e., The Târikh-i-Mamalik-i-Hind was completed by the hand of humble servant Kuhman Singah on Thursday Mâh Rabi-ul-Aval 1240.

It is a small work which cannot have taken 44 years to be completed. It is the date of the completion of the copy, not of the original work. Again, Prof. Rehatsek is also wrong in concluding that "The only copies existing are that which he made for himself, and the one for his master—probably this MS., because it is very neatly written on glazed paper, &c." Prof. Rehatsek was, perhaps, misled by what is said in the preface by the author, that he made two copies, one for his master and one for himself, and perhaps by what Elliot* wrote, "I know of only two copies of this history. One belonged to the late Mulla Firoz of Bombay, and another I saw at Kanauj with the title Zubdatu-t-Tawarikh." (Elliot VIII., p. 202.)

* Elliot's History, Vol. VIII., was published in 1877, i. e., 4 years before Rehatsek prepared his catalogue (in 1873) of the MSS. of the Mulla Firoz Library.

Birbal or Birbar was a favourite courtier of king Akbar. By Badâoni, he is spoken of as *malaûn* ملعون i.e. accursed,¹ because he was believed to be one of those, who led the king away from Mahomedanism to sun-worship and fire-worship. Badaoni says, "The accursed Byrber proposed that as the sun is a perfect manifestation and promotes the ripening of the harvests of corn, of fruits and of all green things, and that as the illumination of the universe and the lives of the inhabitants of the world are depending on it, it ought to be worshipped and magnified, and that people ought to turn towards the east and not to the west The conquered philosophers and scholars of the court strengthened these arguments by asserting that the sun is the greatest luminary and benefactor of the whole world These declarations became the occasion of the enhancement of the solemnity of the Jallâly new year's day, which His Majesty annually celebrated as a festival from the beginning of his reign ²."

The word in the text which Rehatsek translates by "conquered" is مُفْرَرٌ. It has several meanings, though all well nigh similar. They are : "conquered, subdued, vanquished; deserving or destined to be vanquished (as the armies of the infidels); oppressed, vexed."³ Blochmann translates it as "in disgrace."⁴ Lowe does not translate the word. Wilson simply translates, "The learned men of the Court acknowledged that the sun, &c."

We thus see, that the learned persons at the Court, of whom Badaoni speaks as *Maghûr*, i. e. "deserving to be vanquished as the armies of the infidels", are the Parsees, referred to by the writer of the later work *Târikh-i-Mamâlik-i-Hind* as "infidel Parsees."

¹ Badaoni applies several such abusive epithets to Birbal. He calls him "hellish dog" (سگ جهنمي) Lees' and Ahmed Ali's text, Vol. II., p. 274, l. 6.; Lowe II., p. 282) and bastard (حرامزرا p. 211, l. 11; Lowe p. 214) wretch (بد بخت Text II., p. 317, l. 2; Lowe II., p. 326). Of his death he says, he "was killed and entered the pack of the hellhounds and received a portion of his base, deeds بقتل رسید در سلک سگان جهنم داخل شد و پارگ از جزاي اعمال شنیعه خود یافت (Text II., p. 350, ll. 16, 17; Lowe's translation II., p. 361.)

² The Emperor Akbar's Repudiation of Esilâm, translated from Badaoni by Rehatsek, p. 25. Muntakhab-al Tawarikh, edited by Lees and Ahmed Ali, Vol. II., p. 260. Lowe's Translation II., p. 268. Blochmann's *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol. I., p. 183. Works of Prof. H. H. Wilson, Vol. II., p. 387.

³ Steingass's Persian Dictionary.

⁴ *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol. I., p. 183.

Anyhow, whatever meaning we attribute to the word (ماهگار) *maghûr*, the passage shows, that when Birbal spoke of sun-worship before Akbar, he was supported by some learned men at the Court, of whom Badâoni speaks contemptuously. Some learned men at the court were Birbal's associates. These learned men whom Badâoni condemns, were the Parsees, whom the Târikh-i-Mamâlik-i-Hind associates with Birbal.

The Dabistân which follows Badaoni's work also gives a similar version. It says :—

"The Rajah Birber conceived in his mind that the sun is an object all comprehensive; that he causes the ripening of the grain, of the sown fields, of the fruits, and of all vegetables, and gives splendour and life A sect of the fire-worshippers stated also that the learned entertain conflicting opinions about the existence of spirits, of unity, and the self-existing being; and other sects denied this; but no denial is possible about the existence, the splendour and the beneficence of the sun."¹

We find from this passage of the Dabistân, that its author has clearly understood the allusion in Badâoni, as referring to the fire-worshippers or the Parsees. The later editions of the Dabistân, e. g. the Bombay edition of Hijri 1277 (p. 265, l. 16) which I have used, give the words as "a sect of sun-worshippers" (طایفہ از آفتاب پرستیاں).

Some editions give the word "Atash parast," as it appears from the translation of Shea and Troyer. Thus we see from the Târikh-i-Mamâlik-i-Hind and from the passages of Badaoni's history and of the Dabistan, that Birbal's arguments at the court of Akbar in favour of sun-worship, were supported by the fire-worshippers or the Parsees. Thus the statement of the Târikh-i-Mamâlik-i-Hind is supported both by Badaoni and the author of the Dabistân.

Now the Târikh-i-Mamâlik-i-Hind places this event in the 24th year of Akbar's reign, i. e., in 1579, which was the very time of the religious discussions, at the Ibadat-khânah, and the time of the visit of the Naôsari priests at Akbar's Court. Even if we had no date of the above event in the Târikh-i-Mamâlik, we could have determined it in another way. We learn from Badâoni,² Abul

¹ The Dabistân by Shea and Troyer, Vol. III., pp. 93-94.

² Lees and Ahmed Ali, Vol. II., p. 350. Lowe II., p. 361. Blochmann, Ain-i-Akbari, Vol. I., pp. 204, 344, 404.

Fazl¹ and other writers² that Birbal was killed in 994 Hijri (1586 A.D.), in a battle with the Yusufzai Afghans.³ This was at least about six years before the arrival of Ardeshir from Persia (about 1592).

This additional evidence of the Târikh-i-Mamâlik-i-Hind, based on Badaoni's work and on the Dabistân, shows that it was the Indian Parsees, who had associated themselves with Birbal in influencing Akbar, and not Ardeshir from Persia. But we need not take the date of the death of Birbal to prove indirectly, that the event took place before Ardeshir's arrival in India. We have, as said above, the direct statement of the author, who places the event in the 24th year of Akbar's reign, i.e., in 986-987 Hijri (1579 A.D.), when the religious discussions at the Ibâdat-khâne were coming to an end. The Târikh-i-Mamâlik-i-Hind then very clearly shows that it was the Parsees of India, who brought about "a change in the mind of the king."

We have so far seen then, that the Muntakhab-al Tawârikh of Badâoni and the Dabistan, directly, and the Akbarnameh of Abul Fazl, and the Târikh-i-Mamâlik-i-Hind of Gulam Bâsit, indirectly show, that it was the Indian Parsees, the Nâosari Parsees, who had led Akbar towards Parseeism. According to the Farhang-i-Jehangiri, Ardeshir came in or after 1592 A.D. So he had no share in bringing

¹ Akbar nameh, Elliot VI., p. 84. ²Zubdatu-t-Tawârikh, Elliot VI., p. 191.

³ The idea, with which Akbar, on hearing of Birbal's death in a distant country, was consoled, is significant. Badâoni says: "He never experienced such grief at the death of any Amir, as he did at that of Birbar. He used to say 'Alas, that they could not bring his body out of that defile, that it might have been committed to the flames!' But, afterwards they comforted him with these words, 'Since he is freed and delivered from all the bonds of mortality, the light of the sun (نورِ آفتاب) is sufficient purifier for him, although indeed he did not require any purification.' The words of respect here used for the Sun are the same as those used by Birbal in his advocacy of Sun-worship. (Badaoni's Text II. p. 260). (Lowe's Translation, Vol. II., p. 362, Lees and Ahmed Ali's text, Vol. II., p. 351, ll. 4-8.) As Birbal was a staunch advocate of Sun and fire-worship, in which advocacy, according to the Târikh-i-Mamâlik-i-Hind, he was supported by the Parsees, the above words of consolation about his corpse being exposed to the Sun, are significant. Elliot attributes these words of consolation to Akbar himself. He translates "Afterwards he derived consolation from reflecting, that as Birbal was pure," etc. (Elliot Vol. V. p. 529, n. 2), but I think that the words in the text (باز نسلی باین میداند) do not allow of that rendering, and Lowe's translation is more correct.

about the above result. A long time before his arrival the king had openly adopted Sun and Fire worship from the new Jaláli year 988 H. (1580-81 A. D.), had established 14 Zoroastrian holidays in 1582 and had adopted Parsi calendar.

II.

We now come to the second part of our subject.

The question is, who was the leader of the Naôsâri Parsees ? There is a very old tradition, supported by written documents among the Parsees, that it was Dastur Meherji Rana, who headed the party from Naôsâri and explained to Akbar, the principles of Zoroastrianism. If it was not Dastur Meherji Rana, who was it ? It is for those, who have doubts about his mission, to say who it was. The tradition about Dastur Meherji Rana is confirmed by facts which we will now examine.

I. The first important fact showing that Dastur Meherji Rana had gone to the court of Akbar and influenced him, is, that he was granted a piece of land of about 200 *bigahs* at his own native town of Naôsâri. We have not got the original *farmán* to Dastur Meherji Rana, but we have got the one granted to his son, Dastur Kaikobad, for continuing in his possession the above land granted to his father, together with 100 *bigahs* more, granted to him personally. In this *farmán*, the grant of land to Dastur Meherji Rana is clearly referred to. In describing the land, the document says about the 200 *bigahs* صواں تسبیہ نویساری کے زمین مدد کور قبل از این در وجہ مدد معاوض معاویار بود

i.e. In the district of Naôsâri, where the above-mentioned land was (allotted) before this time, for the purpose of the help of livelihood (madad-i-mââsl.) of Mâhyâr.¹

I produce several original documents on the subject of this grant of land to Dastur Meherji Rana.

(1) I lay before the Society, the very original *farmán*, kindly lent to me for the occasion, by Dastur Dârâbji Mâhyârji, the present Dastur of Naôsâri. I append at the end of my paper a copy of the document.² It is dated 40th year of Akbar's reign, i.e., 1595 A.D.

Mr. Karkaria doubts the fact of Meherji Rana's going to Akbar's court, on the ground, that his name "is not found even in this family grant." He is quite wrong. As quoted above, we do find Meherji

¹ Mâhyâr is the original Persian form of the name, from which Mahyârji and then Meherji are irregularly formed. ² Vide the photo-litho facsimile at the end and pp. 93-94 for the copy.

Rana's name in the above document, as that of the person to whom 200 *bigahs* of the land were originally given. The document bears king Akbar's seal, and is given in the 40th year of his reign.

The form of the seal is one of the forms, referred to by Abul Fazl, in his 20th *Ain* on "the Royal Seals."¹ Abul Fazl says, "the seal-engraver cut in a circular form upon a surface of steel, in the *riqâ* character, the name of his Majesty and those of his illustrious ancestors up to Timûrlang." The seal on the *farmân*, which I produce, is of this kind. The name 'Jalaluddin Mahamad Akbar Badshah,' we find in the centre. On the right of that name, we find the name of his ancestor Babêr. A little above that of Humâyûn. That of Taimur stands at the top.

This document clearly shows, that some land at Naôsâri was granted by Akbar to Meherji Rana. Why was it granted? It was for services as tradition asserts, rendered by Meherji Rana at the court, in explaining to the king the religion of Zoroaster. These services are referred to by a writer in 1765, as we will see later on.

We must note here, that the grant was as *madad-i-maâsh* (assistance for livelihood), which was a special form of gift. *Madad-i-maâsh* was a grant of land given to those who had rendered some services to the court, but not directly in the court.² Badaônî had a similar *madad-i-maâsh* of 1000 *bigahs* of land. It differs from *jâgîr*. *Jâgîr* is a grant for services at court, but *madad-i-maâsh*, for services to the court, but not directly at the court continuously.³

On the subject of these grants, Abul Fazl says: "His Majesty, in his care for the nation, confers benefits on people of various classes; and in the higher wisdom which God has conferred upon him, he considered doing so an act of divine worship.

"Subsistence allowances, paid in cash, are called *Wazîfah*; lands conferred are called *Milk* or *Madad-i-maâsh*."⁴

Blochmann thus explains this word⁵: "The latter term (*madad-i-maâsh*) signifies 'assistance of livelihood' and, like its equivalent *milk* or

¹ Blochmann's *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol. I., p. 52. Blochmann's Calcutta Edition, Vol. I., p. 47, ll. 18-19. For further particulars *vide* appendix, p. 107.

² Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. XXXVII, Part I., p. 126, Article on Badaônî and his Works by Blochmann.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 127.

⁴ Blochmann's *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol. I., p. 268, Bk. II., *Ain* 19. Blochmann's text, Vol. I., p. 198, ll. 1-2 and 6.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 270.

property, it denotes 'lands given for benevolent purposes,' as specified by Abul Fazl. Such lands were hereditary, and differ for this reason from *jágír* or *tuyúl* lands, which were conferred, for a specified time, on *Mançabdárs* in lieu of salaries." This shows, that the grant of land given to Dastur Meherji Rana, was of a kind, superior to that of the ordinary *jágírs*. This must be then in appreciation of some valuable services of Meherji Rana.

This grant to Dastur Meherji Rana was, according to tradition made in about 1578 A. D. This was the very time when king Akbar, according to Badâoni,¹ deprived the former Mahomedan *Ulamas* of their *madad-i-mádsh*. A grant of land to a Parsee priest, in the very year, when there was a general resumption of the grants, shows, that there were special reasons for rewarding him. Abul Fazl says of this department of the grant of lands that "His Majesty, with the view of teaching wisdom and providing true piety, pays much attention to this department."² According to Badâoni also, the king "wished personally to enquire into their grants".³ There must have been, then, special reasons for the king to reward Dastur Meherji Rana with a grant of land, and that grant, not a *jágír* or a temporary grant, but a *madad-i-máâsh*, i.e. an hereditary grant.

(2) We have also a second *farmán* for the above grant of land. It is a *farmán* subsequently repeated in the 48th year of Akbar's reign (1603 A.D.). It also makes the same statement, as that in the first *farmán*, viz., that the grant of 200 bigahs of the land was at first made for the *madad-i-máâsh* of Mâhiyâr. I beg to produce this second original *farmán*.⁴ It bears Akbar's seal as in the first case. The name of the *parganah* in which the additional land to Kaikobad was situated is different here from that in the first *farmán*. In the first *farmán* the land is said to be in Erûî in the *parganah* of Pârchôl (اڑیوی در پرگنہ پارچول).⁵ In the second *farmán* it is said to be in Tavri in the *parganah* of Talâri.⁶ (توري در پرگنہ تلاري).

¹ Text II, p. 278. Blochmann's *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol. I., p. 189; pp. 268-69, Bk. II, Ain 19 Journal Asiatic Society of Bombay, Vol. XXXVII, Part I, p. 128.

² Blochmann's *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol. I., p. 270, Bk. II, Ain 19, end. ³ *Ibid.*, p. 189. ⁴ *Vide* appendix for the photo-litho facsimile and pp. 119-120 for the copy. ⁵ Erûî is in the taluka now known as the Jalalpur Taluka near Naôsâri.

⁶ The *parganahs* of Télâri and Pârchôl are referred to in the *Ain-i-Akbari* as being situated in the *sarkâr* of Surat (*Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol. II., Jarrett, pp. 256-257. Calcutta text of Blochmann, Vol. I., p. 497. Column II, ll. 1 and 14). Pârchôl

The change in the name may be due to the fact, that the plot of ground to Dastur Kaikobad may have been subsequently changed. The following passage in the Ain-i-Akbari suggests the reason why this change may have been made:—

و پس از چندی آگهی شد که این گروه زمین یکجا ندارند — کم نیرو از انبازی خالصه و جاگیردار آفریده میگردند و بدگوهران را دستهای بی دیانتی میسازند فرمان شد که یکجای دلخواه تن دنده و چاره این دو گروه بتوسازند

(Blochmann's text of Ain-i-Akbari, Vol. I., p. 198, ll. 16-18, Bk. II., Ain 19.)

Blochmann thus translates the passage: "After some time it was reported that those who held grants, had not the lands in one and the same place, whereby the weak whose grounds lay near *khâliqah* lands or near the *jâgîrs* of *Mançabdârs*, were exposed to vexations, and were encroached upon by unprincipled men. His Majesty then ordered that they should get lands on one spot, which they might choose. This order proved beneficial for both parties." (Blochmann's translation of Ain-i-Akbari, Vol. II., pp. 268-69.) Akbar changed the *madad-i-mâdsh* for other reasons also. Badaoni's land was so changed. He says in his *Muntakhab-al-Tawârikh* (Lowe's Translation, Vol. II., p. 379): "Mentioning my name, he (the Emperor) said, 'there is a certain man of *Bâdâôn*; we have of our own will changed his *madad-i-mâdsh* without abatement from *Basâwar* to *Bâdâôn*.' From the translation of the document, which I append at the end, it seems that about eight years after the first *farmân*, Kaikobad was subjected to vexations. The second *farmân* refers to this fact and asks the authorities concerned, to return to Kaikobad, whatever he may have been deprived of from the income of his land.

(3) We have a third document dated the 48th year of King Akbar's reign (1012 H., 1603 A.D.), from Khân Khânân, the *sepâhsâlîr* giving orders, that though a general *farmân* directs that all the land given for

had 55,920 *bigahs* of land and *Têlari* 35,091. *Pârchôl* had the revenue of 1,50,8000 *dams* and *Têlari* of 917,890 *dams*. (According to the 10th *dîn* of the first book of the Ain-i-Akbari, the *dam* weighs 5 *tanks* (نک) i.e., 1 *tolah* 8 *mâshahs* and 7 *surks*; it is the fortieth part of the rupee") (Blochmann's translation I., p. 31, text I., p. 26, l. 25.)

madad-i-mâsh may be halved, Kaikobad's grant of 300 *bigâhs* may not be halved. I produce that original document.¹

(4) Then we have a fourth document—and that a very important document—dated 1005, H. (1597 A.D.) from Nawâb Qâdîk Muhammad Khan, specially referring, to the 200 bigahs of land, given to Meherji Rana² for his *madad-i-mâsh*.

II. The second important fact is, that we have some very old songs or poems, that chronicle the events of Meherji Rana's visit to the court of Akbar and of his influence upon the king. Of these songs Mr. Karkaria says : "These poems, which are mere doggerel, were composed, I find on inquiry, by hireling rhymesters a generation or two ago, as may be seen from the language in which they are written." I beg to show that these songs were not composed a generation or two ago and by hirelings. One of these songs was composed by Tansen, a contemporary of Akbar and Dastur Meherji Rana.

I produce before the Society, an old manuscript of a book of songs, which contains a song, connecting the name of Dastur Meherji Rana with Akbar. The manuscript, which I produce, belongs to my friend Mr. Manockjee Rustomjee Unwala. The book contains a number of songs, and at the end, the story of Changragâch, who was supposed to be an Indian sage visiting ancient Persia.

It appears from the colophon³ of the manuscript that the manuscript was written on *roz Abân, mah Bahman* 1161 Yazdazardi, 1848 *Samvat* (*i.e.* 1792 A. D.). So the manuscript is 110 years old. The writer of the book is a priest of Surat, Mobed Behrâm, son of Jiji. It was written for Behdin Jamshedji Kukâji. The date of the colophon, as given above, shows, that it is an old manuscript. Also the name of the person, for whom it was written, shows, that it is an old manuscript. We find from the Parsee Prakash⁴, that this Jamshedji Kukâji was a well-known merchant of Bombay and lived from 1745 to 1810 A. D. He was the father-in-law of Mr. Nusservânji Cowasjee Petit, the great-great-grandfather of the present Sir Dinshaw Manockjee Petit, Bart. This fact also then proves, that the manuscript is more than 100 years old. So the song in this manuscript must be older. I give the song in the appendix. The song points clearly to Dastur Meherji Rana's relations with king Akbar.

¹ *Vide* Appendix for the photo-litho facsimile and p. 133 for a copy.

² *Vide* Appendix for the photo-litho facsimile and p. 139 for a copy.

³ *Vide* appendix for the song and for the colophon pp. 163-64.

⁴ The Parsee Prakash, by Khan Bahadur Bomanjee Byramjee Patel, Vol. I. p. 116.

We find from the song itself, that its author was Tansen, the celebrated minstrel of the court of Akbar. His name occurs at the end of the song, as in the case of the songs of many oriental songsters and poem-writers. Tansen is spoken of by Abul Fazl, in his 30th *Âin*¹ of the second book, as "Miyân Tansen of Gwâliâr." He places him at the head of all the principal musicians of Akbar's court. He says that "a singer like him has not been in India for the last thousand years." According to Blochmann,² "Râm Chand³ is said to have once given him one *kror* of tânkahs as a present." This Râm Chand was Rajah of Bhat'h or Bhattah. Blochmann says of him : "The emperor sent Jalâluddin Qûrchi to Bhat'h to induce Tânsîn to come to Âgrah. Râm Chand feeling himself powerless to refuse Akbar's request, sent his favorite with his musical instruments and many presents to Âgrah, and the first time that Tânsîn performed at court, the Emperor made him a present of two lakhs of Rupees. Tânsîn remained with Akbar. Most of his compositions are written in Akbar's name, and his melodies are even now-a-days everywhere repeated by the people of Hindûstân.⁴"

My attention to this song was drawn, when it was first published in the *Rast Goftar* of 29th October 1899 by Mr. Rustomji H. Kharshedji. I know, that at that time some doubted, and even now some doubt, whether this song was really composed by Tansen, the contemporary of Akbar. They say, it may have been written by some later songster, in the name of Tansen. Opinions, even of experts, may differ. But then, anyhow, the fact, that it occurs in a manuscript written about 110 years ago, very clearly shows, that it is a very old song, and that it was not composed, as alleged, "by hireling rhymesters a generation or two ago."

¹ Blochmann, *Âin-i-Âkbari*, Vol. I., p. 612. Blochmann's text, Vol. I., p. 263, 1. 7, column 1. میان تانسین — درین چار ساله به پیاو نشان نهند.

² *Ibid.*, note 1.

³ Badâoni says of him : "This Râm Chand has left no equal behind him for princely generosity. Among his other gifts he gave a *kror* of gold (*kror-zar*) to the minstrel Miân Tansen in one day. The Miân did not wish to leave the Râjâ, but a guardsman was sent to bring him back." (Elliot, V. p. 539.)

از جمله بخشش‌های او اینکه یک کروز زر به میان تانسین
کل و نه در یک روز بخشیده

Lees and Ahmad Ali's Text, Vol. II., 335, ll. 11-12. Lowe's Translation Vol. II., p. 345.

⁴ Blochmann, *Âin-i-Akbari*, Vol. I., p. 406, note.

I had sent a copy of this song to Maharaja Sir Surendro Mohun Tagore Bahadur of Calcutta, who is well known as a great authority on music in India, and asked his opinion as to "whether there is any reason to doubt the authenticity of its being a song by Tansen." In reply to my telegram this morning, requesting his opinion on the point, he says : "The style and music of this song appear to me as having been composed by Tansen."¹ Sir Surendro Mohun Tagore's opinion then shows that the song is Tansen's. Thus we have the evidence of a contemporary authority to show that Dastur Meherji Rana had gone to the court of king Akbar and influenced the king.

(2) There are other Hindustani and Marâthi khlâls or ballads, which also allude to Dastur Meherji Rana's presence at the court of Akbar. The Hindustani khlâl begins thus :

મહેરજી રાણું બરા નેક થા, પુરાંદા શાહેભકા,

પાદશાહ અકબર શુધરા પેણના, દેખ તમાશા મજદુપકા.

i.e. Meherji Rana was a very virtuous man. He was a perfect servant of God. King Akbar put on the Sudrâh (i.e. sacred shirt). Look to the display of the (Zoroastrian) religion.

This ballad is printed in a book² called ગાયને દેલયમાન i.e. " Pleasant Songs," printed in 1867, and so it must have been composed before that date. There is a Marathi song also, but it is not printed in any book.

Thus we see, that the event of Meherji Rana's visit to Akbar's court, is referred to in old songs and ballads, and so it is not hireling rhymsters, as alleged, who have composed them.

The writer of the history of a nation or community, has not to despise old songs and ballads sung in that community. They at times supply him good materials. As M. Mohl says : " L'histoire de tous les people commence par là, car on conte et l'on chante avant d'écrire, et les premiers historiens n'ont pu fonder leur récits que sur des matériaux pareils."³

III. Thirdly, it is not old songs and ballads alone, that chronicle the fact of Meherji Rana's visit to the court of Akbar. We have the authority of a learned writer, who wrote about 136 years ago, to say that Meherji Rana went to the court of Akbar to explain to him the tenets of the Zoroastrian religion.

¹ I have latterly received a letter from the Maharâjâ, giving the same opinion at some length. *Vide Appendix p. 165.* ² ગાયને દેલયમાન ગાયને જાતના આચ્છાના કંગારુણી ચાપડી. અંગેઝ તથા શાળાદી જાન્યાં પીઠીંગ આપાયાનું હાને ૧૮૬૭ યા. ૫૭૯. This song is also printed in શરોરે મરાઠીએન. Vol. II., p. 31. A copy of this book is in the Naosari Meherji Rana Library. (*Vide Catalogue of 1894.* Gujarati list P. 3 No. 74. ³ Le Livre des Rois, Preface, Vol. I., pp. 4-5.

Dastur Shapurji Manockji Sanjana, who lived from 1735 to 1805¹, in his Persian treatise known as *Kisseh-i-Ātash Beherām-i-Naosari*² i.e. (قصہ آتش بهرام نوساری) the description of the fire

¹ Parsee Prakâsh I., p. 101.

² The name of the treatise as given by the author himself is

قصہ آتش ورہرام کہ در شهر نوساری نو ساختہ

i.e. "An account of the Fire temple which was newly founded in the city of Naosari" (p. 1, l. 3 of Mr. Sorabjee Muncherjee Desai's MS.) There are two MSS. extant of the treatise in the author's own hand. One belongs to Mr. Sorabjee Muncherjee Desai of Naosari and the other to the Dastur Meherji Rana Library of Naosari, to which it was recently presented by the late Dastur Erachji Sorabji Meherji Rana (vide the catalogue of the books of Dastur Erachji Sorabji Meherji Rana, presented to the Dastur Meherji Rana library published in 1898 p. 18, No. 7. There it is said of this MS. that શાપૂરજી મનુચેર્ઝી દેસાઈ પણ હથથોડી લખેલો i.e. it was written by Shapoorji Manockji Sunjana, by his own hand). The MS. belonging to Mr. Sorabji Muncherji Desai seems to be the original rough draft of the poem, from which the Dastur seems to have latterly made the fair copy which now belongs to the Meherji Rana Library. Mr. Desai in writing to a friend Mr. Rustomji Bejanji Ranji, through whom he has kindly lent me the manuscript, says "એ શાપૂરજી મનુચેર્ઝી અને વતી પણેલો કાઢેલો અર્થાત એ છે." i.e. "it is written by Dastur Shapurji Sanjana's own hand, and it is the very first draft." On comparing the above two copies kindly lent to me, I find that they are written by the same hand. One may see a slight difference in the style of some of the letters, but such a difference one must expect on comparing a rough and a fair copy. In the fair copy belonging to the Meherji Rana library, there are no corrections, but in Mr. Desai's MS. we find on almost all pages a number of corrections both over the lines and on the margin. This leads us to conclude that it is the original rough draft MS. of the poem. In this rough MS. between the first portion of the verses which gives an account of the first great fire temple of India, and the second portion, which speaks specially of the great fire temple of Naosari, the author has written, on two pages (pp. 36 and 37) some notes in Gujarati, describing how at the request of Chângâshâ, the sacred fire of the first fire temple was brought into Naosari. In the MS. of the fair copy, the account of the Atashbeharam (fire temple) is preceded by the Saddar-Nazam دار نظم In both the MSS. the account is divided into two parts, which as described on the first page of the fair MS. of the Dastur Meherji Rana Library are as follow:—

- (1) قصہ زرتشتیان ہندوستان i.e. An account of the Zoroastrians of India.
 (2) قصہ نیلان آتشبهرام نوساری i.e. An account of the fire-temple of Naosari.

The fair MS. would at first sight appear to one to be incomplete, as some lines (e.g. ll. 58 and 69 of the second part relating to the fire temple of Naosari, pp. 39 and 40) are incomplete. But it is not so. The author, having written the first part of a couplet, seems to have thought it better to

temple of Naôsâri, thus refers to the visit of Dastur Meherji Rana to the Court of Akbar.¹

در این ایام دستوران دستور :: که نام او بود سهراب پُرزو
که نسل اوست از دستور ما چیار :: به این باب آن رانا نکوکار
پمیشه دین به را جلوه داده :: گنگاران نگونسو شد زیاده
بنزد یک شه اکبر رفته بود او :: بسی بران دین ظاهربکرد او
که نام او چه جایست ظاهر :: مرآن دستور بود او پاک و طاهر
i.e., "At this time there was a chief Dastur. His name was glorious Sohrab. His descent is from Dastur Mâhyâr. Know this, that his (*i.e.*, Mahyar's) father was virtuous Rânâ. He had always given splendour to the good (Zoroastrian) religion. Many sinners were put down by him. He had gone to King Akbar. He had shown many proofs of the religion. His name is known everywhere. He was a holy and pious Dastur."

This book was written in 1135 Yazdajardi, 1765 A.D., because the fire temple of Naôsari, of which it gives a description, was consecrated on *rôz* Sarosh *mâh* Ardibehesht 1135 Yazdajardi².

بروز آن سروش پاک رهبو :: بمهاره بیهشت نیک خوشقر
سنه گریزد چرہ ی را بدانی :: هزار و یکصد و سی پنج خوانی

IV. Fourthly we have two old original documents, which lead to show, that Meherji Rana was specially and formally recognised as the head of the Parsee priesthood of Naôsâri, just after the event of his visit to Akbar's court. I beg to produce those documents. They are dated *rôz* Guâd *mâh* Tir Samvat 1635 (12th March, 1579) and *rôz* Meher *mâh* Deh Samvat 1636 (1st September, 1580). By these documents, the Parsee priests of Naôsâri, agreed that Meherji Rana should be entrusted with the work of the proper distribution of the income of

transfer the couplet to some other place in the poem. He has done so, but has forgotten to draw his pen over the incomplete couplet to show that he had written it by mistake and had then cancelled it. For example, the incomplete couplets 58 and 69 are transferred to places which make them couplets 70 and 71 respectively.

¹ Vide the fair MS. of the Meherji Rana library, ll. 20-24 of the *Kisseh*, referring to the fire temple of Naosari, p. 36. Mr. S. M. Desai's rough MS., p. 40. The recent MS. of Mr. Framjee Nowrojee Kutar, p. 8.

² Naosari Meherji Rana Library MS., l. 211, p. 49, ll. 9-10. Mr. Kutar's MS., p. 19, ll. 10-11. S. M. Deesai's MS., p. 54, ll. 2 and 3.

the Agiâry (fire-temple), and that all ceremonies should be performed with his permission, &c. They thus formally acknowledged Meherji Rana as their head. I give in the appendix the literal translation of the documents¹.

Of course, these documents do not say that Meherji Rana was appointed head for such and such services. But we must bear in mind, that even nowadays, when people appoint somebody at the head of their society or institution, on account of his status, social position, and past services, they do not always say in the resolution of the appointment, that he is appointed for such and such past public services. These two agreements show, that the priests of Naôsâri acknowledged, in the years 1579 and 1580, Meherji Rana as their head. Let us note here, that the years of the principal religious discussions at the Ibâdât-Khâneh in which the Naôsâri Parsees took part, and after which Akbar openly accepted the Parsee forms of worship, &c, were 1576 to 1579. So the date of the first document acknowledging Meherji Rana as their head, corresponds with the date when the principal religious discussions had closed. Badâoni mentions the event of the coming of the Naôsâri priests as a past event under the events of the year 986 Hijri, i. e., 1578-79. The Târikh-i-Mamâlik-i-Hind also, places the event of the Parsees bringing about a change in the mind of Akbar, in about 986 Hijri.

This fact then supports the tradition, that Meherji Rana was acknowledged by the Parsee priests of Naôsâri, as their head, on account of some of his services in the cause of Parsee religion at the court of Akbar. It seems, therefore, that immediately on Meherji Rana's return from the court, the priesthood of Naôsâri formally appointed him their head, to settle all questions about sacerdotal affairs and sacerdotal fees. He was already their leader, but they now formally appointed him and acknowledged him as such. The date also tallies with the date given by Abul Fazl in his Akbarnâmeh,² as that, at which Zoroastrians were present in the court of Akbar.

Professor Darmesteter says on this point :—

“ Les Mobeds originaires de Nausâri, c'est-à-dire l'immense majorité de la famille sacerdotale, reconnaissent un *Dastûr des Dastûrs*,

¹ *Vide* Appendix for the photo-litho facsimiles of these two documents.
Vide pp. 147-48.

² Calcutta edition of Abdur Rahim, Vol. III., pp. 252-53; Elliot, Vol. VI., p. 59.

frêle image du Maubadân Maubad des anciens temps. La dignité est héréditaire depuis 1579 dans la famille de Mihirjirana, Mobed célèbre du temps d'Akbar, qui avait gagné une grande influence auprès de l'empereur et l'avait initié aux doctrines du Parsisme.”¹

Mr. Dosabbhoy Framjee, in his history of the Parsees, refers to this matter, and says :—

“By his piety, learning, and irreproachable character, he not only gained the esteem of his fellow-countrymen, but his fame spread far and wide, even to the ears of the Emperor Akbar the Great, and he was summoned by that wise ruler to Delhi, that he might explain to him the tenets of the Parsee religion. It is said that the emperor was favourably impressed with the religion of Zoroaster, and bestowed upon the “dastur” a free grant of two hundred acres of land at Naôsâri, as a mark of his royal favour.”²

Mr. B. M. Malabari, in his “Gujarat and the Gujaratis,” says : “The Dustoor in India was a beneficent power even in Akbar’s time. Those who have read of the Meherji Rana need not take the account for a mere rhapsody.” (2nd edition, p. 177.)

There is a third writing, that leads to show, that Meherji Rana continued to be acknowledged as their head. It is the copy of a letter, addressed by a prominent Parsee priest, Asdin Kâkâ of Naôsâri, to the laymen of Div in Kathiawâr, which was then a Parsee colony. It is dated *Samvat* 1646, i.e., 1590 A.D. Therein also, Meherji Rana is referred to, as the head of the community. I produce a very old copy of the letter.³

V.—Fifthly, among the Parsees, there is a particular mode of commemorating the names of their departed worthies, who have rendered eminent services to the community. I quote from my paper, “The Funeral Ceremonies of the Parsees, their Origin and Explanation.” (pp. 30-31.) (*Vide* Journal of the Anthropological Society of Bombay, Vol. II., No. 7, pp. 434-435.)

“The Parsees have another custom of commemorating the name of a deceased person, if he be a great public benefactor. At the conclusion of the above Oothumna ceremony on the third day, the head

¹ Le Zend Avesta, par Darmesteter, Vol. I., Introduction III., p. LVI.

² History of the Parsis, by Dosabbhoy Framji Karaka, C.S.I., Vol. II., p. 3.

³ *Vide* Appendix for the photo-litho facsimile—*Vide* Parsee Prakash, Vol. I., p. 9, and below, pp. 162-63.

priest generally, or, in his absence, an *akibar* (اکابر), i.e., a leader of the community, proposes before the assembled Arjuman, i.e., the public assembly, that the name of the deceased public benefactor, whose benefactions or good deeds he enumerates, be commemorated by the community consenting to remember the name of the deceased in all the public Oothumna religious ceremonies. This proposal is sometimes seconded by somebody, or very often it is just placed before the assembly without any formal seconding. When nobody opposes that proposal, silence is taken as consent, and thenceforth the name of the deceased is recited in all public religious ceremonies."

Now the name of Dastur Meherji Rana is thus commemorated in Naôsâri as that of a great departed worthy. It is not oral tradition alone, that has brought down his name as one of the departed great men, worthy to be commemorated in the religious prayers, but his name is put down as such, in old manuscript books of prayers, where, after the names of the ancient worthies of old Irân, we find his name commemorated. I beg to produce before the Society an old manuscript prayer-book where Dastur Meherji Rana's name is thus commemorated.

The manuscript prayer-book, which I produce, is one written on day Din, month Asfandârmad of the Yazdajirdi year 1078 (i.e., 1709 A.D.). It is therefore 192 years old. It is written by Herbad Jamshed, son of Kaikobad, son of Jamshed.¹

In this manuscript prayer-book, in the commemoration prayer, known as Nirang-i-bui-dâdan (نیرانگ بیع دادان) we first find the name of some eminent men of ancient Irân, and then the names of some of the departed worthies of India. In the latter list we find the name of Dastur Meherji Rana thus commemorated.²

¹ It is a large work of 438 folios or 876 pages. The colophon, which gives the name of the writer and the date in Persian, occurs on f. 363a, l. 12. It is lent to me by Mr. Manockjee Rustomjee Unwala. The colophon runs thus:—

فرجیده پدرود شادی و رامشندی بروز مبارک دین و بهاء مبارک
سنهدار مه و پگاه پاون فرزانه و سال اور یک ہزار چناند و پشت از
شهرنشاه پزد چرد شهریار ساسان تختم خیستم شهر ایران کاتبلحروف
من خا دم دین بندھا چیر بده چمشید ین کیقباد ابن چمشید

² Folio 60 b, l. 4.

મહેરજી રાના વાચ્હાદિના માનસિક
અનુષ્ઠાનિક પૂજા

i.e., May Dastur Meherji (son of) Hervad Vâchhâ, of pious soul, be remembered here.

We thus find, that in a prayer-book, written 192 years ago, the name of Dastur Meherji Rana has been commemorated as that of a great man. That must be for some good services to his community. These services were those at the Court of Akbar in favour of Parsee religion. Anyhow this old manuscript shows that he was not an obscure priest.¹

¹ There are also other old manuscript prayer-books which contain the Nirang-i-bui-dâdan prayer in which Dastur Meherji Rana's name is commemorated. Two such manuscripts have been kindly lent to me. One of these belongs to Mr. Framroz Nowrozjee Kootar, and is kindly lent to me by Mr. Manockjee Rustonjee Unwala. It is an old manuscript in Zend characters, but its colophon is lost with some of its lost folios. In this MS. (f. 121b, ll. 3-5) we find the name of Dastur Meherji Rana commemorated as one of the departed worthies as follows :—

દાસતુરી માનસિક પૂજા

It is a manuscript of 151 folios, out of which folios 68, 69 and folios 73 to 86 are missing. It begins with Zend characters and Yathâ and Ashem, and contains the five *niyâshes* and some of the *Yasts*, *Afringâns* and *Afrins*. The last folio gives at the bottom the following heading for an *Afrin* :—

અનુષ્ઠાનિક પૂજા

and then gives the word as the catchword for the next folio which, with the remaining folios, is lost.

Now though the colophon is unfortunately lost, the manuscript from its characters and paper appears, in the opinion of Mr. Tehmuras Dinshaw Anklesaria, a fortunate possessor of many old manuscripts, to be at least 75 years old.

The second MS. which I wish to refer to is written in Guzrati characters. It belonged to the late Mr. Nanabhoy Dhunjeebhoy Banajee, of Bombay, and has been kindly lent to me by Ervad Nusserwanji Burjorji Desai. It is about 77 years old, being written in 1824 A.D. by Mobed Sorabjee Pestonjee Koyabhoy Sorabjee, a priest of the town of Suvali, near Surat, at the desire of Behedin Kerbadjee Sohrabjee Kadavjee, a layman of the town of Broach. It is a large manuscript of 407 folios; some folios by another writer have been subsequently added in front and back of this MS., while binding it in its present condition.

મન્ત્ર ૧૮૭૧ ના વરખે કારતગ શુદ્ધ દ વાર ખુલ્યે શાને ૧૯૬૪ કાન્દળાં જુરારી શેન્ જુનારક ૨૫ મીના
આરા થાનગ માણા સુનારક ૧ કોશેખ કરાન્દળાં થાએ રપાથને રાજા સાલેવાની શાડે ૧૭૫૬ તારીખ ૨૮

We have so far examined, at some length, the direct evidences in (1) Badaoni's Muntakhab-al-Tawârikh and (2) the Dabistân, and the indirect references, (3) in Abul Fazl's Akbar-nâmeh, (4) in the Farhang-i-Jehangiri, and (5) in the Târikh-i-Mamâlik-i-Hind, which clearly prove that it was the Naôsâri priests, who influenced Akbar, and explained to him the Zoroastrian forms of worship, and that Ardeshir came to India after the event.

અખતોનાર રાને ૧૮૨૪ અંગરેજ નાયેન દીઘાઈ પુસ્તકે આવ્યાતાનું દ્વારા તમામ રામપુરણ કૃતું. એનું લખાનાર આડાશર કાતરીન નોંદ શરીરાભણું શું બીં જે. પ્રાતિનિધિ શું બીં જે. કુદીબા લાઈ બીં એં શું પુરાયણ લખાં રેવાથી શ્રી મુખાંથી નંદસાંથે લાંની તમાંન દીધી છે. તે કરતાં આશત માંડક નંડક દીધી છે. ભગર લૂલ ચુક હુંસે તો મેરાનગાથી દરશાત દરશાવી રામારણી શહી * * * દરભાઈંશ કરદેલ લખાનાર નેડાનામ નેક આશત જીવાંહાત આહારી હીમત જુલેંદ શાખાવંદ નેહેણાં પેહેણાં, શ્રી ૫ એહેણી દેરાણણ શું બીં શું પુરાયણ પુસ્તકે નાગારે લખાં રેવાથી શીકાયે લરાયું અંદરસાંથે લાંની છે. આરા પોતાની ઉમેદ પદવાને શાડ આરા પોતાનો જરૂર આપાયે લખાંની છે. અ ડેટાબ જે ડેંક ચારે તાતો ચોંબે તાતો લંદાનથેને ઓરવે તે શ્રી વધાર અહુરમજરૂર ચાર થાં અને તે ઉપર હેઠાં લેખાનાત હેણો ને લેખાનાત માંદાં ગેરકૃતાર હેણો. એકુન્ભાઈ એકુન્ભાઈ લાંડ તમામ શુદ્ધ નંદોં તમામણું.

The writer says in the above colophon તે કરતાં આશત માંડક નંડક દીધી છે i.e., "it has been exactly copied from another original." So the name of Dastur Meherji Rana must have been recorded in the original, of which this was a copy, and which original must, therefore, have been written long before 1824 A.D.

The prayer of Nirang-i-bui-dâdam is written on folios 40 to 43 of this manuscript, and the name of Dastur Meherji Rana is commemorated on folio 43a, l. 2, as દાસ્તુર મેરજી એશ્વર વાયુ એદ્વીયાદ પાદ અનુરોદ રવાં રવાની.

Now the fact of Dastur Meherji Rana's name being commemorated in the prayer of Nirang-i-bui-dâdam, in a manuscript prayer-book written by a priest of Surat, for a layman of Broach, is very significant in itself. It shows that Dastur Meherji Rana's name and fame were not confined to Naôsâri itself, but were known much beyond that town. This manuscript which is about 77 years old, and which, as its writer says, is an exact copy of an older manuscript, clearly proves that. Again, the fact, that the name of Dastur Meherji Rana is still commemorated in prayers in Broach confirms this view. Khan Bahadur Adarjee Muncherjee Dalal, B.A., one of the Trustees of the Parsee Punchayet of Broach, in a letter, dated 17th November 1901, in reply to my inquiry, says, "the name of Meherji Rana is taken in our આદેન અને પુસ્તકોની પ્રાર્થનાઓમાં કર્તાર એસ્પાંડ્યાર કંડિન" (Dastur Aspandyâr Kamdin was a learned high-priest of Broach. He was the author of the book કર્તાર તારીખ પારમીઓની કર્તાર referred to above (p. 28).)

As to why Dastur Meherji Rana's name is commemorated in prayers in Broach, Khân Bâhadur Adarjee says, that it is not authoritatively known, but the Mobeds say, "that it was in consideration of his high scholarship and his fame in the court of Emperor Akbar." He adds: "It will be noted that his name is recited just after the name of અર્દેશર જાનેગાન (Ardesir Babegân, Artaxerxes I of the Greeks) and just above that of દાસ્તુર અસ્પાંડ્યારજી દાસ્તુર કંડિનજી" (Aspandyârji Kâmdinji).

We have also examined, at some length, the evidences and facts based upon (1) the original documents about the grant of land by king Akbar, (2) an old song of Tansen, a contemporary of Akbar, (3) Dastur Shapurjee Sanjana's book written in A. D. 1765, (4) three old documents, (5) and the book of prayer written in A. D. 1710, which lead to show, that it was Dastur Meherji Rana, who, as the leader of the Naôsâri Parsees, explained to Akbar, the religion of Zoroaster.

III.

We will now examine the objections that have been raised (I) to the mission of the Naôsâri priests in general, and (II) to that of Dastur Meherji Rana in particular.

(I) Two objections have been raised against the capability of the Naôsâri mission ; (1), *firstly*, that the Parsees of Gujerat were ignorant at the time, and so were not capable of taking any part in the discussions at the court of Akbar; (2) *secondly*, that Naôsâri itself, was a town in a corner of Gujerat, and was not in a position to produce capable men to explain to king Akbar the religion of Zoroaster.

1. It is said : "The state of the Parsees of Guzerat at those times abundantly confirms this inference, that none of them could have possessed the requisite ability to take any part in the learned and philosophic discussions of the Ibadat-khana."¹

(a) Drs. West² and Geldner³ and Professor Hodiwâlâ⁴ have shown, elsewhere, that there was no such general ignorance, as that which is attributed.

(b) But it appears that the state of the Zoroastrians of Persia, was not after all much better than that of the Zoroastrians of India. It is said, of the Zoroastrians of India, "We have some historical records which prove clearly that their standard of knowledge was very low, and that there was no man among them of even ordinary learning. They were a down-trodden people among unsympathetic aliens, entirely absorbed in obtaining a decent livelihood."⁴ If that was true of the Zoroastrians of India, it was not less true of the Zoroastrians of Persia. The Zoroastrians of Persia lived among

¹ Mr. Karkaria. Journal of the B. B. R. Asiatic Society, Vol. XIX., No. LIII., p. 247.

² *Vide Jam-i-Jamshed* of 24th September 1898. *Vide Appendix pp. 165-66* for extracts.

³ *Vide Letters to the Bombay Gazette* in October and November 1896.

⁴ Mr. Karkaria. Journal of the B. B. R. Asiatic Society, Vol. XIX., No. LIII. p. 297.

aliens more unsympathetic than those among whom their co-religionists in India lived. Owing to this want of sympathy, their number in Persia went on diminishing, while that in India went on increasing.

In the very letter sent to India from Persia in 1478 through Nariman Hoshang, on whose authority the above statement is made, we have a passage in which the Zoroastrians of Persia deplore their fall in religious matters as much as they do that of their co-religionists in India. The passage runs thus:

به اند که در روزگاری که گذشته است از کیومورث تا اصرورز چیز روزگار سخت تر و دشوارتر ازین هزار سر پیش نبوده است و نه از دور ضحاک^۲ تازی و نه افروسیاک و نه تور جادو و نه اسکندر یونانی که دادار اورمژد میگویند که این کسان گران کناده تر اند و ازین هزار سوکه اورمژد گفتم است که چشنه و چهل و پیش سال که گذشته است پیشترین روزگار بتر نبوده است اما بهدهین درین زمانه کار کرفه کردن و رواة اورمژد دسترس اندک است و نیرنک و برسم و بیوزد آثرگوی و پاکی و پلیدهی هم اندکی بجای مانده است و باقی از دست افتاده است چه از ایوان و چند وستان هم بسیار پاکی و پلیدهی ره و رسم است

(Bombay University MS. of Darâb Hormazdyâr's Revayet, vol. I., f. 11b, ll. 1—7. Letter brought by Nariman Hoshang. The MS. of Barjo Kamdin's Revayet in the Mulla Firoz library, p. 336, ll. 7—16, MS. No. 2, VII., in Rehatsek's catalogue p. 178.)

Translation.—They may know, that during the time that has passed, since (the time of) Kayômars up to this day, no time—neither in the time of Zohâk the Arab, nor in that of Afrâsiâk (Afrâsiâb), nor in that of Tûr, the magician, nor in that of Alexander the Greek, of whom Oharmazd the Creator has said that those persons were great sinners—has been more hard and troublesome than this end of the millennium of Aêsham (the demon). And previous² times have not been worse than this millennium, of which Oharmazd has spoken, and of which 847³ years have passed away. But during these times, the Behedins resort very little to works of righteousness and to the path of God; and very little of *nirang* and *barsam* and *Yaôzdâçragiri*

¹ Corrected according to the copy of Mulla Firoz library. B. U. (Bombay University MS.) has باری.

² Reading peshtarin. If read pashtarin “the most ignoble.”

³ This number of years (847) also gives the Yazdajardi date, when this letter was written.

(i.e. performance of religious services) and of purity and impurity, has remained. The rest has fallen away from our hands both in Irân and in Hindustân. Many rules both of purity and impurity are in vogue.

Herein the writers from Persia complain, that the Behedins of the time are less after works of righteousness, and that there is very little of the religious observances of the *nirang*, *barsam*, and *Yaoz-dâgragiri*. They clearly say that the same is the case *both in India and Persia*. (پا از ایران و ہند و سمنان). We thus see from the very Revâyet from Persia referred to as pointing to a poor state of religious knowledge in India, that the state of the Zoroastrians of Persia was in no way better than that of the Zoroastrians of India.

Again, in the second letter brought by the same Nariman Hoshang in 850 Yazdajardi (1481 A.D.), they similarly deplore their own condition.

این مخفیان چهار کس پنج کس چند که اند رخط پهلوی راه میدهند
فاما آنچه اصل ایست یافت نمیشود از سبب آنکه بداد و ستد روزگار
وتن و جامه آلوده شدند از

(Bombay University MS. of Dârâb Hormazdyar's Revayet, vol. I., f. 13b, ll. 6-7.)

Translation.—Among us poor persons, there are four or five persons who know their way in Pahlavi writing. But what is original is not known, for this reason that owing to oppression¹ and tyranny,² our fortunes, bodies and clothes have all been contaminated.

Thus we see that the position of the Zoroastrians of Persia at that time was not very enviable. Of course, being in their ancestral land, they had the advantages of having some of the old Zoroastrian books in their possession and of carrying on some of the old traditions of their community; but then, on the other hand, they were still under the iron grip of their Mahomedan rulers, under whom their number gradually diminished by conversion. It is true, that the Zoroastrians of India received from Persia explanations of some of their questions, but the mere fact that they asked for information from Persia, does not prove that they were, as alleged,³ altogether ignorant of the principles of their religion, and were not capable to explain those principles to their ruling monarch. Why, even now, several Parsees,

¹ ایاد lamentation under oppression.

² Lit. ایاد taking.

³ Journal, B. B. R. A. S., Vol. XIX., No. LIII., p. 297.

in case of difference of opinion or in case of controversial questions, or even in ordinary matters, address questions to scholars—to Christian scholars—in Europe and America. But that fact should not lead one, centuries after to-day, to conclude that the Parsees of India in the 19th and 20th centuries were altogether ignorant of their religion, and were not capable to understand or explain to others, their own religion. Sir James Campbell takes a similar view of the questions sent to Persia in the 16th and 17th centuries. He says the questions sent to Persia were on "doubtful points of religious practice" (*Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. XIII., Thana, Part I., p. 254). Dr. West takes a somewhat similar view (*vide* Appendix, p. 166).

(c) But we have other contemporary authority, to show, that during that time one had not always to go to Persia, to seek knowledge on Zoroastrianism. There were Mobeds in India, who could impart knowledge to seekers after truth. The other authority I refer to, is Abul Fazl, the minister of Akbar.

We find from the table of dates given above, that Abul Fazl appeared at the court in 1574. His father, Shaikh Mubârak, was of the Mâhdawi sect. He had attached himself to the religious movement, which had first begun in 900 Hijri, and which was suggested by the approach of the first millennium of Islam, when Imâm Mâhdi was to appear. Abul Fazl also belonged to the sect, to which his father belonged. Mubârak was persecuted for his Mâhdawî views and for his liberal tendency. As Blochmann says: "The persecutions which Shaikh Mubârak had to suffer for his Mahdawî leanings at the hands of the learned at Court, did not fail to make a lasting impression on his (Abul Fazl's) young mind. . . . The same pressure of circumstances stimulated him to unusual exertions in studying, which subsequently enabled him during the religious discussions at Court to lead the opposition and overthrow by superior learning and broader sentiments, the clique of the Ulamâs whom Akbar hated so much."¹ About this study referred to above, Abul Fazl himself says in his *Akbar-nâmeh*.

"My mind had no rest, and my heart felt itself drawn to the sages of Mongolia² or to the hermits on Lebanon; I longed for interviews with the lamas of Tibet or with the pâdris of Portugal, and

¹ Blochmann, *Âin-i-Akbari*, Vol. I., Introduction, pp. x.-xi.

² Lit. boundary of Khata, a province in Northern China.

I would gladly sit with the priests of the Pârsîs and the learned of the Zend avesta.”¹

Abul Fazl here describes his state of mind and his course of study at the time of his introduction to the Court of Akbar, which was in 1574 A.D.

Now then, if there was such a general ignorance, as alleged, among Indian Parsees, that none could explain their religion to king Akbar, who were the priests (*mobeds*) of the Parsees and the learned of the Zend Avesta, whose interviews Abul Fazl sought, in and before 1574 for gaining knowledge in religious subjects? They cannot be Ardeshir and his suite, because they came after 1592 A.D.

(d) But, for the sake of argument, take for granted, that the state of the Parsees of Guzerat at those times generally was not good. But that does not show, that there were not individual members here and there, head and shoulders above the common class of men. The mass may be ignorant, but there may be individual members, at least capable to explain to the ruling monarch the tenets of the Zoroastrian religion.

2. In this controversy, Nâdsâri is spoken of as a town in “a corner of Guzerat,” and as such, it is supposed not to be capable to produce men, who could explain their religion to Akbar.

(A) But it appears both from the *Tabakât i-Akbari* of Nizamuddin Ahmad and the *Akbar-nâmeh* of Abul Fazl, that it was a town of some

¹ Blochmann, *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol. I., Introduction, p. xii. This passage is quoted in the notes to Akbar’s Dream by Tennyson. (*Vide* The Complete Works of Tennyson, published by MacMillan and Co., 1894 (p. 845). The following is the original Persian text of the above passage:—

شورستان خاطر موا علاج مفید نهی آمد گاه دل بمحبی دانیاب
خطه خطا کشیدی — و گاه بهوتاضان کوه لبدان خاطر را میل پدید
آمدی گاه شوق هزبانی چوگیان تبت آرام گسل گشتی و گاه همنفسی
پادربان پرتکال دامن عزیتم گرفتی و گاه همنشینی موبدان فارس
و رسم دانی ژنه و استما شکیب ربای خاطر شدی

Akbar-nâmeh, edited for the Asiatic Society of Bengal by Abd-ur-Rahims, Vol. III., p. 84, ll. 10-13.)

“Et j’aurais aussi volontiers abordé les prêtres des Parsis et les théologien du Zend Avesta.” L’Empereur Akbar, par le Comte F. A. De Noer, traduit de l’Allemand, par G. B. Maurya, Vol. I., p. 305.

importance. In the time of Akbar's father, Humâyûn, one of the nobles of Sultan Bâhâdûr of Guzerât, who was fighting against Humâyûn had "prepared a fortified position in the neighbourhood of Nausârî He took possession of Nausârî and . . . marched against Broach."¹ According to Abul Fazl also, "Khân Jâlân Shîrázî and Rûmî Khân, whose name was Safar, and who was the builder of the fort of Surat, operated in concert. They took possession of Nausârî, which was held by Abdulla Khân, an officer of Husain Khân, and he retired to Broach."² Being so close to Surat, an important city of Guzerat, Naôsârî could not long remain unknown. Akbar was at Surat, and so the town of Naôsârî close to it, may have drawn his attention also.

From the Áin-i-Akbari³, we learn, that out of the 31 Mahâls of the Sarkâr of Surat, it was 19th in point of area, as well as 19th in point of the revenue it brought to the State. Its area was 17,353 bighas and its revenue was 297,720 dâms. It was known for a "manufactory of perfumed oil found nowhere else."

(B) Even taking it for granted, that Naôsârî was in a mere corner of Guzerat and not well-known, the very fact, that Badâoni, the contemporary historian of Akbar, while speaking of the Zoroastrians, who came to the court of Akbar to take part in the religious discussions, mentions the town by name, and says that the Parsees were from Naôsârî, shows that he attached importance to Naôsârî, at least as a town which could send capable Parsees to the meetings of the Ibâdat Khâneh of Akbar. Surat, Rânder, Broach Ankleshwar and Khambayet (Cambay) were well-known as Parsee towns. Out of these, he names Naôsârî, as the town sending Parsees to the court of Akbar. If any Parsees from Persia had come to the Court, Badâoni would have mentioned that fact.

Out of the different Parsee towns, named above, Raner or Rander in the immediate vicinity of Surat, is specially mentioned by Abul Fazl, in his Ain-i-Akbari, as a town of the Parsees. He says (Calc. Text, Vol. I., p. 488, ll. 2 and 3).

¹ Tabakât-i-Akbari. Munshi Newul-Kishore's lithographed edition of 1875 A. D., p. 198, ll. 21-23, Elliot's History of India, Vol. V., p. 197.

² Akbar-nâmah, Bengal Asiatic Society's ed. by Abul-ur-Rahim, Vol. I., p. 142, ll. 20-21, Elliot's History of India, Vol. VI., p. 15.

³ Ain-i-Akbari, Blochmann's edition, Vol. I., p. 498, l. 13, Column 1., Col. Jarrett's translation, Vol. II., p. 257.

(روغن خوشبو آنچه سازند که در چیز جا نشود)

۷۵۰ بندگان ساخته اند ژند و پاژند بر خوانند و دخمهها بر مازاند
i.e., "The followers of Zoroaster coming from Persia, settled here. They follow¹ the teaching of the Zend and the Pâzend and erect funeral structures." (Jarrett's Translation, Vol. II., p. 243.) Thus, though according to Abul Fazl, Rander was specially known as a colony of the Parsees, according to Badâîni, and the author of the Dabistan, it was the Naôsâri Parsees, who were invited at the religious discussions of the Ibâdat Khaneh. This fact in itself is very significant. It shows that Naôsâri was looked at, as an important town, as far as learning and religious knowledge of Parseeism was concerned.

(C) But there is another very important fact, which shows, that Naôsâri was then well-known as the principal centre of Parsee priests. It is, that when the Zoroastrian priests of Persia addressed their replies to the questions from India, they put down the name of Naôsâri and the names of its leading priests first, and then the names of other towns and their priests. We find this from several Revayets.

(a) In the Revayet from Irân, dated *rôz Khorshed mah Abân* 847 Yazdajardi (25th June 1478)², addressed to Changâh Shâh and brought by Nariman Hoshang,³ the name of Naôsâri is mentioned first, and then the names of Surat, Ankleshwar, Broach and Cambay.

The address runs as follows :—

نام ستایش و باری دادار اور مزد..... بکام و نام و مسایق شادمانی و زندگانی و فیروزی و به روزی که خدایان و بهدینان بند وستان و سالار شهر نوساری چنگره شاه و باقی اوران و دران و پر پدان نساری و دیگر سورت و انکلیسرو و بروج و کمپایت (Bomb. Univ. MS., Vol. I., f. 11a, ll. 13-19)

¹ The word is khând, which means "They read."

² Vol. I. (folio) 13a, l. 2, Bombay University Library MS., which is written by Dârâb Hormazdyâr himself from 20th April to 21st November 1679. *Vide* Dr. West's remarks in the beginning of the MS. p. 1, ll. 15 to 18. This particular portion was written by Dârâb Hormazdyâr on Mâhâ (Mohîr) *rôz mah* Deh 1048 Yazdajardi, (*i.e.*, 15th August 1679 A.D.) (f. 13a, l. 10). (Mulla Firoz library MS. of Barjo Kâmdin's Revayet, p. 335.)

³ *Ibid.* f. 13a, l. 7, Parsee Prakash, Vol. I., p. 6.

این کتاب از ایران لریمان چوشنگ به رو چی اورده بود کاتب الحروف من دین بندۀ داراب بن چرمزیار بن فیاضدین بن کیقباد لقب مددجیانان بر که خواناد بر نویسنده آفرین برساناد روز مه ماهه مبارک دی سال یک هزار چهل و پشت از یزد چردی

i.e., (By) the name, praise and help of God.....May they (live) in (the enjoyment of) their desire and name and protection and happiness and life and success and good livelihood,—they, the masters of house and the Behedins of Hindustân, and Jangê Shah¹, the chief of the city of Naôsâri and the rest of the Âthôrnâns (i.e. priests) and leaders and Herbads of Naôsâri and also of Surat and Anklesar and Broach and Cambay.

(b) There is another Revâyet from Sharfâbâd (شرفاباد) in Persia, known as Nariman Hoshang's second Revâyet.² It is dated rôz Daêpadin mâh Daê, eight hundred and fifty³ (A.D. 1481). It is also addressed to the Parsees of Hindustân, among whom those of Naôsâri are specially mentioned.⁴

(c) There is a third Revâyet, dated rôz Ormazd, mâh Khordâd 880 (A. D. 1511), from Persia,⁵ where the Parsees of Naôsâri are addressed before those of Cambay, Broach, Surat and Ankleswar.⁶ We do not find the name of the messenger of this Revâyet.

(d) There is a fourth Revâyet, known as Shâbôr (Shapûr) Âshâ's Revâyet.⁷ It was written in Yezd and dated rôz Depâdar mâh

¹ Commonly known as Chângâshâh. In the collection of the Revâyets by Burzo Kamdin, we find the name properly written چنگ. Vide Mulla Firoz Library MS. (Rehatsek's Catalogue VII, 2), p. 335, l. 18.

² Bombay University Library MS., Dr. West's contents, p. 6, l. 5; Parsee Prakâsh, Vol. I., p. 6. ³ Vide Bombay University MS., Vol. I., folio 13b, ll. 17-18. Mulla Firoz Library MS., Vol. II., p. 504, l. 3. Dr. West and Mr. Patel give 855. I think Dr. West is guided by the reading of Mr. Patel, because the Bombay University MS., which he follows, gives 850. The passage of the date runs as follows in the Bombay University MS., (f. 13b, ll. 17-18)

فرجید بدرود شادی و رامشنى اندر روز دیپهین و ماه دی سال
چشتنه و پنجاه پس از تاریخ یزد گرد شهریار نبشقه شد پنجانب دستوران
و ردان و پیربدان و حکیمان و فرزانگان انجمن یزد وستان

پس for i.e. after the date of Yazdajardi (Vide Dr. West's remark p. 6, l. 4.)

پنجانب پیربدان و بهدینان و پیشوایان و که خدایان یزد وستان و مساکن قصبه نوساری p. 6.

⁵ Ibid, f. 16a, ll. 1 and 2 on the margin. Parsee Prakâsh, Vol. I., p. 6.

⁶ Ibid, folio 15a, ll. 9 and 10. Mulla Firoz Library MS., Vol. II., p. 508, ll. 6-7.

⁷ This Revâyet is spoken of in the Parsee Prakâsh (Vol. I., p. 7) as Câmâ Ashâ's Revâyet. (a) We have a very old copy of the Revâyet belonging to the Dastur Meherji Rana Library at Naôsâri. (Vide the printed catalogue of

Bahman 896, Yazdajardi (1527 A.D.). Therein also the priests of Naôsâri are addressed first¹ and then those of Cambay.²

(e) In the fifth Revâyet, brought from Persia, by Aspandyâr Yazdyâr and Rustam, dated *rôz Khordâd mûh Ardiehesh* 904 Yazdajardi (1535 A.D.), the priests of Naôsâri are addressed first and then those of Surat and Cambay.³

(f) The sixth Revâyet is that known as that of Kâüs Kâmidin written in 922 Yazdajardi (1553 A.D.) Therein the priests of Naosari are addressed first and then those of Surat, Ankleshwar, Broach and Cambay. (*Vide* below, p. 64, for particulars.)

(g) The seventh Revâyet, which I want to refer to, is that⁴ from Turkâbâd in Persia, dated *rôz Shehrivar mûh Farvardin* 996⁵ (1626 A.D.), brought by Bahman⁶ Aspandyâr. It, also, is first addressed

the first Dastur Meherji Rana Library printed in 1894. Guzerati catalogue of Zend, Pahlavi, Fazend books, p. 64, No. 28. It is a MS. of 236 folios). *Vide* folio 101*b*, l. 10, for the name of the messenger. (b) We have another old, but a little later copy of this Revâyet belonging to Mr. Manockji Rustomji Unwala. It is a MS. of 241 folios. *Vide* folio 119*b*, l. 11, for the name of the messenger. (c) We have another old manuscript of this Revâyet belonging to Mr. Tehmuras Diushaw Anklesaria. Its colophon is lost. It is a MS. of 79 folios.

¹ *Ibid.* Meherji Rana Library MS., folio 1*a*, l. 12. Mr. M. R. Unwala's MS., folio 2*a*, l. 1. Mr. Tehmuras's MS., folio 1*b*, l. 14.

² *Ibid.* Meherji Rana Library MS., folio 1*b*, l. 3. Mr. M. R. Unwala's MS., folio 2*a*, l. 9. Mr. Tehmuras's MS., folio 1*b*, l. 21. The passages of the address and dates are quoted and more particulars are given below, pp. 66-67.

³ Parsee Prakâsh, Vol. I., p. 8.

⁴ Bombay University Library Manuscript of Dârâb Hormazdyâr Revâyet, Vol. I., f. 69*a*, l. 1. Mulla Firoz Library MS., Vol. II., p. 453. For reference first to the priests of Naôsâri and then to those of Surat and Broach, *vide* p. 453, ll. 2 and 4 and 6, respectively. For date, *rule* 1, 13. For the name of the messenger, *vide* l. 16. Parsee Prakâsh, Vol. I., p. 11. ⁵ *Ibid.*, f. 69*b*, l. 21.

⁶ این نامه در روز شنبه پر ماه فروردین سنه ۹۹۴ بزد چردی نوشته شد

⁶ *Ibid.*, f. 69*a*, l. 19, and f. 70*a*, ll. 2 and 4. The following passage gives some particulars about the messenger:—

و معلوم دستوران و چیز بدان و موبدان و پهدينان کشور چند و سستان
بوده باشد که بهمین بن اسفنده یار در ایران شهر در ولايت
قرکا باه تشریف آورده و چند روزی بخدمت بود و چون برآ کشته
و توان دریا آمدۀ بود اورا توجش لازم بود و آنچه قاعده ۵ دین
زرتگری بود اورا توجش فرمودیم قبول کرد و تمام بجای رسانده و

to the priests and the laymen of Naôsâri¹ and then to those of Surat² and Broach.³

(4) The eighth Revâyet is that known as the Revâyet of Bahaman Poonjîeh of Surat, brought from Kirman این کتابت از کرمان (زمانی بزمین بهمن پوچیه سورنیه آورده است⁴). It is addressed first to the Dasturs of Naôsâri,⁵ and then to those of Surat⁶ and Broach.⁷ It is dated *rîz* Âdar *mâh* Bahman 996 Yazdajardi⁸ (A.D. 1627). فوشه شد این رسم نامه بوز آدر نهم و ماه قدهم بهمن بازدهم ماه الهی سنه ۹۹۶ یزد جرج

Thus we have the authority of eight Revâyets from Persia, all written in the fifteenth, sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, to show, that in those times, at least as far as the Parsees were concerned, Naôsâri was not an unknown town in a corner of Gujarat, but

اورا برشنوم کردیم و نه شوہ داشت و خدمت آب و آتش چا و آتش
ورجام آنچه قواعده دین بود کرده تا واضح بوده باشد دیگر معلوم
بوده باشد که خدمت خاتون بانو پارس که زیارت گاه است هم کرده
(*Ibid* f. 69a, l. 18 to f. 69b, l. 1.) The custom referred to here, that Zoroastrian priests travelling by sea should perform a purificatory ceremony, is an old one. Cf. "Neither would his (Vologeses I.) brother Tiridates refuse coming to Rome to receive the Armenian diadem, but that the obligation of his priesthood withheld him (Works of Tacitus, Vol. I., The Annals, Bk. XV. 24. The Oxford translation.) The Ziârst-gâh (a place of pilgrimage) of Khâtûn Bânû, the daughter of the last king Yazdajard, referred to here, sounds strange in the ears of a Zoroastrian, but the statement shows under what kind of Mahomedan influences the Zoroastrians of Persia had fallen. For the story of this lady Khâtûn Bânû, *vide* Parsee Prakâsh, Vol. I., p. 12.

¹ *Ibid*, f. 69a, l. 5. ² *Ibid*, l. 9.

³ *Ibid*, l. 11.

⁴ Bombay University Manuscript of Dârâb Hormazdyâr's Revâyet, f. 65a, l. 3. Parsee Prakâsh, vol. I., p. 12. This messenger Bahaman Poonjîeh is the same person as Bahman Aspandyâr of the preceding Revâyet. In this Revâyet also at one place he is spoken of as Bahman Aspandyâr.

والتماس فقیدران این جانب آنسست که گوشة خاطر از بهمن بن اسفندیار دریغ نفومایند و بهم روز اورا حرمت داشته که پسند ایزد است (*ibid*, f. 65b, l. 6).

Vide Mulla Firoz Library MS., Vol. II., 449. For references first to the priests of Naôsâri and then to those of Surat and Broach, *vide ibid*, ll. 7, 10 and 11 and 13 respectively. For the name of the messenger and for his good services f. 449b, l. 2.

⁵ *Ibid*, l. 9. ⁶ *Ibid*, ll. 12 and 14. ⁷ *Ibid*, l. 16. ⁸ *Ibid*, f. 68b, l. 20.

was well known, not only here, but also in Persia, as the centre of Parsee priesthood, and that the Parsees of that town took a good deal of interest in all religious subjects.

II. Against Dastur Meherji Rana personally, the following objections have been raised :—

- (1) That he was an obscure priest.
- (2) That his name is not mentioned in the histories of Akbar's time.
- (3) That tradition attributes to him miracles, which are not referred to at all in the histories of Akbar's time.
- (4) That he is reported in traditional songs to have invested Akbar with Sudreh and Kusti, the symbols of Zoroastrianism, which is not possible.

We will now examine these objections.

(1) We will first examine shortly the allegation, that Dastur Meherji Rana was an obscure priest in a corner of Gujerat, and was therefore not capable of taking an active part in the religious discussions and of explaining to Akbar the principles of his religion. I beg to produce (A) several old documents, and (B) several old manuscripts which lead to show, that Dastur Meherji Rana was not an obscure priest, but that he was one of the leading men of Naôsâri.

(A) Firstly, I will produce some old documents.

(a) I beg to produce an old copy¹—not the original itself—of a document dated *rôz* Âdar *mâh* Aspandârmad Samvat 1622 (A. D. 1565-66), wherein Dastur Meherji Rana's name stands first among the signatories.² It is a kind of agreement amongst the priests themselves, to perform the religious ceremonies properly and conscientiously, to charge only legitimate fees and not more, and to give all proper account of the professional fees received, etc. Dastur Meherji Rana would not have signed at the top, had he been an ignorant obscure priest, as alleged.

(b) I produce an original document,³ four years later in date. It is a document about 331 years old. It is dated *rôz* Ardibehesht *mâh* Aspandârmad 1626 Samvat, i.e. 1570 A. D. It is an agreement

¹ *Vide* appendix for the photo-litho facsimile and pp. 151-153.

² Dastur Meherji Rana signs his name as "Mâhiâr Vâchhâ." Mâhiâr was his proper name, of which Meherji is the popular rendering. Râna was his own father's name. But as he was adopted by Vâchhâ, he adopted his adoptive father's name. ³ *Vide* appendix for the photo-litho and below pp. 154-55.

among the Parsee priesthood themselves, to abstain from the drink of toddy, at the time when they were engaged for some days in particular rituals. The toddy of Naôsâri was then, and is even now, as much known in Gujerat, as the beer of Munich is known in Europe. So it was, and is even now, a favourite beverage of the Naôsâri people. But being a little intoxicating, they agreed among themselves not to drink it during those days when they were engaged in certain ceremonies, e. g. Bôî-devi (*i. e.* the ceremony of officiating at the Fire-temple). Among the signatories of this document, Dastur Meherji Rana is the first. This would not have been the case, had he been an ignorant obscure priest, as alleged.

(c) I produce an original document¹ of three years' later date, *i.e.*, it is about 328 years old. It is dated *rôz* Hormazd, *mâh* Shehrivar Samvat 1629, *i.e.* 1572 A.D. It is an agreement signed by some of the leading laymen of Naôsâri, on behalf of the community in favour of Mahiâr Vaccha¹ (Meherji Rana), assigning him, in a place called (પિપાલા વાડી) Pipaliâ-wâdi, a piece of ground 10 bighas in area, with 50 palm trees and 100 date trees. This seems to be given to Meherji Rana, as the head of the priests, for religious purposes. They undertake that the land shall be maintained free of taxes.

These three documents, then, show that Dastur Meherji Rana was not an obscure priest, as alleged, but that he was a leading priest, even before his departure to the court of Akbar.

B.—Now we come to old manuscripts.

(a) In the Revâyet of Dârâb Hormazdyâr, we have a letter brought from Persia, by Faridun Murzbân. We find it addressed to two Dasturs, the first of whom is Dastur Mâhyâr² (Meherji Rana). Judging from the names mentioned, Dr. West thinks it to have been written about 1570 A. D.³

¹ *Vide* appendix for the photo-litho facsimile and below pp. 155-58

² University Library Manuscript, Vol. I., f. 16b, l. 10. *Vide* l. 17 for the name as Faridun Marzbân; l. 19 for Fredun's name singly. There the name is written فریدون و مرزبان *i.e.*, Faridun and Murzbân, as if the letter vâv for 'and' seems to be a mistake of the copyist, because later on the messenger is spoken of in the singular number. They say از چه طور اورا از کوش خاطر *i.e.* درین نظر مایند (l. 19). Again, later on, the messenger is spoken of singly as Faridun (l. 20). In the references to this letter, the full name seems to have been taken as that of two brothers by mistake. (*Vide* Dr. West's remarks in Vol. I. of the Bombay University Library, p. 3, l. 6.) ³ *Ibid.* Dr. West's remarks attached at the beginning, p. 3, l. 8; p. 6, ll. 14-15.

I quote the passage from our Bombay University manuscript Revâyet. نسخه این دستوران دینه ای داران دین اموزگاران دین چاشیده ای دین سرا یندیه ای داران پت کنواران نیایش ورزیده ای داران درست اوسته راست داران از نیاکان آدریا بین مارسفنه ای استوان دین زر انتی چو دستور مایه ای و دستور جوشنگ را یک صد هزاران درود

It must be noted, that Dr. West¹ says, that this manuscript Revâyet of our University library "is probably the original compilation of Dârâb Hormazyâr Frâmroz Kiyâmu-d-din (or Kawâmu-d-din) Kai-kuâbâd Hamajiyâr Padam Sanjânah, and contains eleven colophons written in his name and varying in date from 20 April to 21 November 1679, at which latter date the compilation was completed." So it is about 222 years old.

(6) In a Revâyet² of 922 Yazdajardi (A.D. 1553), addressed to the Dasturs, Herbads and Behdins of Naôsâri,³ Surat,⁴ Anklesar,⁵ Broach⁶ and Kambâyat⁷ (Cambay), by the priests of Persia, we find the name of Dastur Meherji Rana, put at the head of all. It is the Revâyet, known as "Revâyet-i-Kâûs Kâmdîn⁸ (1553)."

The commencement of the Revâyet which contains the address runs as follows⁹:

بدهستوران و چیره دان پیشوایان و کدخدایان و بهدپنان و مینو
فگریه ای داران مانقرنیه ای داران اشای ورزیده ای داران چون دستوران و کدخدایان
بهدپنان قصبه نوساری چون دستور مایه ای دستور بهمن بن
چاند ای دستور خورشید بهرام

The date of the receipt of this Revâyet from Yezd in Persia is given at the end, and runs thus (10):—

از آن تاریخ از یزد آمد ماه بهمن نهم و بیست و دو
i.e. month Bahman, day Bahman, 922.

I produce an old copy of this Revâyet belonging to the Dastur Meherji Rana Library of Naôsâri. Some of its folios are missing, and

¹ *Ibid.* *Vide* his remarks attached at the beginning of the MS, Vol. I., p. 1, ll. 15-19.

² Manuscript belonging to Mr. Manockjee Rustomjee Unwala, pp. 177 to 190. ³ *Ibid.*, p. 177, l. 15; p. 178, l. 11. ⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 179, ll. 2 and 5. ⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 179, l. 8. ⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 179, l. 10. ⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 179, l. 13.

⁸ *Vide* Bombay University Library Manuscript, Vol. I. Dr. West's contents in the beginning, p. 3, l. 14. *Vide* Mr. Manockji R. Unwala's MS, p. 201, l. 12.

⁹ Mr. Maneckji R. Unwala's manuscript of this Revâyet, p. 177, ll. 13-15.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 190, l. 9.

among them, the one that contains the above date of its receipt. Again, some of the folios are not bound in proper order (*vide* pp. 15 to 22 of this MS. for the Revâyet in question; *vide* p. 15, ll. 7-9, for the address.) In the catalogue of the first Dastur Meherji Rana Library published in 1894 in the Gujarati list, p. 65, of Zend, Pahlavi, and Pazend manuscripts this MS. bears No. 30. It is a MS. of 76 pages.

Thus in the above letter, given in the Revâyet, and in the above Revâyet of Kâüs Kâmdin, we find the name of Dastur Meherji Rana mentioned first among the leading men to whom they are addressed. It is clear, therefore, that he was not an obscure priest, as alleged, but a leading priest.

(c) Dastur Dârâb Pâhlan, a learned Dastur of Naôsâri, who lived from 1668 to 1735, and who was the writer of two works¹ on Zoroastrian subjects, refers to Meherji Rana in his Kholaseh-i-Din, written about 211 years ago (1690 A.D.) as a Dastur-i-mihin, *i.e.*, a great Dastur. While speaking of Dastur Maneck Mehernôsh, he traces his descent from Dastur Meherji Rana, and says² :—

زنسیل پاکمن مهیر پار رانا .. که دستور مهین بود او بدینیا

i.e., "He was descended from pious Mâhiâr Rana, who was a great Dastur in the world." Here, then, we have the authority of a writer, more than two centuries old, to show, that Dastur Meherji Rana was not an obscure priest, as alleged, but was a well-known great Dastur.

We have thus seen that, *firstly*, the above three documents, *secondly*, the above two references in the Revâyets, and, *thirdly*, the reference in the Kholaseh-i-Din, written about 211 years ago, show that Dastur Meherji Rana was not an obscure priest, as alleged.

Not only was Dastur Meherji Rana the leading priest of his time, but his father Rana Jeshang also was the leading priest. I produce several documentary proofs to show this.

1. The first original old document³, that I produce, is 382 years old. It is dated *rôz Bahman mîh Bahman Samvat* 1576 (1520 A.D.).

¹ Kholaseh-i-Din and Farziât namah.—*Vide* Khan Bahadur Bomanji Byramji Patel's Parsee Prakâsh, Vol. I., p. 31.

² Ervad Manockji Rustamji Unwala's MS. folio 18b, l. 11. It is a MS. 65 years old, being written by Jamshed, son of Manock, son of Rustam on *rôz Rashnê mîh Amardâd* 1206 Yazdajardi—(1837 A.D.)—*vide* colophon at the end of the MS. The work was written on *rôz 6-6-1059* Yazd, *vide* couplet 732.

³ *Vide* appendix for the photo-litho and below, pp. 158-161.

It is a document, similar to that, which is above referred to, as subsequently given to Dastur Meherji Rana. By this document, the Parsee laymen of Naôsâri gave to Rana Jeshang, the father of Dastur Meherji Rana, a piece of 10 bigahs of ground with 100 palm trees over it for religious purposes. This document shows, that Rana Jesang, the father of Dastur Meherji Rana, must be the leader of the Naôsâri Parsees, as the community gave to him the land of the community, for religious purposes.

2. Again in a Revâyet from Persia, that came to India in his time, we find Rana Jeshang's name standing first in the list of persons addressed in the very beginning. This Revâyet was brought from Persia by one Shâpur Asâl in 1527 A.D. I produce three old copies of this Revâyet.

(a) The first copy, that I produce, belongs to the Meherji Rana Library of Naôsâri. The passage of the address runs thus²:-

² **બ્રહ્મ પ્રગતિ** f. 101b, ll. 9-10, of Meherji Rana Library Manuscript. Vide above pp. 59-60. f. 119b, l. 11, of Mr. Manockji R. Unwala's MS.

² *Ibid* Meherji Rana Library MS. f. 1a, ll. 6 to 14.

³ In the copy, the name Jeshang has been written Hoshang. The mistake can be easily explained. The name Jeshang is written in Persian جشنگ. The omission of a dot—either omitted to be put or omitted to be read — will make it جشگ Hoshang. In another old copy belonging to Mr. Tehmuras

Dinshaw Anklesaria, the name is properly written દિંશાવ અંક્લેસારિયા

The Revâyet was written in the city of Yezd on *rôj* Depâdar *mâh* Bahman 896 Yazdajardi (1527 A.D.). The following passage¹ gives the date, when, and the name of the city, where, it was first written.

(ب) مهندی روز پنجم بهمن سال ۸۹۶ خورشیدی
در شهر یزد نوشته شده است

(b) The second copy, which I produce, belongs to Mr. Manockjee Rustomjee Unwala.² It is a copy made on *roz* Khorshed *mâh* Spendâr-mad in 927 Yazdajardi (1558-59) at Naôsâri from the copy of Yezd (az naskha-i-sheher-i yezd). The following passage³ gives the date, when, and the place, where, it was written.

(ب) مهندی روز پنجم بهمن سال ۹۲۷ خورشیدی
در شهر ناوساری نوشته شده است

(c) The third copy, that I produce, belongs to Mr. Tehmuras Dinshaw Anklesaria of Bombay. It is an old copy, but unfortunately, its last folio being lost, it bears no date; but the owner, who is the fortunate possessor of many old Parsee manuscripts, believes, from the quality of the paper and the writing, that it is an old copy.⁴

¹ Meherji Rana Library manuscript of Shâpur Asa's Revâyet f. 99a, ll. 5 to 11.

² It is a manuscript of 241 folios containing various subjects. For the address, *vide* folios 1, 1.7, to f. 2, 1.2.

³ *Ibid* folio 116b, ll. 4 to 11.

⁴ It is a manuscript of 80 folios. It contains nothing but this Revâyet. On comparing this manuscript with the above-mentioned manuscripts, I find, that the last three or four pages are missing. The passage of the address in this manuscript (folio 1, ll. 7 to 15) is the same as the above two manuscripts, except in this, that the name of Dastur Meherji Rana's grandfather Jeshang is properly written.

We have so far seen then, that not only was Dastur Meherji Rana not an obscure priest, as alleged, but that it appears, from an original old document, and from a Revâyet written in Yezd in 1527 A.D., that even his father Rana Jeshang was well known as a leader of the Naôsâri priests.

Rana Jeshang was well versed in Pazend and Persian. That is proved by the fact that we have two manuscripts of copies by his own hand of two well-known Pazend and Persian books.¹

2. The second objection against Dastur Meherji Rana is, that his name is not mentioned in the history of Akbar's time. The fact of a person's name not being mentioned by a contemporary historian, should not always throw a doubt upon that person's existence, acts or influence. For example, Baber does not mention even once the name of his wife Gul-rukh, while he mentions the names of his other wives. As Mrs. Beveridge says, "this may be an omission of the contemporarily obvious." (*Humayun-nâmah* by Mrs. Beveridge). The fact of the Naôsâri priests' influence over Akbar, is clearly mentioned by Badâoni, the contemporary of Akbar, and even by the writer of the *Dabistân*, who wrote about 57 years after Badâoni. Still "the fact of his (Dastur Meherji Rana's) having gone to Akbar's court" is doubted "because his name is not mentioned in any historical book."² We must bear in mind, that as far as contemporary historians go, even Ardeshir's name is not mentioned by Badâoni, Abul Fazl or Nizamuddin, as having gone to Akbar's court for taking a part in religious discussions. But, if one is justified in doubting the fact of Dastur Meherji Rana's presence at Akbar's court on that ground, he must be prepared to doubt the presence of the representatives of other communities also. For example, as we said above (p. 32), according to Father Catrou, three parties of Christian priests went, one after another, to the court of Delhi. Two of these went later. The first party³ consisted of Fathers Rodolph Aquaviva, Antony Monserrat, and Francis Henric. The second party consisted of Edward Leiton and Cristophe Vega.⁴ The third party consisted of Father Jerome Xavier and Father Emanuel Pinnero.⁵

¹ *Vide* below pp. 169-71.

² *Journal*, Bombay Branch, Royal Asiatic Society, Vol. XIX., No. LIII., p. 296.

³ History of the Mogul Dynasty, translated from the French of Father Catrou, 1826, p. 105. ⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 126. ⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 127. *Vide L'Empereur Akbar*, par Le Comte de Noer, translated by Maury, Vol. I., pp. 326, 330, 331.

Of these seven Christian priests of the three missions, only one, Father Rodolph, is mentioned by one Mahomedan historian.¹

He is spoken of, only once in the Akbar-namah, as Padri Radif (پادری ردیف).² If that is the case, can one be justified in saying, that the above missionaries did not go to the court of Akbar, because their names are not mentioned in the Mahomedan histories? Just as we have the authority of Father Catrou, who wrote in 1708, for the above-mentioned Christian missionaries, so we have the authority of Dastur Shapoorjee Sanjana, who wrote, in 1765, for the mission of Dastur Meherji Rana. If you accept the authority of a writer, other than the Mahomedan historians of Akbar's reign, in the one case, viz., that of the Christian missionaries, you must accept the authority of a writer, other than the Mahomedan historians, in the other case, viz., that of the Parsee Dastur.

3. The third objection raised against Dustur Maherji Rana's mission, is this, that tradition attributes a miracle to him. Folklore has attached to the visit of Meherji Rana a certain miracle, said to have been performed by him at the court of Akbar. A certain Brahmin

¹ The Akbar-namah (Calcutta edition of Bengal Asiatic Society, Vol. III, p. 577, l. 4 and notes. Elliot (Dawson), Vol. VI., p. 85) speaks of one other priest, Pâdri Farmaliûn (پادری فرمایون) which one manuscript writes پادری فرمایون بادھری فرمایون Bâdhari Farmaliûn, and another writes Pâdri Farmalûn). But he does not seem to have been a member of any religious mission. Abul Fazl says of him: "At this time (the 35th year of Akbar's reign, about 1591 A.D.) Padre Farmalûm arrived at the Imperial Court from Goa, and was received with much distinction. He was a man of much learning and eloquence. A few intelligent young men were placed under him for instruction, so that provision might be made for scouring translations of Greek books and of extending knowledge."—Elliot, VI., p. 85. This passage shows, that he was called for a literary purpose, just as Ardeshir of Kermân was called a year later.

² Maulavi Abdi-ur-Rahim's Calcutta edition for the Bengal Asiatic Society, Vol. III, p. 254, l. 20. The Editior adds a footnote, saying that the name is found روبق Ravik in some MSS. Elliot's MS. gives it Radalf (Elliot's History of India, VI., p. 60). There is one remark of Elliot in connection with this passage, to which I will draw special attention. He says: "Here and in other parts of this chapter, there are in the MSS. long passages which are not printed in the Lucknow edition. Among the rest, that about the Padre" (Elliot, Vol. VI., p. 60, n. 1). Later Mahomedan copyists of books, at times, left off passages, that spoke well of the doings of the personages of other communities.

is said to have raised in the sky, by the force of his magic, a metallic tray, which resembled a second sun, and which Meherji Rana, by his prayers and incantations, is said to have brought down to the earth. But intelligent men should not allow such stories, attached by later generations to the names of historical persons and events, to throw doubts on those historical persons and events. Many a well-known name in the history of different countries, would not be safe in the hands of later generations, if we allowed such stories to throw doubts upon the historical events of their times. Why ! Take the case of Virgil. There is no person, in the past history of the world, round the halo of whose name and fame, so many stories of miracles and magic have been put as those round that of Virgil's name and fame. The tourist in Naples even now, centuries after his time, hears dozens of stories about his miracles and about the magical power of his name. I heard several such stories while travelling there in 1889. But, for all that, we are not prepared to doubt the fact of his influence and his work. But why go further ! Take the case of another personage of this very time, and of the very court of king Akbar. According to the Akbar-nameh, the Christian priest at the court, Father Rodolf, in order to convince the disbelievers in the truth of the Holy Gospel, offered to perform the miracle of passing through a furnace of fire with the Gospel in his hand. Here is the passage from the Akbar-nameh on the subject : "Twenty-third year of the Reign, (A.D. 1579).—When the capital was illumined by the return of the Imperial presence, the old regulations came again into operation, and the house of wisdom shone resplendent on Friday nights with the light of holy minds. *Sūfīs*, doctors, preachers, lawyers, *Sunnis*, *Shi'is*, Brahmans, Jains, Buddhists, *Chārbāks*,¹ Christians, Jews, Zoroastrians, and learned men of every belief were gathered together in the royal assembly one night the 'Ibadat-khana was brightened by the presence of Padre Radalf, who for intelligence and wisdom was unrivalled among Christian doctors. Several carping and bigotted men attacked him, and this afforded an opportunity for a display of the calm judgment and justice of the assembly ! These men brought forward the old received assertions, and did not attempt to arrive at truth by reasoning. Their statements were torn to pieces, and they

¹ i.e., Hindu materialists, *vide p. 30, n. 3.*

were nearly put to shame ; and then they began to attack the contradictions in the Gospel, but they could not prove their assertions. With perfect calmness and earnest conviction of the truth, the Padre replied to their arguments, and then he went on to say, 'If these men have such an opinion of our Book, and if they believe the Kûran to be the true word of God, then let a furnace be lighted, and let me with the Gospel in my hand, and the *ilamâ* with their holy book in their hands, walk into that testing place of truth, and the right will be manifest.' The blackhearted, mean-spirited disputants shrank from this proposal, and answered only with angry words."¹

Here is the evidence of a contemporary writer, who attributes to the Christian priest a desire to perform a miracle. Well, from the fact of this statement, can we be justified in doubting the historical event of the visit of the Christian priest to the court of Akbar, and of his services to explain his religion to the king ? Of course not. How, then, can we be justified in doubting the historical event of Meherji Rana's visit, and of his influence on Akbar ? In his case, we do not read at all, in any contemporary writer, any statement about his desire to perform a miracle. It is some later tradition, that connects with his name, the performance of a miracle. If we are not justified in doubting the historical event of Father Rodolf's visit and services, on account of his offered miracle, referred to by a historical writer, we are much less justified in doubting the historical event of Meherji Rana's visit and services, on account of the story of a miracle, which is not even alluded to by any book of history.

We must note that there are several versions of the miracle attributed to Father Rudolf. Murray gives the following version : " At length, he (Akbar) sent to inform them, that an opportunity had now offered of fully establishing the superior claims of the Catholic faith ; that a great Mahometan doctor was ready to leap into a furnace with the Alcoran in his hand ; and that, considering the firm confidence they felt in their own system, they would of course have no objection

¹ Akbar-nameh. Elliot's History of India, Vol. VI., pp. 59, 60. Calcutta edition of Asiatic Society, Vol. III., p. 254, l. 20—p. 255, 15. Badâ'îni gives another version. He says, that it was a Mahomedan Sheikh, who challenged the Christian priest to perform the ordeal by fire. (The Emperor Akbar's Repudiation of Eslâm, by Rehatsek, p. 46. Lowe's Translation, Vol. II., p. 308. Lees and Ahmed Ali's Text, Vol. II., p. 299, ll. 10-15. Blochmann's Ain-i-Akbari, Vol. I., p. 191.)

to accompany him with the Bible ; when the comparative merit of the two religions would be established in a manner admitting of no dispute. The missionaries paused at this proposition. They represented, that this could by no means be considered a regular mode of deciding a religious controversy ; that they had already held long arguments with the Mollahs, and were ready to maintain one still more formally, holding out some expectation, if that should fail, of having recourse to the fiery trial propounded. (Murray's Discoveries and Travels II., p. 91.) This is a version of the Christians. The two well-known contemporary historians of the very time of Akbar, *viz.*, Abul Fazl and Badâoni, differ in their versions. One says that it was the Christian priest who offered to perform the miracle and challenged the Mahomedan priest to do the same, and the other says *vice versa*. Thus, when in the writings of two well-known historians of king Akbar's own time, some true or probable facts, with which Father Rodolf was connected, have been misinterpreted, misunderstood or exaggerated, there is no wonder, if some similarly true or probable facts, with which Dastur Meherji Rana was connected, have been misinterpreted, misunderstood or exaggerated by tradition in later times. But, as from the fact of some probable events connected with Father Rodolf being so misinterpreted, misunderstood or exaggerated, we are not justified in doubting his mission and influence at the court of king Akbar, so, from the fact of some probable event connected with Dastur Meherji Rana being misinterpreted, misunderstood or exaggerated, we are not justified in doubting his mission and influence at the court of king Akbar.

It is said : "It need hardly be said that, if such a highly improbable, if not impossible, event happened at all, it must have been mentioned and detailed by the writers who are generally very fond of relating the marvellous. Badâoni, who mentions many other so-called miraculous or thaumaturgic feats of *Jogis* and Mahomedan saints, as, for instance, that of the *Anuptalao*, the lake filled with copper coins, does not say a word about this. There is nothing about it in the *Dabistân*, the other great authority for Akbar's religious history."¹ Well, the fact, that the authentic histories of Akbar's reign, do not mention the so-called miracle, connected with Dastur Meherji Rana's name in later times, should rather go in Dastur Meherji Rana's favour, and *not*

¹ Journal, Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, Vol. LIV., No. XIX., p. 293, Mr. Karkaria's paper.

against him. The fact, that no "highly improbable, if not impossible, event," is connected with Dastur Meherji Rana's name by authentic historians, shows that his services were real and not flimsy.

Dr. West, the well-known Pahlavi scholar, says on this point¹ :—

"That Meherji Rana went to Delhi about 1578, seems well attested by the grant of a Jaghir to him at that time ; but the traditional miracle attributed to him is undoubtedly a myth, which no educated Parsee of the present day can really believe (that is, it may be a misunderstanding, or misinterpretation, of some more probable facts). It would be easy to understand that the Parsee's veneration for the sun, would be ridiculed by the other religious disputants ; more probably by the Mahomedans and Romish priests than by the Hindus. And what more annoying form of ridicule could be devised than to suggest the ease with which a clever Hindu juggler could produce any number of imitation suns ? Such a suggestion, without any attempt to carry it out, would be quite sufficient to produce a myth shortly after Meherji's return to Nausari".

As Dr. West says, it appears, that there may be "some probable facts" at the bottom, and that a myth has subsequently grown round them. Let us examine the myth a little closely, and see if any fact can be traced at the bottom.

(a) The story, as given in the song,² says, that a Hindu priest, by a sleight of hand, suspended a dish high in the air. This was taken by the king's subjects to be a second sun. Now, as far as the description in the story goes, the thing was a sleight of hand or a trick. The writer of the story says, that the king's subjects took it to be a second sun, and that the dish appeared like a sun. Dastur Meherji Rana possibly saw what the sleight of hand or what the trick was, and he may have exposed it.

Such sleights of hands and tricks and such jugglers were not uncommon in the court of Akbar. We read, that once Akbar

¹ His letter, dated Maple Lodge, Watford, June 10th, 1898, to Mr. Mancherji Palanji Kutar.—*Vide* the *Jam-i-Jamshed* of 24th September 1898.

² Cf. the first stanza of the song "મેદુલ રાણા બચા નેર યા પુરા બંસ શાખાના"

The lines describing the trick or so-called miracle say

(*vide* ગાંધેને ટેલ્ફેરન (1867) p. 574).

જગત પુરને થાલી ભોરાઈ થીર જેરથી ગગનમે
દીપા થાલીકા મુરળ દુલા ઠોચુરાન હેઠે બાદલમે
દે પુરાન દેખે રહેલે શારી અધરાત હુલે આપને રેખાને

himself exposed the trick of a juggler, who said, that he had "the power of disappearing in the midst of a conversation, in the twinkling of an eye, and to re-appear on the other side of the river."¹ Dastur Meherji Rana may have exposed a trick of this kind, and later oral tradition may have exaggerated it into a miracle, though, from the written account of the story, we find, that it seems to be spoken of as a sleight of hand and trick; but from that exaggeration one cannot be justified in doubting the event of his going to Akbar's court and of his influencing the king.

We must bear in mind, that in those times, unusual extraordinary handiwork or skill in some kind of workmanship also, was taken to be a kind of magic. For example, a grandee of the court Mir Fathulla Shirazi once made a windmill which automatically grounded flour. This was taken by people to be magic. The Tabakât-i-Akbari says on this point, "He was also an adept in the secret arts of magic and enchantment. For instance, he made a windmill which produced flour by a self-generated movement." (Elliot V., p. 469.)

(b) Again, in connection with this subject of the appearance of a second sun, we must bear in mind, that, apart from the question of a sleight of hand or trick, such a meteorological phenomenon is not rare. All books on Meteorology speak of mock-suns and mock-moons.² I quote here, from Buchan's Meteorology, the description of such phenomenon.

"Parhelia and Paraselenæ. At the points of intersection of the circles of the halo, images of the sun or moon generally appear from the light concentrated at these points, the images of the sun being called parhelia (Gr. para, about or near, and hélios the sun) or mock-suns, and those of the moon paraselenæ (Gr. para about or near, and seléné the moon) or mock-moons, which also exhibit the prismatic colours of the halo." (Introductory Text-book of Meteorology, by Alexander Buchan, 1871, p. 193.)

So, perhaps, it is quite possible, that during the time of Dastur Meherji Rana's visit to the court of Akbar, a phenomenon of a mock-sun may have happened. It is quite possible, that Meherji Rana might have said a prayer at the time, not with the view of performing a

¹ Badâoni. Rehatsek. The Emperor Akbar's Repudiation of Esllâm, p. 82. Ahmed Ali's Calcutta Edition of Bengal Asiatic Society, Vol. II, p. 366, l. 22, to p. 367, l. 12. Lowe's translation of Badâoni, Vol. II, pp. 378-79.

² I have referred to them in my book on Meteorology, pp. 303, 304.

miracle, but in the ordinary way, because it is not unusual, even now, among some of the Parsis, to say prayers on the more frequent phenomena of eclipses.¹ A Hindu priest may have attributed that meteorological phenomenon to his power of magic, and Dastur Meherji Rana may have exposed it.

(c) Again, we find from the histories of Akbar's time, that a natural phenomenon of an unusual kind did occur at the time of Dastur Meherji Rana's visit. It was the phenomenon of the appearance of a comet, just at prayer time in the evening. Perhaps the appearance of this brilliant phenomenon, though properly understood by the learned and the intelligent, was misunderstood by the ignorant and the illiterate, and so latterly it was misinterpreted. This phenomenon created a great stir at the court of Akbar. The Tabakât-i-Akbari thus alludes to it :—

“ Twenty-third year of the Reign. (A.D. 1578-79.)

The beginning of this year corresponded with Tuesday, the 2nd Muharram, 986 H. (11th March 1578).

“ At this period, at the time of evening prayer, a comet appeared in the sky towards the east, inclining to the north, and continued very awful for two hours. The opinions of the astrologers was, that the effects would not be felt in Hindûstân, but probably in Khurâsân and Irâk. Shortly afterwards, Shâh Ismail, son of Shâh Tahmâsp Safawî, departed this life, and great troubles arose in Persia.”²

¹ Vide my paper on “A Few Ancient Beliefs about Eclipses,” read before the Anthropological Society of Bombay on 25th April 1894. (Journal of the Anthropological Society of Bombay. Vol. III., No. 6, p. 360.)

² Elliot's History of India, Vol. V, p. 407. Tabakât-i-Akbari, Munshi Newul Kishore's lithographed edition of 1875 A.D. (1292 Hijri), p. 339, II, 3-4. Elliot seems to be wrong in translating “a comet appeared in the sky towards the east.” The words of the text are

ذکر ظاهرشدن دور دانه درین ایام در وقت نیاز شام در طرف عرب
ماکل بشمال دور دانه روی آسمان ظاهرشد

Elliot has translated the word عرب Arab by “the east.” Arab does not mean east. It simply means ‘Arabia.’ So the translation should be: “At this period at the time of evening prayer a comet appeared in the sky towards Arabia, inclining to the north.” Now as Arabia is in the west, the words may be translated “towards the west.” This translation will then tally with the statements of Badâoni and Abul Fazl, who also say that the comet appeared in the west غرب.

As Elliot points out, Badâoni and Abul Fazl also allude to this event. Badâoni places the event in the 22nd year of the reign. (A.D. 1577-78).

و از اتفاقات آنکه در همان سال مسکاره ذوقنابه از جانب مغرب پیدا شد و در همان سال خبر رسید که شاه اسماعیل ولد شاه طهماسب پادشاه عراق را بهشیره اش پری جان خانم بااتفاق امراء بقتل رسانید و تأثیر ذوقنابه در آن ولایت ظاهر شد و در عراق هرج و مرج عظیم افتاد¹

Translation. "And among the events of that year was the appearance of a comet in the west. . . . In this same year news arrived that Shâh Ismâil, son of Shâh Tashmâsp, Emperor of Persia, had been murdered, with the consent of the Amirs, by his own sister Pari Jân Khânâm. . . . And the effect of the comet in that country became manifest, and in Irâq the greatest perturbation resulted."²

The Tabakât-i-Akbari of Nizam-ud-din Ahmad places the appearance of the comet in the 23rd year of Akbar's reign, and in the west, but the Muntakhab-al-Tawârikh of Badâoni places it in the 22nd year, and in the west. Abul Fazl in his Akbar-nameh³ places it in the 22nd year of Akbar's reign, and in the west.

Before coming to the subject of the appearance of the comet of this particular year, Abul Fazl gives a short introduction, presenting

¹ The Muntakhab-al-Tawârikh, by Lees and Ahmad Ali, Vol. II., p. 240, l. 16; p. 241, l. 5.

² Muntakhab-al-Tawârikh of Badâoni, translated by Lowe, Vol. II., p. 248.

³ The Calcutta edition of Abd-ur Rahim, Vol. III., p. 221, l. 24.

از سوانح پدر بدآمن ذوقناب است بعد از نشستن نیو اعظم عطا بخش

عالیم بکرسی مغرب زمین

i.e. Of the event of the appearance of a comet in the evening [lit. after the time, when the great luminary (i.e., the sun) which bestows favours on the world, sits on the seat of the western land]. As to the discrepancy in the year of the appearance of the comet, whether it was in the 22nd or 23rd year of Akbar's reign, Elliot thus explains it. "The twenty-second year began on the 20th Zi-l-hijra, 984, and being a solar year, it extended over the whole of Hijra 985 and ended on the 1st day of 986. The oversight of this fact has given rise to some confusion in the dates about this period, and the events here recorded as having occurred in the twenty-third year of the reign are placed by Abul-Fazl in the twenty-second (Elliot's History of India, Vol. V., p. 403, n. 1).

his views of the occurrence of the phenomenon and describing the events of the appearance of comets in former years. He then describes this phenomenon in the time of Akbar's reign¹ (985 Hijri, 1577-78 A.D.) in the following words:—

As the above passage² has not been translated by any author, I give my own translation of it:—

"On the day Arâd (Arshisang), the 25th of the Ilâhi month Abân, at the time, when the sun made his conspicuous appearance in the sign Scorpio, this heavenly sign (*i.e.*, the comet) kindled its brilliant face in the sign Sagittarius, faced towards the west (*bâlshîtar-rûz*) inclined toward the north. It had a long tail. It had reached such a limit, that in many towns they saw it for five months. The well-informed astrologers, and those skilled in the mysteries, belonging to the higher (*i.e.*, celestial) assembly, explained it thus: "that among some of the inhabited³ parts of Hindustan, there will be

¹ Comte de Noer gives the date of this phenomenon as the end of October 1577 (Chaban 985). L'Empereur Akbar, Vol. I., p. 262.

روز آراد بیست و پنجم آبان ماه الهی چنگامیکه نیز اعظم در برج عقرب سعادت می افزوود در بوج قوس این نشان آسمانی باختیر رویه مایل بشمال چهوئه تابش افروخت دنباله درازداشت چنانچه بحدی رسید که در بعضی بلاد تا پنج ماه دیدند اختور شناسان آگاه دل و رموز فهمان انجمن بالا چندین گذارش نمودند که در لختی از مسماکن پنهان وستان غله گوانی پذیرد و از جایهای خاص نشان دادند و فرمان روای ایرانوا روزگار سپری گردید و در عراق و خراسان گرد آشوب بر خیزد چنانکه گفته بودند بی کم و کاست بظهور آمد درجهان نزد یکی قافله از ایران رسید برخی از کارهای راسنی منش بدروگاه چهایون شرح گذشتن شاه طهماسب و کشته شدن سلطان حیدر و بسلطنت رسیدن شاه اسماعیل بعرض اقدس رسانیدند

(The Akbar-nameh by Abul Fazl, edited by Maulavi Abd-ur-Rahim, Vol. III., p. 224, ll. 3-10.)

³ Or "the poor" or the "inhabitants." "مساکن" *masâkin* (pl. of *maskan* or *maskin* Habitations; (for *masâkin*) the poor; *musâkin* an inhabitant." (Steingass.)

scarcity of grain, and they specified some particular places. The time of the ruler of Irân, will come to an end, and in Irâk and Khorâssân there will arise disturbances.' All, that was said, came to pass without anything being less or diminished. A short time after, a caravan came from Irân. Some of its well-informed men of truthful mind, informed his Majesty, of the death of Shah Tahmâsp, and of the murder of Sultân Haidar, and of the accession to the throne of Shâh Ismail."

As pointed out by Elliot, Fergusson's list¹ of comets, included a comet, which appeared in 1577. It passed its perihelion on the 26th October 1577.

There is one thing in Abul Fazl's description of the phenomena of comets, which requires to be noticed. He says, that the phenomena were supposed to forebode evils to a certain extent, in the countries, where they appeared, and that there were *nirangs* (*i.e.* incantations) among the ancients for averting the evils. He says و بازدازگ درنگ و بازدازگ درنگ آن بظهور آید و نیرنگی آغاز این در نگاهشان پیشینیان بیشتر

نیاز داشتند آن بظهور آید و نیرنگی آغاز این است که گفته اید ² *i.e.*, "Their consequences appear in proportion to its duration, and the incantations for (counteracting) the influence of these occur in the writings of the ancients more than can be described."

The *nirang* (*i.e.*, prayer or incantations) of the ancients, referred to by Abul Fazl, seems to be the *nirang* of the ancient Irânians. We find from the Shikand Gumanik Vijâr (S. B. E. Vol. XXIV., Chap. IV., 47-48) that the appearance of comets was believed by the ancient Persians, to bring with it, damage and harm to the countries where they appeared. They believed that the resulting harm can be averted by prayers. Among the Parsees, there is still one *nirang* of that kind known as the *Nirang Vanant Yashht*. It begins thus کل بل دفع شود و دیو و دروج و پری و گفتار و سحران ³ *i.e.* "May there be averted all the calamities, and (the evils of) the Devil and the Druj and the Peri (fairy) and the Kaftâr (lit. despoiler of the dead) and the magicians."

We must note, that firstly, this is a *nirang* or prayer to avert the evils or wrongs from the *sahrâns* (*i.e.*, magicians or trick-players).

¹ Fergusson's Astronomy by Dr. Brewster, Vol. II. (1811), p. 360.

² Akbar-nameh, Vol. III., p. 223, ll. 4-5.

³ Vide the last word of the quotation from the *Nirang*.

Again, secondly, we must note that as the *nirang* referred to by Abul Falz, is in connection with a star (and the comet is spoken of by Badâoni as a star بَدَانِي) so the Parsee Nirang-i-Vanant Yasht above referred to, also bears its name from Vanant, which is the name of a star.

Now, Prof. Darmesteter says in his Zend Avesta¹, that the tradition, as he had heard it from a member of the Meherji Rana family, said, that it was the Vanant Yasht, which Dastur Meherji Rana had recited at the time of the so-called miracle. Perhaps he recited that *nirang*, or some other *nirang*, to pray to God, to avert the evils of the natural phenomenon that had occurred at the time.

I have examined this question of the so-called miracle, rather at some length, to show that, as Dr. West said, there may be "some probable fact" at the bottom, round which the story is interwoven. It may be a conjurer's trick, or it may be a meteorological phenomenon, or it may be the astronomical phenomenon of a comet, which is actually noted by three historians of Akbar's time, viz., Badâoni, Abul Fazl and Nizam-ud-din, and the occurrence of which has been confirmed by European astronomers. I am disposed to believe, that it was possibly the third fact, viz., the phenomenon of the comet, that led to the tradition of the so-called miracle. It was believed, as Abul Fazl says, that evils resulted from the appearance of the phenomenon. They further believed, that the writings of the ancients (*pishnigdn*) had some *nirangs* (prayers) which averted those evils. So, they may have turned to Dastur Meherji Rana for some of these *nirangs*. Let it be specially noted that in Tansen's song, it is his prayers that are referred to as accepted (*vide pp. 163-64.*)

Thus, one or another of these actual facts may have been misinterpreted, misunderstood or exaggerated in subsequent times. But for the sake of that misinterpretation, misunderstanding or exaggeration, the historical fact of Dastur Meherji Rana's presence at the court, and of his influence on Akbar need not be doubted. Why ! more exaggerated things than these, and supposed to be more miraculous, have been attributed to Akbar himself by his historians. He is said to have had the power of miraculously curing the sick, for which reason, and for other reasons, some of his people prostrated before him as before their god. But such statements should not be taken as throwing doubts upon the historical events and acts of his life.

¹ Le Zend-Avesta, Vol. II., p. 644.

4. The fourth objection raised against Dastur Meherji Rana's mission is this. Tradition, as embodied in a song, says, that his mission so far succeeded, that he converted Akbar "to the Parsee faith by investing him with the sacred shirt and thread-girdle, *sudreh* and *kusti*, the outward sign of adopting that faith."¹ The idea of Akbar's putting on the sacred shirt and thread of the Parsees, as referred to in the song, is looked upon with doubt and ridicule. It is supposed, that a king like Akbar, who had his peculiar ideas of a new religion, could not have put on the symbols of the religion of Zoroaster. I admit, that Akbar was never a staunch Zoroastrian, as he was never a staunch Christian, Mahomedan or Hindu. But in spite of that, it is very likely that he once may have put on the *sudreh* and *kusti*, if for nothing else, for the sake of curiosity. We have authentic statements, that he put on visible symbols of other religions, like Christianity and Hinduism.

Father Catrou, who wrote the History of the Mogul dynasty in 1708, on the authority of a Portuguese manuscript of M. Manouchi, a Venetian, who had visited the Court of the Moguls in the reign of Shah Jehân, says: "Akebar took the Bible, placed it upon his head, in sign of respect, kissed the images, and made his children kiss them."² "He, on certain occasions, paid honours to Jesus and Mary. He carried, suspended from his neck, a relic, which he had received from Father Aquaviva, an Agnus Dei, and an image of the Virgin Mary."³ "On the day of the assumption of the Virgin Mary, he had caused a throne to be erected, on which the image of the Virgin was placed"⁴ "Akebar produced before the fathers the images of Jesus Christ and the Virgin Mary. He pressed them to his heart and kissed them with affection."⁵ "It was no longer possible to doubt but that Akebar was in spirit and in belief a Christian. He was often present at the services which the fathers celebrated in their chapel; he assisted at their prayers, repeating them in a kneeling posture."⁶

All these are the statements of the Christian missionaries from their point of view. The Mahomedan historians, though they give an expression to his leaning towards the teachings of the missionaries,

¹ B. B. R. A. Society's Journal, XIX., No. LIII., p. 292.

² History of the Mogul Dynasty, translated from the French of Father François Catrou, 1826, p. 106. ³ Ibid., p. 121.

⁴ Ibid., p. 125. ⁵ Ibid., p. 127. ⁶ Ibid., p. 128.

do not go so far. But even in spite of all the above public expressions of sympathy towards Christianity, the Christian fathers at times "apprehended"—to quote Father Catrou's words—"that dissimulation and policy, so natural to the Moghuls, had the greatest share in the discourse of the Prince."¹

Coming to Hinduism, we find, even from the Mahomedan historians, that Akbar assumed all the visible signs of that religion. He became a vegetarian, and even put on the Hindu mark on his forehead, and went out in public with that mark and with the Hindu thread *râk'hi* on his body. Badâoni says "On the festival of the eighth day after the Sun's entering Virgo in this year he came forth to the public audience-chamber with his forehead marked like a Hindû and he had jewelled strings tied on his wrists by Brahmans by way of a blessing..." It became the current custom also to wear the *râk'hi* (رُكْبَه) on the wrist." (Lowe's Translation, vol. II., p. 269. Rehatsek p. 27. Blochmann. *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol. I., p. 184. Lees and Ahmad Ali's Calcutta Text, Vol. II., p. 261, ll. 18 to 22.) According to Rehatsek *Rak'hi* is an amulet of string tied round the arm on a certain festival held in honor of Krishna during the full moon of Srâvana" (p. 27 n. 24). It is still put on by the Hindus on the Nâlieri Punam or Balev holiday.

Now then, if Akbar put on the visible symbols of the religions of the Christians and Hindus—either out of temporary real affection for these religions, or only out of dissimulation, or for the sake of curiosity—there is no wonder, if he put on, even for a short time, the *sudreh* and *kusti* (the sacred shirt and thread), the visible signs of Parseeism, from which he had taken several elements for his new religion, as noted by several historians of his reign.

There is one thing, which draws our special attention in connection with this question of *sudreh* and *kusti*. We read in Badâoni in the account of the 24th year of Akbar's reign (1579-80 A.D.) that Birbal recommended sun-worship to the king. There, at the end of the passage, the author says داد جلوہ زیارت و مسافر، ^و Blochmann translates it "(For similar reasons, said Bir Bar should man pay

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 107.

² Compare the words جلوہ داد *Jalveh dâd* here, with the same words used by Dastur Shapurjee Sanjana about Dastur Meherji Rana in connection with his visit to Akbar's court (*vide* above p. 46. پنجشہر دین بھرا جلوہ داد)

regard . . .) to the mark on the forehead and the Brahmanical thread."¹

Rehatsek translates this as "he also recommended marks on the forehead and strings." Rehatsek adds in a note: "Both are badges of caste; the forehead mark our author calls *qashiyah* and the string *zendr*."²

Lowe translates it: "That he should adopt the sectarial mark and Brahmanical thread." (Lowe's translation, Vol. II. p. 268.)

Now the word *zunnár* (زنار) referred to by Badâoni, signifies, according to Steingass: "A belt (particularly a cord worn round the middle by the Eastern Christians and Jews, also by the Persian Magi), the Brahmanical thread."

Badâoni does not use the word Brahmanical. It appears that it is latterly that it has been applied to sacred threads or cords put on by different communities, but formerly it was specially applied to that used by the Persian Magi. Firdousi applies it to the *kusti* or sacred thread of the ancient Persians. For example he says about Minocheher³:

مُنْوَچَهْرِ بَنْهَادْ نَاجْ كِيَان .. بِبَسْتَشْ بَزْنَارْ خُونَينْ مِيَانْ

i.e. "Minocheher put on the Kiâniân crown and, bent on revenge, tied his waist with *zunnár* (i.e. *kusti*)." The Farhang-i-Jehangiri,⁴ written in Akbar's reign, says of this word زنار — رشنه را گویند که آتش ش پرستان با خود دارند i.e., "a thread which the fire-worshippers put on is called *zunnár*." It seems to me, that as the word *zunnár* appears here in connection with sun-worship adopted by Akbar and with the establishment of fire temples, it may have been understood by some to refer to the *kusti* of the Zoroastrians.

As the word *zunnár* (*zendr*) has the meaning of *kusti*, and as it has also the meaning of "a priest's gown," as Richardson puts it, it is quite natural, that the above sentence of Badaoni may have been taken by some later Parsees—even by mistake—to refer to their *sudreh* and *kusti*. So, irrespective of the question, whether Akbar put on or not, the *sudreh* and *kusti*—it may be through curiosity—as he put on the visible symbols of Christianity and Hinduism, it

¹ Blochmann's Ain-i-Akbari, Vol. I., p. 183.

² The Emperor Akbar's Repudiation of Esillâm (1866), p. 25.

³ Mohl. Livre des Rois, Vol. I., p. 210, l. 1139.

⁴ Mr. Manockji Rustomji Unwala's MS. copy. Lucknow Edition, Jald Second, p. 124.

is possible, that the above sentence of Badaoni may have led some later Parsees to infer, that *zunnâr* meant *sudreh* and *kusti*. Thus we find, that if later songs spoke of Akbar putting on the *sudreh* and *kusti*, they had some authority, real or mistaken.

But then, it is not the Indian songsters and singers alone, who say, that Akbar was converted to Parseeism. Even European writers, on the strength of Mahomedan authorities, have come to the conclusion, that Akbar was, to a certain extent, a convert to Zoroastrianism, and that it was the priests of Naôsâri who brought about that result. Prof. Wilson renders the passage of Badaoni on Akbar's religion thus : "A number of fire-worshippers, who arrived from Nausâri in Guzerat, gained many converts to the religion of Zerdusht. The emperor was, to a certain extent, amongst them."¹ Again, we have a German author, who says a similar thing. It is Comte de Noer. I quote him in the words of his translator Maury : "Il y avait à Naousari, dans le Goudjerat des disciples de Zarathustra. . . . Quelques uns de leurs prêtres furent mandés à Sikri et initierent l'empereur à leur religion."² Thus, if it was the Naôsâri Parsees, who, according to these authors, led Abkar to Zoroastrianism, it is quite natural that Dastur Meherji Rana, the head of the Naôsâri Parsees, should have an active hand in the work.

Tennyson also, in his Akbar's Dream, takes the view that Akbar was converted to Zoroastrianism. He makes Akbar complain of the fact, that the people railed at him as a Zoroastrian. Tennyson³ puts the following words in the mouth of Akbar :—

"The sun, the sun ! they rail
At me the Zoroastrian. Let the Sun,
Who heats our earth to yield us grain and fruit,
And laughs upon thy field as well as mine,
And warms the blood of Shiah and Sunnee.
Symbol the Eternal ! Yea and may not kings
Express Him also by their warmth of love
For all thy rule—by equal law for all ?
By deeds a light to men ?"

There is one thing very peculiar in this passage of Tennyson. He represents Akbar, as complaining against the people railing at him

¹ H. H. Wilson's Works, edited by Dr. Rost, Vol. II., p. 389.

² L'Empereur Akbar, pp. 314—15.

³ Tennyson's "Akbar's Dream."

as a Zoroastrian, and then as justifying his sun-worship : He says :

Let the Sun,
Who heats our earth to yield us grain and fruit,
And laughs upon thy field as well as mine."

Tennyson here bases his thoughts upon that very passage of Badâoni, in which the word *zunnâr* occurs, and in which Birbal justifies sun-worship, and is supported by other learned men of the court who, according to the Dabistan, were "a sect of the fire-worshippers." Badaoni's words corresponding to the above words of Tennyson are :—

"The sun was the primary origin of everything. The ripening of the grain on the fields, of fruits and vegetables, the illumination of the universe, and the lives of men, depended upon the Sun. Hence it was but proper to worship and reverence this luminary."¹

Summary.

To sum up : We have the authority of four writers—two of them Badâoni and Abul Fazl, contemporaries of king Akbar—to say that it was the Indian Parsees who explained to the king, the religion of Zoroaster. Badâoni says that it was the Naosari Parsees who did so. The author of the Dabistan, written at least about 57 years after Badaoni, supports him in almost his own words. From these writers and from the author of the *Târikh-i-Mamâlik Hind*, we learn that by 1582-84 the king had openly adopted some of the Parsee forms of worship, the Parsee calendar, and the Parsee festivals. The Dabistan adds one fact more, viz., that Ardesir from Persia had also come to the Court of Akbar by special invitation, and was questioned "about the subtleties of Zordusht's religion." This event had happened subsequently *in or after* 1592, *long after* Akbar had openly adopted some of the Parsee forms of worship, etc. So Badaoni takes no note of this event; but the author of the Dabistan, who wrote at least 57 years after Badâoni, takes a note of this subsequent event. The Farhang-i-Jehangiri says, that the special purpose, for which Ardesir was called, was to help its author in the work of the dictionary, and that he was called in or after 1592.

Dastur Meherji Rana was the head of the Naosari Parsees. (1) Dastur Shapurji M. Sanjânâ, in his *Kisseh-i-Âtash Beherâm-i-Nâôsâri*, written in 1765-66, clearly says that "he had gone to the

¹ Blochmann. *Ain-i-Akbari*, I, p. 183.

court of King Akbar and had shown him proofs of religion." This statement is supported by further facts. (2) Two farmâns of King Akbar himself and two other old documents of his time affirm that he was given 200 *bigâhs* of land by Akbar. (3) There are three old documents, which clearly show, that just after his return from the court of Akbar, he was formally acknowledged by the priests of Naosari as their head. (4) Old manuscripts of Zend Avesta prayer books, one of which is about 192 years old, affirm that his name was commemorated in prayers. Why was this? It was in recognition of services rendered to the cause of Parsee religion at the Court of Akbar, as affirmed by Dastur Shapurji Sanjânâ in his book. (5) Again old songs, one of which is recorded in a manuscript about 110 years old, and believed to have been written by Tansen, the minstrel of Akbar himself, record the event of his visit to Akbar's Court.

Coming to the objections raised against Naosari Parsees in general, it is said that the Gujarat Parsees were all ignorant at the time of King Akbar. Drs. West and Geldner, and Prof. Hodivala have shown elsewhere that there was not that general ignorance as that alleged. We have the authority of two letters from Persia, recorded in the *Revâyets*, to say that the Zoroastrians of Persia were not far better than the Zoroastrians of India. As to the objection that Naosari was an obscure town, and as such was not capable of producing capable men, we have the authority of eight *Revâyets*, one after another, to show that it was not so. Coming to the objections against Dastur Meherji Rana, we have the authority of three documents and two manuscripts, and of a work of Dastur Dârâb Pâhlan, to show that he was not an obscure priest as alleged. We have the authority of one old document and an old manuscript *Revayet* to show that even his father Rana Jeshang was not an obscure priest. We have two manuscripts written by Rana Jeshang himself to show that he was versed in Pazend and Persian. So Dastur Meherji Rana was a known and learned son of a known and learned father.

The main issues in this question are :—

1. Is it, or is it not, a fact, (A) that Badaoni, *under the events of 1579 A. D.*, says (*a*) that "the Parsees from Naosari proved to his Majesty the truth of Zoroaster's doctrines," and that (*b*) they "impressed the Emperor so favourably that he learned from them the religious terms and rites of the old Parsis," and that (*c*) he "ordered

Abul Fazl to make arrangements that sacred fire should be kept burning at court by day and by night, according to the custom of the ancient Persian kings"; (B) that the Dabistan supports the above statement of Badaoni about the Naosari priests; (C) that Abul Fazl in his Akbar-nameh, under the events of the 23rd year of Akbar's reign, i.e. of 1578, refers to the presence of Zoroastrians in the assembly for religious discussions; and (D) that the Tarikh-i-Mūmālik-i-Hind says that in 1579 A.D. Akbar was led away from Mohomedanism by the Parsees? In short, is it, or is it not, a fact, that before 1583 Akbar had adopted the visible forms of Parsee worship and adopted Parsee calendar and festivals?

2. As to the additional facts of Ardeshir's coming from Persia to the Court of Akbar, is it, or is it not, a fact that, according to the Farhang-i-Jehangiri Ardeshir was called for the purpose of the dictionary, and that he came *in or after* 1592?

If you decide these most important issues in the affirmative, you cannot but come to the conclusion that it was the Naosari Parsees who explained to Akbar the religion of Zoroaster.

Then as to the next question as to who was the leader of the Naosari Parsees the most important issues are:—

(1) Is it, or is it not, a fact that we have (A) documents of King Akbar's time saying that Dastur Meherji Rana was given 200 *bighas* of land given to him by Akbar as *madad-i-madsh*, a special kind of grant; (B) documents of King Akbar's time, showing, that at the very time, which corresponds with the time of his return from Akbar's Court, he was formally acknowledged by the priests of Naosari as their head; and (C) a Zend manuscript about 192 years' old, which is supported by other later manuscripts, showing that his name is commemorated in a prayer as that of a departed worthy who had rendered some services to his community.

If you decide these issues in the affirmative, the question arises, (a) Why was it that Dastur Meherji Rana was given 200 *bighas* of land by Akbar; (b) why was he formally acknowledged as their head by the priests of Naosari; (c) why was his name commemorated? It must be in reward of some services rendered. What those services were appear from the writing of a Parsee author, who, in his work, written in 1765-66 A.D., says that Dastur Meherji Rana had gone to the Court of Akbar and explained to him the religion of Zoroaster. This visit to the Court of Akbar, is referred to

in a song by Tausen, the contemporary of Akbar, a song that is found in a manuscript written about 110 years ago.

If you decide all these issues in the affirmative, you cannot but come to the conclusion that it was Dastur Meherji Rana the leader of the Naosari Parsees who had gone to the Court of Akbar. These are the main issues. Without deciding them, all other arguments would be futile and useless.

Before I finish, I beg to say, that Mr. Karkaria has done gross injustice to Dastur Meherji Rana's descendants. He says :— “A paper has been put into my hands by the present descendants of this Meherji Rana, who still live in Naosari, in which what are called historical authorities are given for the abovementioned traditions. The writer of this quotes what purports to be passages from three famous historians of Akbar, viz., Badaoni, Abul Fazl, and the author of the *Tabakat-i-Akbari*, in each of which the tradition is fully and emphatically mentioned. But, strange to relate, I do not find just those passages in these historians ! They are conspicuous by their absence in the excellent editions of Badaoni and Abul Fazl, published by the Bengal Asiatic Society in the *Bibliotheca Indica* !”¹

Now, I produce those very papers, which were placed in the hands of Mr. Karkaria. Mr. Karkaria has taken care, to get them initialled by two or three well-known citizens. I find thereon, among other initials, the initials K. N. K. and D. F. These two, are the initials of Mr. Kaikhoshroo Nowrojee Kabraji and Mr. Dosabhoj Framji Karaka, c.s.i. It is fortunate, that what Mr. Karkaria thought to be necessary for his protection, has turned out to be necessary for the protection of the descendants of Dastur Meherji Rana.

Mr. Karkaria says in the above passage, that the paper, with which he was supplied, purported to contain passages from Badaoni. I do not find anything of the kind. Therein the name mentioned, is *not* that of Badaoni, but it is that of one Abdul Kadir Badlani, and the book is that called *Vakaât Akbari*. Perhaps Mr. Karkaria would say, that by mistake he took Badlâni for Badâoni. But then, in the paper given to him, Badlani's book is mentioned as *Vakaât Akbari*, and we know that Badaoni's work is *Muntakhab-al-tawârikh*.

Secondly, Mr. Karkaria says that he was supplied with passages purporting to be from Abul Fazl, “the excellent editions” of whose

¹ Vol. XIX., No. 53, pp. 293-94.

works (the *Âin-i-Akbari* and the *Akbar-nâmeh*), he says, are "published by the Bengal Asiatic Society in the *Bibliotheaca Indica*." But I find, that in the paper given to him, the above-named books are *not at all* mentioned. The book mentioned is "*Tawârikh-i-Mâhânâmeh*.

Thirdly, he says, that the paper given to him, was said to contain passages from the *Tabakât-i-Akbari*. What he calls the "excellent *Tabakât-Akbari* of Nizam-ud-din" is *not at all* referred to in the paper, but the *Tabakât* referred to, is spoken of, as one, written by Moulvi Abdul Nabi Sistani.

In the case of all the three above-mentioned books, Mr. Karkaria has given altogether wrong names. He represents the descendants of Dastur Meherji Rana's family, as giving him from three well-known works (Badaoni's *Muntakhab-al-Tawârikh*, Abul Fazl's *Ain-i-Akbari* or *Akbar-nameh*, and Nizam-ud-din's *Tabakât-i-Akbari*), passages which did not exist in those works, while, as a matter of fact, the passages are clearly spoken of in the paper supplied to him *as belonging to some other books*. Again, the worst of it is this, that he makes this charge, in spite of his being very clearly told by the giver of the paper, that the books, named in the paper, have not been found, though he tried his best, and that he was not sure whether the books existed or not, and that if they existed, he was not sure whether those passages were therein or not.

The fact is that those passages were given to the late Dastur Erachjee Sohrabjee Meherji Rana, the late learned librarian of the Mulla Firoz Library, by a friend at Poona, as being found by a Mahomedan Munshi in some manuscript books at Agra. As one taking an interest in all that related to the history of his family, he copied those passages in his manuscript book of family notes. Had the names of the books been those of the above well-known works, he would have at once verified the passages from the books in his Mulla Firoz Library. One of our vice-presidents, Mr. K. R. Cama, as the President of that institution, can certify, that Dastur Erachjee was a learned and diligent traditional scholar, and had written many manuscripts for his library. So, he could have easily verified the passages by a reference to the above works in his library, but as the names given were quite unknown, he simply took down the passages for what they were worth.

The gentleman who sent to Mr. Karkaria at his express desire, the paper containing these passages very clearly said, at the time, “એ કેતાબોની હૈયાતી છેકે નહીં તે જણ્યાતું નથી. કારણ માહારી મુશાખરી દરમ્યાન મેં ધખી તજવીજ કરવા છતાં એ કેતાબો મને ભળી નથી અને કદાચ કેતાબો હોય તો તેમાં એ કરતા છેકે નહીં તે પણ હું કહી શકતો નથી. મને તો જેવા મણ્યા છે તેવાજ મેં નકલ ઉતારી લીધી છે.”

i.e., “It is not known, whether these books exist or not, because during my travels, though I tried my best, I could not find these books. And even if these books exist, whether these passages occur therein or not, I cannot say. I have copied them as I have found them.”

Mr. Karkaria put in a para. in the Gujarati papers, asking for papers connected with Dastur Meherji Rana. A member of the family sent him those papers, very clearly saying that, in his travels, he had tried his best to find the books named, and that he could not find them. His words very clearly show, that he did not mean at all, the well-known works of Badaoni, Abul Fazl and Nizam-ud-din. In spite of all that, Mr. Karkaria dares to say that the passages were “very likely a forgery by the copyist himself.” To say the least, this is very unfair, and I beg to say that Mr. Karkaria, if not for his own sake, for the sake of the Society in whose journal he has published this libel, owes an explanation to the members of the family of Dastur Meherji Rana, who, he thinks, have made a “pretended claim” for their ancestor.

I cannot conclude this paper, without offering my best thanks to the gentlemen, whose names I have mentioned in the paper, for placing at my disposal the valuable documents and manuscripts in their possession. My best thanks are due to Dastur Dârâbjee Mâhiârjee, the present Dastur of Naôsâri, for kindly lending me the first original *Firmân* of king Akbar to be placed before the Society. My best thanks are due to Professor Shapursha Hormasji Hodiwâlâ for kindly lending me the old documents *re* the appointment of Dastur Meherji Rana at the head of the Naôsâri priesthood, and some other old documents. Most of these documents belong to Mr. Hormusjee Beharamji Dastur of Naôsâri. All those documents were brought to Bombay by Prof. Hodiwâlâ, from their owners at Naôsâri about 5 years ago, when the question was discussed. Professor Hodiwâlâ

has placed some of the results of his study in his letters to the *Bombay Gazette* over the *noms de plume* of Edie Ochiltree Junior and J. O. E. in 1896, and those letters have been of much use to me. I am indebted to these letters for many of my references in this paper. I offer my thanks to Mr. Manockjee Rustomji Unwala for some old manuscripts bearing on the subject. Lastly, my thanks are due to the Committee of the Naôsâri Meherji Rana Library, and to the President of the Mulla Firoz Library, for placing their old manuscripts at my disposal for the occasion.

Appendix.

I will give here the text and the translation of some of the original documents, referred to above in the paper. Firstly, I will give the two *farmâns* of the 40th and 48th years of king Akbar's reign, given to Dastur Kaikobad, the son of Dastur Meherji Rânâ, in which it is mentioned, that before the dates of the grants, 200 *bigahs* of land, which formed a part of the 300 *bigahs* granted to him, were given to his father, Dastur Meherji Rana, for his *madar-i-mâsh*. I will give at the end, the photo-litho facsimiles of these two *farmâns*, together with those of some other documents referred to in the paper. I have to thank Mr. Jehangier Rustomjee Unwala for the photographs of these two documents, and Messrs. Cooper and Dhondy, of the New Litho Printing Press, for the photographs of the other documents. To photograph such very old documents is not an easy task, especially when some of the documents are too large to be had within the sphere of the camera at one and the same time. So the photos of some of the Persian documents had to be taken in parts and then arranged together on the stones. Then the lithographing of the documents was not, again, very easy. The lithographed stones had to be cleaned between the lines and the letters, to make the print distinct and legible. With all trouble and care the work has not been such, as one would wish it to be. However, I am indebted to the Education Society's Press, for the patience with which they have done this work and for the printing of this paper generally. My best thanks are due to my friend, Ervad Manockjee Rustomji Unwala, for helping me in seeing these old documents pass through the press.

To help both students and ordinary readers, I give the old documents in type also. The careful reading of these old *farmâns* requires some practice in this matter, which I had not before I undertook the work. So I am indebted to Mr. Khodâyâr Shehryâr Dastur for helping me in reading them. A few words here and there are still not clear and legible to me, and a few words here and there may perhaps be read and translated by others, in a way, different from that, in which I have read and understood them, but that does not make much difference in understanding the documents as a whole. In printing the last portions of the two *farmâns* with the seals, I have printed it upside down, in the same way as it is written in the original *farmâns* (*vide* the photo-litho facsimiles). I have explained

the reason there. The *farmâns* are printed line by line according to the original documents.

Irrespective of the question of support, which these two old *farmâns* of king Akbar's time give, as evidence, to the subject-matter of the paper, they are very interesting in themselves. They are of some interest to caligraphists. Again, they are interesting from another point of view. They give us an idea, of some of the customs and rules, connected with *jagirs* and land revenue in Akbar's time. In this matter, they serve as illustrations, as it were, of the different *dîns* on this subject in the *Ain-i-Akbari* of Abul Fazl. So, I have translated these *farmâns* with the very help, as it were, of the *Ain-i-Akbari*. I have tried to explain the technical words and phrases, by means of the very language of the above book.

Most of the documents given in this paper are worth studying from their own standpoints of view. If I do not mistake, it is for the first time that such documents of Akbar's and Baber's times are printed. I beg to submit this appendix as an humble result of my studies in this matter.



(*Translation of the first Farmân.*)

GOD IS GREAT.¹

The *Farmân*² of Jalâluddin Muhammad Akbar Bâdshâh Gâzi.³
At this time, a royal order, signifying favour, has acquired the

^۱ كَبُرْ ! أَكْبَرْ ! 'Allah Akbar' was the form of salutation, which, according to Badâ'îni, Akbar substituted for the previous form of salutation (*salâm*). The reply to this new *salâm* was ^۲ جَلَّ عَلَيْهِ Jal Jâlîh, i.e., "May his magnificence be glorified." (Muntakhab-al-Tawârikh, by Lees and Ahmad Ali, Vol. II., p. 356, l. 10. Lowe's Translation, Vol. II., p. 367. Rehatsek, p. 77. Blochmann, Ain-i-Akbari, Vol. I., p. 205.) It was in 995 Hijri (A.D. 1586) that he introduced this formula as a form of salutation, but it was in 983 (A.D. 1575-76) that he had introduced it on his seals and coins. We find from Badâ'îni that he had discussed the question of this formula with some of the courtiers before introducing it. We read in the Muntakhab-al-Tawârikh :—

"In these days (A.H. 983, A.D. 1575-76) His Majesty once asked how people would like it, if he ordered the words *Allâh Akbar* to be cut on the Imperial seal, and the dies of his coins. Most said that the people would like it very much, but Hâjî Ibrâhîm objected, and said, that the phrase had an ambiguous meaning,* and that the Emperor might substitute the verse of the Qur'ân *Lazîkrullâhi Akbaru*,† because it involved no ambiguity. But the Emperor was much displeased, and said it was surely sufficient, that no man who felt his weakness would claim Divinity; he merely looked to the sound of the words, and he had never thought that a thing could be carried to such an extreme." (Lowe's Translation, Vol. II., p. 213. Lees and Ahmad Ali's Text, Vol. II., p. 210, ll. 7-15. Elliot's (Dowson) History of India, Vol. V., p. 523.)

* "God is great" or "Akbar is God."

† To commemorate God is the greatest thing.

² According to Abul Fazl *farmâns* were issued for three purposes. In the list for the second set of purposes fall the "appointments to jagirs without military service," and in that for the third set, fall "grants on account of daily subsistence allowance." (Ain-i-Akbari, Book II, Ain 11. Blochmann's Translation, Vol. I. pp. 260-61, Text I., p. 194.)

³ جَلَالُ الدِّينِ مُحَمَّدٌ أَكْبَرٌ (بَادْشَاهٌ غَازِي) was the title by which king Akbar was known. (Vide the Tabakât-i-Akbari. Munshi Newul Kishore's lithographed edition of 1292 Hijri (A.D. 1875), p. 242, l. 8. Vide Muntakhab-al-Tawârikh of Badâ'îni. Lees and Ahmad Ali's Text, Vol. II., p. 8, l. 1; p. 9, l. 11. Lowe's Translation, Vol. II., pp. 1 and 2.)

honour of publicity, that, Whereas, about ¹ 300 *bigahs* ² of land (measured) by the *Ildhi gaz*,³ together with palm and date trees, etc., which are growing on that land, have been assigned in the environs⁴ of the town⁵ of Nâosâri, etc., from the *Sirkâr* of Surat, according to the particulars of the contents⁶ (of this *farmân*) for the purpose⁷ of the assistance of livelihood (*madad-i-mâsh*)⁸ of Parsi Kâfkobad, son of Mâhyâr, from the assignment⁹ of

² موازی mu'âzi, nearly, about.

³ According to the *Ain-i-Akbari* (Book III, Ain 10) a *bigah* (بیگھ) "is a quantity of land 60 *gaz* long by 60 broad. (قطعہ زمین است در دراز و پهنا شدت کن) Should there be any diminution in length or breadth or excess in either, it is brought into square measure and made to consist of 3,600 square *gaz*." (Blochmann's Text, Vol. I., p. 296, l. 21. Translation, Vol. II., by Jarrett, p. 62) "3,600 square *gaz* = 2,600 square yards = 0.538, or somewhat more than half an acre." (*Ibid.* n. 1.)

⁴ According to the *Ain-i-Akbari* (Book III., *Ain* 8) the *Ildhi gaz* "is a measure of length and a standard gauge. (بیسایندگ مقدار است و گذارنده حاصل) High and low refer to it, and it is the desire of the righteous and the unrighteous. Throughout Hindustan there were three such measures current, viz., long, middling and short. Each was divided into 24 equal parts and each part called *tassuj* (طسوج Pers. *gumb* *tassu*). A *tassuj* of the first kind was equal to eight ordinary barley-corns placed together breadth-ways, and of the other two respectively, to 7 and 6 barley-corns. The long *gaz* was used for the measurement of cultivated lands, &c." (Blochmann's Text, Vol. I., p. 294, ll. 21-25. Translation, Vol. II., by Jarrett, p. 58-59.)

⁵ سواد Sawâd is a term used in the *Ain-i-Akbari* in connection with different *subâhs* or provinces (Vide Bk. III., *Ain* XV., Blochmann's text, p. 377, e.g., صورہ لا جوڑ پشت سواد Translation, Vol. II., by Jarrett, p. 110.)

⁶ قسم The Dabistân also calls Naosari a *qasabah*.

⁷ مضمون contents. It is a technical word used in connection with *Farmâns*. The *Ain-i-Akbari* alludes to it.

صاحب توجیه آخرین تعلیق را پیش خود نگاه دارد و شرح آنرا

در ضمن فرمان نویسند

i.e. "The Ghâib-i-Taujih keeps the former *Talîqah* with himself, writes its details on the *Farmân*." (Bk. II., *Ain* 11, Blochmann's text, I., p. 194, l. 13. Translation I., p. 261.) The particulars referred to, are given at the end of the *Farmân*.

⁸ وجہ "way, means, expenses."

⁹ Vide above p. 39 for this kind of grant of land.

¹⁰ تعین *ta'in* is a technical term of appointment for the different *manqâbârs*, *jayirdârs*, etc.—Vide Blochmann, *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol. I., p. 242.

the Jagirdâr, from the season of *kharif*¹ *ku el*, so that from year to year, spending the income thereof, in maintaining his life, he may be engaged in praying for the increase of the wealth and good fortune (of His Majesty). It is incumbent² upon the present and future governors,³ tax-gatherers,⁴ *kroriâns*⁵ and *jâgirdârs*⁶ of that district, that, acting according to what is written, and measuring the above-mentioned land, and preparing a *chak*⁷, they shall transfer it to

^١ خریف Kharif is autumn. As to قو kū the Âin-i-Akbari (Bk. III. Ain 1.), speaking of the Turkish era, says that they counted years by cycles, each cycle having 12 years. In the names of the 12 years of the cycle, which Abul Fazl gives, we find كا the sheep (گوسنیده) as the 8th year. As to the word ایل *el* Abul Fazl says that they added "the word *el* to each of these words, which signifies year" در انجام پریک لفظ ایل که بمعنی سال است برا فزایند (Blochmann's text I., p. 273, ll. 16, 17, Translation Jarrett, II., page 21).

² سبدل path, road; so lit. it is the path or way for governors, etc.

³ حاکم pl. of حاکم *Vide* Blochmann's Âin-i-Akbari, Vol. I., p. 241, for these officers. He says, "The higher Mançabdârs were mostly governors of Çubâhs. The governors were at first called *sipahsâlars*; toward the end of Akbar's reign we find them called Hâkims, and afterwards Câhib Qubah or Qubahdârs, and still later merely Cubâhs. The other Mançabdârs held jâgîrs, which after the times of Akbar were frequently changed. The Mançabdârs are also called ta'inâtiyân (appointed)."

⁴ عمال agents, governors, nobles, tax-gatherers.

⁵ کوری *Karâri* was an officer in charge of the revenues over one *krôr* (10 millions) of dâms.—*Vide* Âin-i-Akbari, Bk. I., Ain 2.

و یک یک کورو بدیانت پیشگان جدگزین مسپود ند

(Blochmann's text, Vol. I., p. 10, ll. 4 and 5.) "And zealous and upright men were put in charge of the revenues, each over one *krôr* of dâms" (Blochmann's translation, Vol. I., p. 13).

⁶ *Vide* above, n 3.

⁷ According to the Âin-i-Akbari (Bk. III., Ain 6), it was the duty of the *amalgusâr* i.e., the revenue collector) to "ascertain the correctness of *chaknâmah*" چکنامہ مسح مخصوص گرداند (Blochmann's text, Vol. I., p. 287, l. 16, Translation, Vol. II., Jarrett, p. 47). Jarrett says that the *chaknâmah* is a grant of alienated lands specifying the boundary limits thereof. *Chak* according to Elliot, is a patch of rent free land detached from a village." (*Ibid.*, p. 47, n. 1).

the above-named¹ person. And that trying to bestow care in the settlement and perpetuity of that land, shall make no change or modification. And that on account of land-tax² and

مسار الی چه ¹ mushâr îlai-hi "abovementioned person."³ *Mushâr*, i.e., signified; *lai-hi*, i.e., to him (Steingass, pp. 96 and 1242).

² مال *mâl* "rent of land, revenue arising from land" (Steingass). The following passage in the *Ain-i-Akbari* (Bk. III., *Ain* 7) explains this and some other words for different taxes mentioned in this *farmân*.

و در هر ملکی جز کشت و کار از مال مردم چیزی خواهند و آنرا
نمیخواهند در توران و ایران برخی را بعدوان مال برگویند و طلاقه
را با آفین ³ جهات بروستانند و لختی را بطرز سائر جهات طلب رود و
چندی را بنام وجوهات و فروعات خلاصه سخن آنچه بواراضی
مزروعی از راه ربع قرار یابد آنرا مال گویند و از انواع محتقره
گزیده جهات خواهند و باقی را سائر جهات و آنچه متفقوع بومال
باشند آنرا وجوهات گویند اگر بدیوان رود ورنم فروعات نامنده

(Blochmann's text, Vol. I., p. 294, ll. 12-16.)

"In every kingdom Government taxes the property of the subject over and above the land revenue, and this they call *Tamqha*. In Irân and Turân, they collect the land tax (*mâl*) from some, from others the *Jihât*, and from others again the *Sâr Jihât*, while other cesses under the name of *Wajuhât* and *Farûâât* are exacted. In short, what is imposed on cultivated lands by way of quit-rent is termed *Mâl*. Imports (? imposts) on manufactures of respectable kinds are called *Jihât*, and the remainder *Sâr Jihât*. Extra collections over and above the land tax if taken by revenue officers are *Wajuhât*; otherwise they are termed *Farûâât*." (The *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol. II., translated by Jarrett, pp. 57-58.) From another part of the *Ain-i-Akbari* (Bk. II., *Ain* 11, on *sanads*) we learn that the entries about this *mâl* or land tax formed one of the three parts in which the *Daftâr* of the empire was divided. We read there

ابواب المال از خراج ملک باز گوید و افزونی و کمی بر خواند و

هر گونه خواسته که فراهم آید در آن بذکار نه (Blochmann's text, Vol. I., p. 193, ll. 22-23):—

"The *Abwâb ul mâl* or entries referring to the revenue of the country. This part of the *Daftâr* explains the revenue of the empire, details any increase or decrease, and specifies every other source of income (as presents, &c.)" (Blochmann's Translation, Vol. I., p. 260.)

imposts on manufactures¹ and capitation taxes² and the rest of the taxes,³ such as imposts⁴ and

¹ جهات *Vide* the preceding note.

² خراج اخراجات from capitation tax. The *Ain-i-Akbari* (Bk. III., *Ain* VII., on روزی i.e., currency of the means of subsistence,) says of this tax در باستان از سر آدم چیزی برگرفتی و خراج برخواندی (Blochmann's text, Vol. I., p. 292, ll. 24-25). "In ancient times a capitation tax was imposed called *Khirdj*" (*Ain-i-Akbari* translation, Vol. II., Jarrett, p. 55). In the same *Ain* it also said آنکه بیگانگان دین بران ملخ نموده باشند آنرا خراجی شمرند و خراج خراجی را برد و گونه پندارند مقامه از پنجم تا ششم بخش خواجه وظیفه آنکه در خور توانائی و سودمندی قوارده و طایفه اصل مال اوقاعی را خراج گویند و چون حصه آن گروه از خرج ایشان آفزون آید بشروطی چند زکوه ازان برو گیرند و آنرا عشر نامند

Blochmann's text, Vol. I., p. 294, ll. 5-9). "Land which those outside the faith retain on convention. This they call *khirāji*. Tribute paid by *khirāji* lands is of two kinds: (1) *Mukāsamāh* (divided) is the 5th or 6th produce of the soil. (2) *Wazifah* which is settled according to the capability and convenience of the tributaries. Some call the whole produce of the revenue *khirāj* and as the share of the producing body is in excess of their expenditure, the *Zakāt* is taken from the amount under certain stipulations, and this they call a tithe (Translation, Jarrett, Vol. II., p. 57).

³ مادر جهات *Sāir Jahāt*, *vide* p. 98, n. 2. Jarrett says of this word "In its original purport, the word signifies moving, walking, or the remainder: from the latter it came to denote the remaining of all other sources of revenue in addition to the land tax from a variety of imposts, a customs, transit dues, houses, fees, market tax, &c." (*Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol. II., Jarrett, p. 58, n. 1.)

⁴ This word is not clear and legible. One may read it قلعه *qu'la*. It would mean "anything paid into the exchequer unweighed; borrowed money" (Steingass). I think it is the same as قلغه spoken of as one of the imposts of king Akbar's time in the *Ain-i-Akbari* (Bk. III., *Ain* XI. Blochmann's text, Vol. I., p. 301, l. 8). Another MS. gives the word as قلغه. In Blochmann's text the word is marked as doubtful. Jarrett has not translated it, saying he "cannot trace it" (Translation, Vol. II., p. 67, note 1.)

presents¹ and fines² and village assessments³ and marriage fees⁴ and Dâroghâ's fees⁵ and tax-gatherer's fees⁶ and five per

¹ پیشکش *pishkash* It appears from the *Ain-i-Akbari* (Bk. III., Ain XI, Blochmann's text, Vol. I., p. 301, l. 6, translation, Jarrett, Vol. II., p. 66) that *pishkash* was one of the imposts (*wajâhât*) of king Akbar's time. It is "a magnificent present, such as is only presented to princes, great men, superiors, or sometimes to equals (particularly on receiving a great appointment)." (Steingass.)

² جرمانہ *jurmâna*, "penalty, forfeit, fine." (Steingass.)

³ ضابطانہ *zabti* We find from the *Ain-i-Akbari* (Bk. III., Ain 15, Blochmann's text, Vol. I., p. 417, l. 16. Translation, Vol. II., Jarrett, p. 153) that ضبطی *zabti* is a kind of special rate for the revenue from crops. Jarrett says "Abul Fazl, employs it loosely elsewhere for the revenue collection or assessment of a village" (*Ibid*, p. 153, n. 1). The word ضابط *zabti* means "a governor, commander, superior or chief." So perhaps the word may mean "payments due to the chief of a town."

⁴ مهرانہ *mahrânah*, "a fee exacted by the Qâzi from the Muhammadans at weddings." (Steingass.) Perhaps this is a reference to the marriage tax of king Akbar's time, referred to by Abul Fazl in his *Ain-i-Akbari*. (Bk. II., Ain 24 on marriage. Blochmann's text, Vol. I., p. 201, Translation, Vol. I., pp. 277-78.) The tax varied according to the position of the parties. "The middle classes pay one Rupee and common people one *dâm*. In demanding this tax, the officers have to pay regard to the circumstances of the father of the bride." (*Ibid*, p. 278). Abul Fazl says of this tax that Akbar took it to enable the parties "to show their gratitude. The payment of this tax is looked upon as auspicious." (*Ibid*, p. 278).

⁵ داروغانہ *Dârûghâ* According to the *Ain-i-Akbari* (Bk. III., Ain XI. Blochmann's text, p. 301, l. 6, Translation, Vol. II., Jarrett, p. 66.) Dârûghâ was one of the imposts (*wajâhât*) of king Akbar's time. Dârûghâ according to Steingass is the "headman of an office, prefect of a town or village, overseer or superintendent of any department."

⁶ ایمانہ *tahsildar* "Fees of the bailiff or tax-gatherer" (Steingass). I think it is the same impost as that spoken of as تھسیلداری (tahsildar's fees) in the *Ain-i-Akbari* (Bk. III., Ain XI, Blochmann's text, Vol. I., p. 301, l. 6. Translation, Vol. II., Jarrett, p. 66).

cent¹ tax and two per cent² tax and *kānūngū*,³ (i.e., fees of the officer acquainted with land tenures) and burdens⁴ for cultivation and gardening and *zakāt*⁵ of duties on

¹ نیم ۵ ده نیم (Lit. half of ten, i.e.) five per cent. This tax on manufactures is alluded to in the *Ain-i-Akbari* (Bk. III., *Ain* XI., Blochmann's text, Vol. I., p. 300, n. 21. Translation, Vol. II., Jarrett, p. 66). This and the following two imposts, viz., صد و دوی sad-dā'ī, i.e., two per cent., and فانون گوئی *kānūngū* are explained in the following passage of the above-mentioned 11th *Ain* (Blochman's Text I., Vol. 1, p. 300, n. 21-24):—

شهریار آگاهه دل در مال به انسان که گذارش یافت نوازش فرمود

درجهات ۵ ده یک بخشوده ۵ نیم قوارداد و صد دوی پتواری نصفی بدو
و نیمه بقانون گو باز گردد ۰ نخستین نویسنده ایست از طرف بوزگران
خرج و دخل نویسند و پیچ دید بی او نباشد ۰ و پیشین ملاذ کشاورزان و در
هر پرگنه یکی بود ۰ و امروز حصه قانونگو بر انداختنده و بشرط خدمت
گزینی سه گونه از درگاه یابند

"His Majesty in his wisdom thus regulated the revenues in the above-mentioned favourable manner. He reduced the duty on manufactures from ten to five per cent. (*deh-nim*), and two per cent. (*sad-dā'ī*) was divided between the *patwari* and the *kānūngō*. The former is a writer employed on the part of the cultivator. He keeps an account of receipts and disbursements, and no village is without one. The latter is the refuge of the husbandmen. There is one in every district. At the present time the share of the *kānūngō* (one per cent.) is remitted, and the three classes of them are paid by the State according to their rank."

² *Vide* the above note. Lit. two in the hundred, i.e., two per cent.

³ *Vide* the above note. His fee is one per cent. Jarrett says as follows of the *kānūngō*:—"An officer in each district acquainted with its customs and land-tenures and whose appointment is usually hereditary. He receives report from the *patwāris* of new cases of alluvion and diluvion, sales, leases, gifts of land, &c., which entail a change in the register of mutations. He is a revenue officer and subordinate to the *tahsildar* (Jarrett, Vol. II., p. 47, n. 3).

⁴ نکرار also means 'disputes' and 'repetitions'.

⁵ This word is written زکاۃ or زکوۃ; *Vide* above, p. 99, n. 2, for this word. From the passage of the 8th *Ain* of the *Ain-i-Akbari* there quoted, it appears, that this impost amounted to the tenth part of the produce. Jarrett says as follows of this tax: "The poor rate, the portion therefrom given as the due of God by the possessor that he may purify it thereby, the root of the word, زکاۃ, denoting purity. The proportion varies, but is generally a fortieth or 2½ p.c., provided that the property is of a certain amount and has been in possession eleven months" (*Ain-i-Akbari*, II., Jarrett, p. 57, n. 4).

manufactures¹ and assessments,² no molestations should be given him every year, after (i.e. beyond) the ascertainment of the grant (*chak*) and all civil taxes³ and all royal revenue. And (that) excusing and absolving⁴ him of all charges,⁵ they should not go round (him)⁶ and should not ask every year for renewed⁷ *farmâns* and *parvanchahs*⁸ in this matter. And that when (it, i. e. the *Farmân*) comes with the royal signet⁹ of His most exalted¹⁰ Majesty, they should rely upon it. Written on the tenth of the last month Asfandârmaz of the 40th *ilâhi* year.¹¹

Explanation of the Ta'liqah.¹²

¹ جهالت "Duties on manufactures" (Steingass). *Vide* the passage quoted on p. 98, n. 2, from the *Ain-i-Akbari* (Bk. III., 7th *Ain*).

² مصبط *Vide* the reference to the 15th *Ain* (Bk. III.) on p. 100, n. 3, for this word.

³ کالیف *Kâlîf* pl. of "impositions, levies, taxes."

⁴ مرفوع القلام *marfû'u'l qalam*, absolved, remitted.

⁵ حوالات *hawâlat* pl. of transfer, commitment, charge, care.

⁶ پیروامون گردیده‌ان To go round. Here the meaning is, that the officials should not go round him, or round his land, i.e., should, in no way, disturb or molest him. ⁷ Arab. مجدد *mujaddad*, renewed.

⁸ The *Ain-i-Akbari* (Bk. II., *Ain* 11.) says *کوہ فومان بعنوان طغرا بنویسند* (*Blochmann's text*, Vol. I., p. 195, ll. 7-8). "Farmâns are sometimes written in *Tughrâ* character; but the two first lines are not made short. Such a *Farmân* is called a *Parvanchah*. (*Blochmann's Translation*, Vol. I., p. 263).

⁹ توثیق *tawqîf* "signing with the royal signet; the royal signet put to diplomas, letters patent and other public deeds." (Steingass.)

¹⁰ اعلیٰ *a'lâ* most exalted. The word looks like this, but it may be جل *Jal* (most glorious), which we find in its stead in the second *farmân*. This sentence may refer to the person. ¹¹ Roz. 10-12-964, i. e., 1595.

¹² *Shark-i-ta'liqah*. *شکر تالیقہ* *ta'liqah* is a technical term used in the *Ain-i-Akbari* for an abridgment of the *yaddâshth* (i. e., memorandum) of His Majesty's orders about the *farmâns*, etc. Its explanation in details is said to be its شرح *shârh*. The following passages from the 10th and 11th *Ains* will explain who made this *yaddâshth*, or memorandum and *ta'liqah* or abridgment, and how they were made, and why this abridgment of the memorandum has been added here. We read the following in the 10th *Ain* on the *waqiâh-nâwîs* (i.e., the writer of events). "Keeping records is an excellent thing for a government His Majesty has appointed fourteen zealous, experienced, and impartial clerks, two of whom do daily duty in rotation, so that the turn

(His Majesty) had ordered on the date, the 13th day Tir, month Abân, *ilâhi* year 40, that about three hundred *bigdhs* of land, together with palm and date trees, &c., which are growing on that land, may be assigned, in the environs of the town of Naôsâri, &c., as detailed below¹, for the purpose of the assistance of

(نوبت *naâbat*) of each comes after a fortnight Their duty is to write down the orders and the doings of His Majesty and whatever the heads of the departments report; the acts of His Majesty as the spiritual guide of the nation; appointments to mançabs; contingents; of troops; salaries; jagirs.

"After the diary has been corrected by one of His Majesty's servants, it is laid before the emperor, and approved by him. The clerk then makes a copy of each report, signs it, and hands it over to those who require it as a voucher, when it is also signed by the *Parwâchi*, by the *Mir'âz*, and by that person who laid it before His Majesty. The report in this state is called *yâddâshth* (پاد داشت) or memorandum.

"Besides, there are several copyists who write a good hand and a lucid style. They receive the *yâddâshth* when completed, keep it with themselves, and make a proper abridgment of it. After signing it, they return this instead of the *yâddâshth*, when the abridgment is signed and sealed by the *Wâqîah-nawis*, and the *Risâlahâdâr*, the *Mir'âz* and the *Dârogah*. The abridgment, thus completed, is called *Talîqâh* and the writer is called *Talîqâhnawis*. The *Talîqâh* is then signed, as stated above, and sealed by the ministers of State" (Blochmann's Translation I., pp. 253-259, Text I., pp. 192-3).

This passage of the 10th *Âin* then explains the terms *ta'lîqâh* (abridgment of memorandum), *wâqî'ah* (event or record), *wâqî'ahnawis* (writer of records), and *risâlah* (writing or record) which occur in these *Farmâns*.

The following passage of the 11th *Âin* explains why this *Talîqâh* or abridgment of the memorandum of the king's orders has been entered on the back of the *Farmân*. "The Câhib-i-Taujih (صاحب توجیه or Military accountant) keeps the former *Talîqâh* with himself, writes its details on the *Farmân* (صاحب توجیه آخرين تعليقه را پيش خود نگاه دارد و شرح آنرا در ضمن فرمان نويسد) and seals and signs it. It is then inspected by the *Mustaufi* and is signed and sealed by him. Afterwards the *Nâzir* and the *Bakhshis* do so likewise, when it is sealed by the *Diwân*, his Accountant, and the *Vakil* of the State." (Blochmann's Translation I., pp. 261-62, Text I., pp. 194, ll. 13-14.)

¹ از قرار نفചیل ذیل بوجب تفصیل ذیل or "appendix, postscript." "ذیل" "ذیل" "as detailed below ; in accordance with the following statement." (Steingass.)

livelihood of Parsi Kaikôbâd, son of Mâhyâr. Whereas, before this time, on the 15th day of the month Meher, *ildhi* year 40, an order was issued (which) as it had not been entered with particulars into the records,¹ it has been entered in details in the *rasâlah* and *chauki*,² of A'llâmî³ Shaik Abul Fazl, who protects emoluments, overflows in power, and knows truths and all sorts of knowledge, and in the *naubat* of the *waqiah* of Khwâjah Muizzuddin Hussain.

The marginal note (written) by the hand of *Wâqiah-nawis*. The explanation of the text⁴ is according to the record of humblest slave Muizzuddin Hussain.

¹ واقعه نویس *wâqî'ah*, an event, record. *wâqî'ahnawis* or recorder was an officer in king Akbar's time, in each Çubâh. There is a separate Äin (Bk. II. in Äin 10) about his work in the Äin-i-Akbâri (Blochmann's text, Vol. I., p.192, l.25, Translation, Vol. I., p.258). His duty is thus described in the above Äin فرموده و کار کرد گیقی خداوند بر نویسید..... منصب تا بین مایدانه جا گیرد... "Their duty is to write down the orders and the doings of His Majesty appointments to mançabs; contingents of troops; salaries; *Jagirs*."

² The following passage in the Äin-i-Akbâri (Bk. II., Äin IX., the Äin of كشك, i.e. hall or parlour) seems to explain this word.

بزیان وقت چوکی خوانند سه گونه بود سپاه چهار گونه هفت بخش شه و هر یک بروزی نامزد و امیری بزرگ چوش بسر کرد گی سرافراز یکی از طرزدانان معامله شناس بهتر عرضی چهار افزو ز سعادت گردد و همگی احکام خلافت بشناشائی این دو فروپرده مود روائی کیود شبانروزی پیرامن دولتخانه به نیایش ایستند و در انتظار فرمايش بنشینند

(Blochmann's text, Vol. I., p. 192, ll. 4-7.) "Mounting guard is called in Hindi *chauki*. There are three kinds of guards. The four divisions of the army have been divided into seven parts, each of which is appointed for one day, under the superintendence of a trustworthy *Mancabdâr*. Another, fully acquainted with all ceremonies at Court, is appointed as *Mir'Arz*. All orders of His Majesty are made known through these two officers. They are day and night in attendance about the palace, ready for any orders His Majesty may issue." (Blochmann's Translation, Vol. I., p. 257). It appears, that the particular officer, in whose turn of *chauki* the king issued orders or *Farmâns*, took notes in his books. علامی, very learned. It was a title given by Akbar to Abul Fazl. (Badaoni Text II., p. 198, l. 11, Lowe II, p. 201).

⁴ متن *mâtn*, the text of a book.

Another *shark* (is) in the hand of Mulla Nazar. From the assignment of the Jâgirdâr the assignment¹ should be made with the *ildhi gaz* from the season of *kharif kusel*.

300 *bigâhs*.

Village² Erni³ in the *paragnah*⁴ Pârchôl.

In the environs (*sawâd*) of the town of Naôsâri, where the above-mentioned land was, ere this, for the purpose of the assistance of livelihood of Mâhyâr.

100 *bigâhs*.

With *sah*.

200 *bigâhs*.

With *sah*.⁵

Translation of the Persian lines on the first fold, of the lines on the margin which give dates, and of the lines under the different seals.

1. (First marginal line.) Date 29, month Asfandârmaz, Ilâhi year 40.⁶ (It is not clear what the figure r (two) in the beginning indicates.)

2. (Second marginal line.) Copy taken on the first day of the month Farvardin Ilâhi, year 41.

3. (The two lines on the first fold.) In the *rasalah* and *chauki* of Nawâb Shaikh Abul Fazl, who protects emoluments, diffuses power and knows truths and all sorts of knowledge and in the *naubat* (turn) of the Wâqiahnawis Muizzuddin Hussain with *sah*.⁷

4. (Seal No. 1) Khân Khânân, the follower of king Akbar.

5. (Seal No. 2) Mirzâ Kokâh.

(Seals Nos. 3, 4, 5, 7, 8, not legible.)

6. (Seal No. 6) Humblest slave, Cadr Jahân Al Hussaini.

¹ ظرفی "an assignment on lands."

² قریۃ *karyat* village.

³ Vide above, p. 40, n. 5. ⁴ According to Elliot *Sarkâr* is "a district into which *parganahs* are aggregated." Jarrett (*Ain-i-Akbari*, Jarrett's Translation, Vol. II., p. 114 n.) says, "Each *sûbah* is divided into a certain number of *sarkârs* and each *sarkâr* into *parganahs* or *mahals*."

⁵ مسٹر i. e. with مسٹر *sah*, which is an abbreviation of مسٹر *sahih*, i. e. "official signature to attest the authenticity of a deed."

⁶ Perhaps this is the marginal note of the *Waqiahnawis*, as referred to in the Farmân as the marginal *shark*, of the *waqiahnawis*.

⁷ The last word after this is the same as that written above under the figures 100 and 200.

7. (Date under Seal No. 7.) Entered on day 7 (?) month Asfardârmaz, Ilâhi year 40.
8. (Date under Seal No. 8.) Entered on day (?), month Ardibehesht, year 41. (There are one or two words at the end which are not legible or intelligible.)
9. (Seal No. 9.) Nazar Ali bin Hussain.
10. (Date under Seal No. 9.) Written on the day, the first day (*ghurra*), of the month Farvardin, year 41.
11. (Seal No. 10) Praying slave Hussain Kamâluddin.
12. (Date under Seal No. 10.) Became informed on day 29, month Asfandârmaz, Ilâhi year 40.
13. (Seal No. 11) Servant Hussain Kamâluddin.
14. (Date under Seal No. 11) Written on 29 Asfardârmaz, Ilâhi year 40.

Having given the translation of the first *farmân*, we will now examine the seals on the *farmân*. We have, at the top of the *farmân*, the seal of His Majesty. This is just in conformity to what Abul Fazl says about the position of king Akbar's seal. He says, "The seal of His Majesty is put above the *Tughra*¹ lines on the top of the *farmân*," (vol. I., p. 264) (قدسی مهر فراز طغرا روی فرمان آراید) (lit. the holy seal adorns the face of the *farmân* above the *Tughra*). King Akbar's seal on our *farmân* is just at the top and just above the lines in which the title and name of the king are written.

As to the form of Akbar's seal, Abul Fazl, in his *Ain-i-Akbari* (Bk. I., *Ain*. 20), says, as follows, about the royal seals. (زگین شاپشاپی).

"In the beginning of the present reign, Maulânâ Maqçud, the seal engraver, cut in a circular form upon a surface of steel, in the *riqâ'* character, the name of His Majesty and those of his illustrious ancestors up to Timûrlang; and afterwards he cut another similar seal in the *nastâliq* character, only with His Majesty's name The round small seal goes by the (chagatai) name of Uzuk, and is used for *Farmân-i-sabtîs*; and the large one, into which he cut the names of the ancestors of His Majesty, was at first only used for

¹ طغرا "The royal titles prefixed to letters, diplomas or other public deeds which are generally written in a fine ornamental hand ; a sort of writing."—Steingass.

letters to foreign kings, but now-a-days for both." (Blochmann's translation I., p. 52, Text I., p. 47, l. 18.) The seal on the two *farmâns* given to Dastur Meherji Rana's son Kaikobâd, in which the 200 bigâhs of land given to Meherji Rana are referred to, is the large one in which the names of Akbar's ancestors are mentioned. The following list, prepared from the pedigree of the house of Timur, given in Elphinstone's *History of India*,¹ gives the names of Akbar's ancestors.

Timur—Mirân Shâh Hosein—Mohammed Mirzâ—Abû Said—Omar Shekh—Bâber—Humâyûn—Akbar. This list gives us eight names, Timur and Akbar included.

The circular seal of Akbar on the *farmâns* in question, has eight circles, each of which contains the name of one of the above-named eight kings. The central circle is a large one and contains the name of king Akbar himself. The document being very old, the photo and the photo-litho have not come out as one would wish. But in the original document, one can decipher the names with a magnifying glass, though with a little difficulty.

The king's name in the central circle is Jalâluddin Muhammad Akbar Bâdshâh. The name is read from below.

Exactly above the circle of his name, stands the circle, containing his ancestor Timur's name. It is "ibn Amir Timur Saheb-i-quirân." Saheb-i-quirân was a title of Timur. The word "ibn" is used in the sense of "son" with all names except that of Akbar. It means that the first named was the son of the next and so on up to Timur. Just as now-a-days, in round seals and monograms, people arrange their names and initials in the best stylish way they like, so we find it in the case of the above seal and names. ابن امیر تیمور صاحب قران is the order in which the name seems to be written from below.

Coming down by the left, from the top circle, which contains Timur's name, we find one by one, the names of his descendants. In the first circle, on the left coming down from the top, we read ابن میران شاہ ibn-i-Mirân Shâh. This is Timur's son, Mirân Shâh Hosein of Elphinstone's list. The next name lower down is ibn-i-Sultân Muhammed Mirzâ. Then comes the name at the bottom, ibn-i-Sultân Abul-Said. In all these last three names, the word *ibn* begins the line from the

¹ Fifth Edition by Cowell (1866), p. 773.

bottom and the word Sultân is above it. Then going up on the right from below, we have the name ibn Mirzâ Omar Shekh. Then we have in the ascending order the two familiar names, ibn-Bâdshâh Bâbar and ibn Bâdshâh Hûmâyûn. The order of the names in the seal would be Jalâluddin Muhammad Akbar Bâdshâh, the son of Bâdshâh Humâyûn, the son of Bâdshâh Bâbar, and so on up to Timur. The document being very old, the deciphering of some of the names is a little difficult.

Now we will examine the seals of the different officers placed at the end of the document. In those times, seals took the place of signatures of the present day. Abul Fazal says in his *Ain-i-Akbari* on this point

نگزیر دل چو گوره را در معاشره

in fact every man requires them in his transactions" (Blochmann's text, I., p. 47, ll. 17, 18, Translation I., p. 52, Bk. I., Ain, 20). Blochmann says, "We sign documents, Orientals stamp their names to them." (*ibid* n. 2).

There are altogether eleven seals attached to the document, besides that of the king at the commencement. Of these eleven, six are more or less legible and five are illegible. The way, in which the seals are affixed, as well as the names on the seals, require an explanation. To enable the reader to follow me in this explanation, I have put in the printed Persian copy of the *farmân*, progressive numbers in English figures over the circles of the seals.

The position of the seals can be more exactly ascertained by looking to the photo-lithographed fac simile.

First of all, we notice, that the position of the document, after the mention of the situation of the 300 *bîghâhs*, is inverted, i.e., the signatories turn the document upside down, as it were, and then proceed to put down their seals and their statements about the dates on which the documents were noted in their respective records (*vide* the original photo-litho facsimile). The reason, why these seals appear in an inverted order, is explained by the following paragraph of the *Ain-i-Akbari* (Bk. II., Ain 12), which says that the seals were put in the order of the folds (شانجی) of the document. So holding the document in our hands in the position in which it commences, the first fold will present the bottom of the other side of the document, where we find the seals of the principal officers. The passage of the *Ain-i-Akbari* on this subject says:—

"Farmâns, Parwanchahs, and Barâtas, are made into several

folds beginning from the bottom. On the first fold¹ which is less broad, at a place towards the edge where the paper is cut off, the Vakil puts his seal ; opposite to it, but a little lower, the *Mushrif*² of the *Diwân*³ puts his seal, in such a manner that half of it goes to the second fold. Then, in like manner but a little lower, comes the seal of the *Çadr*. But when Shaikh 'Abdunnabî and Sultân Khwâjah were *Çadrs*, they used to put their seals opposite to that of the *Vakîl*. In the middle of that fold is the place where that person puts his seal who comes nearest in rank to the *Vakîl*. . . . The *Mir Mâl*, the *Khân Sâmân*, the *Parwâñchî*, &c., seal on the second fold, but in such a manner that a smaller part of their seals goes to the first fold. The seals of the *Diwan*, and the *Bakhshî* do not go beyond the edge of the second fold, whilst the *Diwân-i-juz*, the *Bakhshî-i-juz*, and the *Diwan-i-Buyûtât* put their seals on the third fold. The *Mustaufi* puts his seal on the fourth, and the *Çâhib-i-Taujih* on the fifth fold. The seal of His Majesty is put above the *Tughrâ* lines on the top of the *Farmân*, where the princes also put their seals in *Tâ'liqahs*." (Blochmann's Text, Vol. I., p. 195, l. 19. Translation, Vol. I., pp. 263-64.)

We must note, that this is a general statement for the positions of the seals of the officers named in the passage, when they have to sign documents. It applies to *farmâns*, *parwâñchahs* and *bardâts* (*i.e.*, cheque *farmâns*). So it appears that all the officers named above need not sign all the documents.

We will now proceed to examine the position of the seals and the names of the signatories.

At first on the first fold in the middle we find two lines saying that the document has been noted in the *rasalah* and *chauki* of Abul Fazl, who was the officer in charge of those posts.

The following passage in the *Ain-i-Akbari* (Book II., *Ain* 19) explains why Abul Fazl had also to take, at times, a note of the grants of *jâgirs*.

"On account of the general peace and security in the empire, the grant-holders commenced to lay out their lands in gardens, and thereby derived so much profit, that it tempted the greediness of the

¹ لخت نھیں *lakht*, portion, part, bit. The text is كم پہنچی *km pñcji*

² شرف *sharif*, an officer in a treasury who authenticates accounts and writings.

³ بیوان *bîwan* is the officer who keeps the *jagir* accounts.

Government officers, who had certain notions of how much was sufficient for *Sayîrghâl*-holders, to demand revenue taxes; but this displeased His Majesty, who commanded that such profits should not be interfered with. Again, when it was found out that holders of one hundred big'hahs and even less were guilty of bribery, the order was given that Mir Çadr Jahân should bring these people before His Majesty; and afterwards it was determined that the Çadr, with the concurrence of the writer of this work, should either increase or decrease the grants "چنان قرار گرفت که صدر بعده دید را قم شکر夫" (Blochmann's Translation, Vol. I., pp. 269-70. Text I., p. 199, l. 10.) This passage says that the Çadr had to seek "the concurrence of the writer of this work," i.e. Abul Fazl.

We see, that, by the side of the seal of the Çadr, of whom we will speak later on, we find the note, that the document has been recorded in the records of Abul Fazl. In the same above-mentioned two lines, it is also noted, that it is recorded in the record of the turn (*naubat*) of the *wâqiahnawis* Muizzuddin Hussain. The following passage of the *Ain-i-Akbari* (Book II., *Ain* 10) explains, who the officer was, and why he had to take a note of the grant of *jâgirs*, and why it is put down on the document in question that it has been entered in his record.

"Keeping records is an excellent thing for a Government . . . His Majesty has appointed fourteen zealous, experienced, and impartial clerks, two of whom do daily duty in rotation, so that the turn (*نوبت naubat*) of each comes after a fortnight . . . Their duty is to write down the orders and the doings of His Majesty and whatever the heads of the departments report . . . appointments to mançabs, contingents of troops, salaries, jagirs" (Blochmann's Translation I., p. 258, Text I., p. 192, l. 20).

This passage then says, that one *waq'i'ahnawis* was, according to his turn (*نوبت naubat*), always in attendance upon His Majesty and took notes, among other doings of His Majesty, of his grants of jagirs, &c. Hence it is, that we find that in the *farmân* under examination, the name of the *waq'i'ahnawis*, during whose turn of office, the grant was made by the king, and in whose records it was entered, is mentioned. This *waq'i'ahnawis* is one Muizzuddin Hussain. Now we come to the seals.

Seal No. 1.—On the extreme right of the above two lines, at the edge, first of all, we find a seal, on which we can distinctly read the name میرد اکبر شاہ خان خان Murid-i-Akbar Shâh Khân Khânân.

In the matter of this seal, we must note, what the above passage, of the Âin-i-Akbari, says about the first fold. It says

کم پہنا بو کنار پشت پیوست جائی که قطع کنند مهر و کیل شود
“on the first-fold, which is less broad, at a place towards the edge where the paper is cut off, the Vakil puts his seal.” (Blochmann's Text I., p. 195, ll. 19-20. Translation I., p. 263.)

We see in the case of both the original farmâns that are produced, that a portion of the paper at the right hand corner at the bottom, (which when folded forms the first-fold) is cut off, and it is just at the edge, where the paper is cut off, that the seal of this Khân Khânân, who was the Vakil at this period (1003 Hijri), occurs.

We gather the following particulars about this personage from Blochmann's Âin-i-Akbari.

Murid-i-Akbar Shâh Khân Khânân. His full name was Khân Khânân Mirzâ Abdurrahim. When his father Bairâm Khân was murdered, he was a small child. Akbar took charge of him. Khân Khânân was the title conferred upon him in 992 Hijri for his victories. (Badaoni. Lowe's Translation II., p. 346.) In the 25th year of Akbar's reign he was appointed Mir 'Arz and in the 34th year Vakil. He died in 1038 Hijri.

He calls himself in his seal, *murid*, i.e., a disciple or follower of Akbar Shah. He was one of the grandees of Akbar's court named by Abul Fazl in his Âin-i-Akbar (Blochmann I., p. 334-38, No. 29).

Seal No. 2.—The next seal, on the right of the above two lines of Abul Fazl's and Muizzuddin's records, and a little on the left of the above-named seal of Khân Khânân, is that of Mirzâ Kokâh. The name is clearly legible. We gather the following particulars about this personage and of the different offices that he filled in Akbar's court.

His full name is Khân-i-A'zam Mirzâ 'Aziz Kokah. He was a great favourite of Akbar. He is one of the grandees (No. 21) mentioned by Abul Fazl in his Âin-i-Akbari. In the 34th year of Akbar's reign, he was appointed Governor of Gujrat. In the 39th year he went on a pilgrimage to Mecca and joined Akbar in the beginning of 1003 Hijri. He was made Vakil in 1004. Azam Khan was

the title latterly bestowed upon him. (Blochmann's *Ain-i-Akbari* I., p. 325-27.)

Now in what capacity is it, that Mirzâ Kokah signs this document. He was not the Vakil, because the Vakil of the time of this document (the 40th of Akbar's reign, i.e., 1003 Hijri) was, as said above, Khân Khânân, and he himself was appointed Vakil, as said above, in the next year, i.e., 1004 Hijri. So he seems to have signed it as "one who comes nearest in rank to the Vakil." In the above quoted passage about the order of the seals (Book II., *Ain* 12) we read

میان آن شکنج جای کسی است که رتبه او نزدیک وکالت باشد
چنانچه ازکه خان در زمان منعم خان و ادham خان

(Blochmann's Text I., p. 195, ll. 22-23.)

"In the middle of that fold (i.e., the first-fold), is the place where that person puts his seal who comes nearest in rank to the Vakil, as Atkah Khan did at the time of Mun'im Khân and Adham Khân. (Translation I., p. 263.)

To understand the above allusion, and to understand how it applies to the case of Mirza Kokah in the document under question, we must look to the list of vakils or prime-ministers given by Abul Fazl in his *Ain-i-Akbari* (Book II., *Ain* 29. Blochmann's Text, Vol. I., p. 232, ll. 7-8. Translation I., p. 527). Blochmann says (*ibid.*, p. 527, n. 1) that Abul Fazl's list is not complete. But, as it is, it is as follows :—

Bairâm Khân, Mun'im Khân, Atgah Khân, Bahâdur Khân,
خان خانان میورزا (خان)
Khwâjâh Jahân, Khân Khânân Mirzâ Khân (خان اعظم میرزا کوکه)

Now in the above passage of the 12th *Ain*, Abul Fazl says, that when Munim Khan and Adham Khân¹ were Vakils in turn, Atkah Khân, who was nearest in rank to each of them, put his seal in the farmâns, &c., on the first-fold. We find from the above list, that this Atkah Khân himself was subsequently appointed a vakil. This shows that the person who is intended to be the next successor to the vakilship, is considered to be the "nearest in rank" or what we,

¹ Abul Fazl does not give Adam Khân's name in the list, in the 30th *ain*. He has evidently forgotten to give it, because he clearly says here that he acted as a Vakil. As Mun'im Khân came to Vakilship after Bairam Khân (Blochmann's Translation I., p. 323), it is clear that Adam Khân succeeded Munim Khân.

in modern parlance, call "assistant." This nearest in rank or assistant generally succeeded to the place at the first vacancy. Now as we find from the above list that Mirzâ Kokah was occupant of the post of Vakilship in Akbar's Court, and as we further see that he was appointed to the post in 1004 Hijri, it is quite clear, that in 1003, i.e., in the 40th year of Akbar's reign, when the Farmân in question was granted, he was "the nearest in rank" to the Vakil, Khân Khânân. Hence it is, that next to the seal of Khan Khânân, the Vakil and his immediate superior, we find his seal as that of the nearest in rank or assistant.

The above passage of the *Ain* allots "the middle" of the first fold to the seal of "the nearest in rank to the Vakil," and we find Mirza Kokah's seal in the middle of the first fold. By the term *میان* *midn*, i.e., middle, we must not take it to mean the middle of the fold held horizontally, i.e., the middle of the breadth of the paper of the document, but the middle of the breadth of the fold itself.

Seal No. 3.—It is altogether indistinct and illegible.

Seals Nos. 4 and 5.—They are both illegible. They are just near the two lines which mention that the document has been recorded in the *risalah* and *chauki* of Shaik Abul Fazl and the *Waqiâhnâwîs* Muizzuddin Hussain. So very likely they are the seals of these two officers. On the first (No. 4) of this set of two seals, a word Shaik شیخ, is a little legible. It appears more so with the help of a magnifying glass. So this seems to be the seal of Shaikh Abul Fazl. The second (No. 5) of these two seals may be that of the *Waqiâhnâwîs* Muizzuddin.

Seal No. 6.—On the left of the above-mentioned two lines, and opposite to the seals of Khân Khânân and Mirzâ Kokah, but a little lower, we have a seal, the writing on which is a little clear and legible. It is Al Hussaini Çadr Jahân Kamtarin Bandeh (الحسيني صدر جهان) (کھنڈرین بندھو) i.e., humblest slave Çadr Jahân Al Hussaini. We read in the above *Ain* of seals, "Opposite to it (i.e., the Vakil's seal), but a little lower,¹ the Mushrif of the Diwân puts his seal in such a manner that half of it goes to the second fold. Then, in like manner but a little lower (پاچتھے), comes the seal of the Çadr." This seal then, which bears the name of Çadr Jahân, is the seal of the Çadr, referred to in the *Ain-i-Akbari* as above. Its position tallies with the situation allotted to it in the above passage of the *Ain*.

¹ وَابْعَدُوا *vâpaçtar*. *Vâpaç* means "behind, in the back."

Cadr was an high officer of the State. Abul Fazl says of this officer, "As the circumstances of men have to be inquired into, before grants are made, and their petitions must be considered in fairness, an experienced man of correct intentions is employed for this office. He ought to be at peace with every party, and must be kind towards the people at large in word and action. Such an officer is called Çadr. The Qâzi and the Mir 'Adl are under his orders." (Book II., Âin 19, Blochmann's translation I., p. 268.) Blochmann says that the Çadr, who was also generally styled Çadr-i-Jahân, ranked during Akbar's time, as the fourth officer¹ of the Empire.

The Çadr or Çadr-i-Jahân, at the time when this *Farmân* was issued (1003 Hijri, 40th year of the reign), was a person whose name coincided with his title. Hence it is that we find in the *Farmân* the seal of the Çadr bearing the name Çadr-i-Jahân. We find his name last in the list of Çadrs given by Abul Fazl in the 30th Âin (Blochmann's Text I., p. 232, l. 15; Translation I., p. 528.) He came to office in 997 Hijri. He continued to serve under Jahangir. (Blochmann I., pp. 272-74.)

Seal No. 7.—This seal is quite illegible. It is perhaps the seal of the Mushrif of the Diwan, to whose seal, the above passage of the Âin allots a place in the first fold in the same line with that of the Çadr. It is on the same line and fold with that of Çadr Jahân and quite close to it. As the position of the seal in the *Farmân* is the same as that allotted, in the Âin-i-Akbari, to the seal of the Mushrif-i-Diwan, it appears very probable that this seal is that of that officer. There is one word that is legible on this seal, and that is جهان. But that word alone does not help us to determine who this personage was and whose seal it is.

Seal No. 8.—This seal is quite illegible. Not a single word or letter can be deciphered. The date, on which it was affixed, is put down under it thus :

۴۱ ذیت شد فی التاریخ ماه اردیبهشت i.e., entered in the book on the date month Ardiebehesht, year 41. At the end of the line there is a word which may be the particular date, but I cannot make it out. The words ذیت شد *sabt shud*, used in connection with

¹ The four chief officers are (1) Vakils or prime ministers, (2) Vazirs or Ministers of Finance, (3) The Bakhshis, and (4) the Çards.

this seal, show, that this may be the seal of the Diwân. In the 11th Âin, speaking about the drafts of the *Farmâns*, Abul Fazal says: "The draft is then inspected by the Diwân, who verifies it by writing on it the words *sabt numâyand* نسبت نمایاند i.e., ordered to be entered). The mark of the Daftâr, and the seal of the Diwân, the Bakhshi and the Accountant (of) the Diwân (دیوان Mushrif-i-Diwân) are put on the draft in order, when the Imperial grant is written on the outside. The draft thus completed is sent for signature (نسبت sabt) to the Diwân."¹ We learn from this passage that *sabt* seems to be a special technical word for the office of the Diwân. Thus, as the position of the seal in the document is the same as that allotted to the Diwân, and as the phraseology of the date نسبت شد is the same as that attributed to the Diwân in the Âin-i-Akbari, I think it is the seal of the Diwân. From the 12th Âin we learn, that "the seals of the Diwân and the Bakhshi do not go beyond the edge of the second fold"² (دیوان و بخشی از شکنج دوم در نگزد)

Seal No. 9.—This seal is distinct and legible. From the *Farmân*, as it is folded now, we cannot exactly determine what the first fold of the document was, and up to what the second, third and fourth folds extended. But from the position of the seals in the first fold, as described by the 12th Âin, this seal appears to be on the third fold. It gives the name Nazar Ali bin Hussain. Under the seal we read مرسقوم شد فی التاریخ غرة ماہ فروردین i.e., written on the day, the first day³ of the month Farvardin of the 41st year. The same date is thus given a little below on the margin of the document written vertically up from below.

غرة ماہ فروردین الہی سنہ ۴۱ نقل گرفته شد

i.e., copy taken on the first day of the month Farvardin, Ilâhi year 41.

Then the question is, who this personage, Nazar Ali or Ali Nazar is? He gives the date on which he put on the seal and entered the document in his books. He seems to be one of the

¹ Blochmann's Translation I., p. 261, Text I., p. 194, ll. 11-13.

² Blochmann's Text I., p. 195, l. 24, Translation I., p. 263.

³ The word may also be read نھرات^ج nahrat, "the first day of the new moon; also the last day."

⁴ This word can be read nahrat also—*vide* above, n. 3.

officers like the above-mentioned *Wāqīah-nawis* Muizzuddin, who had to do something with the original Tāliqah or its Yāddāshth. His name is also mentioned in the body of the Farmān, as one who also had made a *shārh* about the Farmān.¹

Seal No. 10.—The name on this seal is quite clear and legible. It is داعی بنده حسین کمال الدین i.e., praying slave Hussain Kamāluddin. Under the seal we read

مطلع شہ ۲۹ ماه اسفند ارمذن الهی ۴۰

i.e., became informed on the date 29 of the month Asfandārmaz, Ilāhi year 40. The same date is given a little below on the margin of the document in a vertical line. This seal seems to be on the fourth fold which is allotted, in the above-mentioned 12th Āin, to the seal of the Mustaifi (مسٹوفی), who is an auditor or a controller of accounts. So perhaps this is the seal of that officer. Now it is not certain who this Kamāluddin was. We come across three personages of the name of Kamāluddin in Akbar's time,

1. Mir Kamāluddin Khwāfi, who is said to have served under Akbar, but it is not said under what capacity.³

2. Kamāluddin, the father of Abu Turab, who was appointed Mir Hajji by Akbar.⁴

3. Maulana Kamāluddin Husan, father of Maulana Alauddin, who was the teacher of Akbar.⁵ This third personage Kamaluddin Husan seems to be the signatory of this *farmān*.

Seal No. 11.—This seal also is quite clear and legible. It is that of Al-Abd⁶ Hussain Kamaluddin حسین کمال الدین i.e., servant Hussain Kamaluddin. Under the seal we read قائمی شہ ۲۹ اسفند ارمذن ۴۰ i.e., written on the 29th of Asfandārmaz of the Ilāhi year 40. So we find that both the names and the dates of the

¹ Vide p. 105.

² (ج is the contraction of تاریخ

³ Blochmann's Āin-i-Akbari Translation I., p. 445, n. 1.

⁴ Ibid., pp. 506-507.

⁵ Ibid., p. 540.

⁶ بندوں servant, slave. In many of the seals we find the signatories attaching some words of humility to their names, such as داعی بنده کمال الدین.

two seals No. 10 and No. 11 are the same. This may be the case perhaps because the same person may have held two offices. This seal is the last and the lowest ; and the last officer, to whom the lowest part of the farmân, the fifth fold, is allotted in the above-quoted passage of the 12th Âin, is Çahib-Taujih صاحب نوجیہ who is the adjuster of accounts. Just as in the case of the Diwân, the words سبٹ شد sabt-shûd, used in our Farmân, helped us to think that the seal may have belonged to an officer of the Diwân, in whose connection the same words were used in the Âin-i-Akbari, so the words قلمی galami shûd used in the Farmân under this 11th and last seal of Kamîluddin, help us to think that this seal may be that of the Çahib-i-Taujih. In the 11th Âin we read that "the Çahib-i-Taujih keeps the former Taliqah¹ with himself." (صاحب نوجیہ آخرين تعليقه را پيش خود نگاه دارد)

Now in the case when the Taliqah was confirmed by the king, and the Jagir conferred, the words written in the report were, according to the above Âin, "Taliqah-i-tan qualami numayand تعلیقہ تیں قلمی نمایند i.e., they are to write out a taliqah.² So the words qualami shûd written under the 11th seal show that as alluded to in the Âin-i-Akbari, this seal may be that, of the Çahib-i-Taujih.

Let us now examine the different dates as given in the Farmân. From the Sharh-i-taliqah, i.e., the details of the abridgment, we learn that His Majesty king Akbar first issued the order of the Farmân on the 15th of the 7th month Meher in the 40th year of his reign (1003 Hijri). The order was recorded on the 13th day Tir of the 8th month Âban of the same year. In accordance with that order, the Farmân was prepared on the 10th day of the 12th month Asfan-dârmaz of the same year.

Then there are three statements of dates in which we read the month Asfandârmaz of the 40th year. One is under seal No. 7, which is illegible, and in which, the only word that we can read with

¹ i.e., the abridgment of the Yâddâsh or memorandum of the affairs of the king. Blochmann's Translation I., p. 261, Text I., p. 194, l. 13.

² Ibid., Translation, p. 261, Text I., p. 194, l. 11.

accuracy is **وَلَحْ** Jahan. It is the date when the Mushrif or some officer attached to the Diwan put the seal. The particular day is not clear. It looks like 7, but that cannot be the date, as it must be one after the 10th. It may be the 17th, or it may be some date in connection with the first *shark*. Then the seals Nos. 10 and 11, those of Kamaluddin, have the dates put under them. These dates are clear. They are the 29th of Asfandârmaz of the 40th year. The same date, we read in one of the two marginal statements. Then we find that one seal (No. 9) of Nazar Ali has the date of the succeeding month, *i.e.*, Farvardin of the 41st year of the reign. This date is also given in the second of the two marginal statements. Then there is one seal (No. 8) which bears the date of the next month Ardibehesht of the 41st year. We notice one thing, and it is this, that all officers did not put down the dates when they attached their seals. Perhaps it was only those, in whose books the Farmâns were regularly recorded or taken note of, who put down the dates of their seals, to facilitate reference to their books in case of necessity. I think Abul Fazl seems to make a distinction, when he uses, in the case of some officers, the words *nishân va môhr* **نِشَان وَ مُهْر** *i.e.*, sign and seal, and in the case of others simply the word **مُهْر** *môhr*, *i.e.*, the seal. When they put down the dates with their own hands, under their seals, that was meant to be putting their *nishân* or sign. For example, he says that the Cahib-i-Taujih, the Mustaufî, the Nazir and the Bakhshis put on their signs and seals. In the case of the Diwân, his accountant and the Vakil, he uses simply the word seal.¹

¹ Blochmann's Text I., p. 194, ll. 13-15, Translation I., pp. 261-62.

(Translation of the second *Farmân*.)

God is Great.

The *Farmân* of Jalâluddin Muhammad Akbar Bâdshâh Gâzi.

At this time, a royal order, signifying favour, has acquired the honour of being issued, and the dignity of being published, that, Whereas about 300 *bigâhs* of land (measured) by the *îldhî gaz*, together with the palm and date trees, &c., which are growing on that land, in the environs of the town of Naosâri, &c., according to the particulars of the contents (of this *Farmân*), had been formerly assigned from the *Sarkâr* of Surat, for the purpose of the assistance of livelihood of Parsi Kaikobâd, son of Mâhyâr, from the assignment of the *jâgirdâr*, according to an order which has issued¹ forth, from the commencement of the (season of) *kharif*² *ku el*, so that, from year to year, spending the income thereof, in maintaining his life, he may be engaged in praying for the increase of the wealth and good fortune (of His Majesty) It is incumbent upon all present and future governors, and tax-gatherers and *jagirdars* and *krôriâns* of that district, that they should, according to what is written, give back in his possession, totally and entirely, the allotted part of 300 *bigâhs* in the same way as ordered above,³ and should not diminish or refuse anything; and whatever may have been received during the past and current years from the income of 300 *bigâhs*, should be returned; and no burdens should be imposed in that matter; and trying to bestow care in the confirmation and perpetuity of that

¹ قضا decree, order ; جریان jaryân "which issues forth (as an order)." (Steingass.)

² خريف autumn, autumn harvest, harvest.

³ Lit. in the beginning, front, chief. The word *Qadr* used in the seals in the sense of minister is derived from this meaning. Abul Fazl in his "Ain-i-Akbari" (Bk. II., Ain 19) says of this officer : "As the circumstances of men have to be enquired into, before grants are made, and their petitions must be considered in fairness, an experienced man of correct intentions is employed for this office . . . Such an officer is called *Qadr*. The *Qâzî* and the *Mir'Adl* are under his orders. He is assisted in his important duties by a clerk, who has to look after the financial business, and is nowadays styled *Diwan-i-Sâdat* and afterwards it was determined that the *Qadr*, with the concurrence of the writer of this work, (*i.e.*, Abul Fazal,) should either increase or decrease the grants. (Blochmann's translation, Vol. I., pp. 268-70.)

should make no change or alteration ; and make no deduction¹ from those lands;² and on account of land tax, and imposts on manufactures and capitation taxes, the rest of the taxes, such as imposts and presents and fines and village assessments and marriage fees and Darogha's fees and tax-gatherer's fees, and five per cent. tax and two³ per cent. tax and kánungú (i.e., fees of the officer acquainted with land tenures) and burdens (i.e., taxes) for cultivation and gardening and zakát of duties on manufactures and assessments, no molestation should be given him every year, after (i.e., beyond) the ascertainment of the grant and all civil taxes and all royal revenues; and excusing, freeing⁴ and absolving him in every way⁵ and of all charges, they should not go round him and should not ask every year for renewed *farmáns* and *parvánchahs* in this matter; and when (it, i.e., the *farmán*, is once) adorned⁶ and illustrated⁷ with the royal signet of the respect⁸ of His Most Glorious⁹ Majesty, they must show their confidence in it.

Written on the date¹⁰ second (day) of máh Mêhér ildhi year 48.

Postscript¹¹ explanation (or details) of the *waqiah* (i.e. record). On the second day Bahman of the month Meher iláhí year 48, corresponding to Thursday, according to the writing of *Jumlatul-*

¹ وَضْع subtraction, deduction, abatement.

² اراضی (pl. of رضی) lands, estates.

³ Sad-dui. *Vide* above, p. 101, n. 1.

⁴ مسلم musallam "free, dispensed, exempted from all public burdens."

⁵ من کلی وجہه or من کل الوجوهه "in every shape, entirely, every way."

⁶ مزین muzaiyan, "adorned ; signed and sealed by the Sháh."

⁷ مُجَالَى mujallâ, illustrated, manifested. This sentence may also refer to the person. ⁸ وَقْع respect, regard. This word is not found in the first *farmán*. If read قیع sharpened.

⁹ اجل "more excellent, more or most glorious."

¹⁰ التاریخ, or if you read it as عَلَانِي alâni, "belonging to the present time," i.e., now. The figure after this word is ۲ two. But as there is a slight faint ink blot near it, the man cleaning the photo-litho stone took it to be a nought, and having inked it has made it look like ۲ twenty. That the date is second appears from the next but one line and other subsequent dates. This date corresponds to roz 2 mah 7 year 972 Yazdazardi A.D. 1603.

¹¹ حاشیه a marginal note, postscript.

mulkī¹ madarul-mahammi² nizamulrasā³ Āsafkhan⁴, and in the shauki of bakhshi-almulkī, the favoured of His Majesty Khwajagi Fathullah⁵ (and during) the turn⁶ of the wāqiah-nawis, the humblest of slaves, Muhammad Shafīa.

The order of the universally-obeyed,⁷ lustres⁸ of the sun (i.e., the king) has been issued that, Whereas about 300 bigahs of land (measured) by the ilāhi gaz, together with the palm and date trees, &c., which are growing on that land in the town of Naōsāri, &c., had been formerly assigned, from the Sarkār of Surat, for the purpose of the assistance of livelihood of Parsi Kāikōbād, son of Māhyār, from the assignment of the Jagirdār, according to an order which has issued forth, from the commencement of the (season of) kharij^{ku el}, so that, from year to year, spending the income thereof, in maintaining his life, he may be engaged in pray-

² جملت الْمُلْك Jumlat-ul-mulk was a title. It was bestowed upon the *Vakil* of the Empire. It was bestowed by Akbar upon Muzaaffar Khān-i-Turbati (Blochmann's *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol. I., p. 349.) Badāoni says:—

"In this year (the 17th of his reign) the Emperor recalled Muzaaffar Khan, who had been appointed governor of Sārangpūr, and appointed him prime minister and gave him in addition to his other titles that of Jumlat-ul-mulk. (Lowe's Translation, Vol. II., p. 174.)

² مهارال مهام lit. the centre of important affairs, i.e., a minister.

³ وَسِلْطَانُ الرُّوسِ اَنْجَامُ الْوَرَسِ a clever administrator. وَسِلْطَانُ الْوَرَسِ skilful, quick of apprehension (?).

Perhaps for *nizām al-rayāsat*.

⁴ Vide below, p. 128, for this personage.

⁵ خواجگی فتح اللہ (بزرگان چاویدہ دولت) enumerates by Abul Fazl in his *Ain-i-Akbari* (Bk. II., *Ain* 30.). He was one of the commanders of Three hundred and fifty (Blochmann's text I., p. 229, column 1, l. 11, grandee No. 285, Blochmann's Translation, Vol. I., p. 499). He is there described as the son of Haji Habibullah Kāshi (of Kāshān). He once served under Mirza Aziz Kokah.

⁶ Vide above, p. 102, n. 11, for the waqiah-nawis. They were fourteen in number and worked in turns. Abul Fazl says بُرُوزی دوکس قرار یافت و پس از چهار ده روز نوبت بیکی رسیده

"Two of whom do daily duty in rotation, so that the turn of each comes after a fortnight." (Blochmann's text, Vol. I., p. 192, l. 22. Translation Vol. I., p. 258). So here the particular writer, who had his turn to record the document, gives his own name.

⁷ مطاع جهان Jahān mutā, obeyed by the world.

⁸ شعاع a *shu'ā'*, light, splendour.

ing for (His Majesty's) daily-increasing¹ fortune, (It is enjoined) to all present and future governors and tax-gatherers and *Jagirdárs* and *kroris* of that district that ascertaining (the fact) according to what is written, they should, give back in his possession, 300 *bighás*, in the same way as declared in the most noble order, and whatever may have been received during the past year and during the current year should be returned. The writing of the postscript is in the hand of the *waqidh-nawis* according to the record.

The 300 *bighás* are fixed according to the former royal Farmân in this way :—

Village Tavrî in the *paragnah* of Talârî.

In the environs of the town of Naôsâri, where the abovementioned land was (allotted) ere this for the purpose of the assistance of livelihood of Mâhyâr.

100 *bighás*.

200 *bighás*.

With *sah*.

Translation of the Persian lines on the first fold, and of the marginal lines, and of other lines under the seals which give dates.

(The three lines in the first fold on the side containing the seals.)

In the record of *umdatu'l-mulki*,² *rukni sultanai*³ *a'la*,⁴ *itimâd-ul-daolat*⁵ *alkhâkhânieh*,⁶ *layak-u'l-inâm*⁷ *wa al-ahsân*,⁸ *jumlat-ul-mulki*,⁹ *madaru'l-mahammi*,¹⁰ *nizamul-raça*,¹¹ Açafkhân,

¹ روز افزوون increasing daily (in glory); a royal title implying august, fortunate.

² عمدة الاملك "pillar of the state" (a title conferred on high officials).

³ رکن سلطنت pillar of the dominion, a nobleman.

⁴ اعلیٰ most exalted.

⁵ اعتماد الدوّلۃ reliance of the state.

⁶ خاقانی imperial.

⁷ لایق العنام worthy of prize.

⁸ وال احسان and (worthy) of beneficence.

⁹ جملت الملک the sum total of the country, *vide* above, p. 123, n. 1.

¹⁰ Vide p. 123, n. 2.

¹¹ Ibid. n. 3.

and in the *chauki* of *bakhshi-al-mulki*,¹ *muqarrabu'l-hazrat-ul Sultani*,² Khwâjagi Fathullah³ and (during) the turn of the *waqiah-nawis* Muhammad Shafâ. On the day 2nd, month Meher *ilâhi* year 48 corresponding to Thursday.

(Seals Nos. 1 and 2 not legible.)

(Seal No. 3) Fathullah, (other words are not clearly legible).

(Seal No. 4) Âçaf Khân.

(Seal No. 5) humblest slave Çadr-i-Jahân al Hussaini.

(Seal No. 6 not legible.)

(Date under the two seals Nos. 6 and 4 which are mixed together.)
Entered on the date 14th month Meher *ilâhi* year 48.

(Date just below the above date written vertically.) Fixed and Sealed and signed on the date 14th month Meher *ilâhi* year 48.
With *sah*.

(Seal No. 7). Abdul Karim, *yazdâni* slave (*i. e.*, slave of God).

(The date under Seal No. 7). Became informed on the 9th of month Meher *ilâhi* year 48.

(Seal No. 8. The whole of it is not legible. The only word which is clear is) Ali Murtaza علی مرتضی

(The date under Seal No. 8). Written on 7th of month Meher *ilâhi* year 48.

(Seal No. 9) slave Kamâluddin Hussain.

(The date under Seal No. 9). Written on 7th day of month Meher *ilâhi* year 48.

(The marginal line under Seal No. 8 written vertically). Written in the book on the date 7th month Meher *ilâhi* year 48.

We will now examine the seals on the Farmân.

¹ Bakhshi of the State بخشی امکنی Fathullah was at one time appointed Bakhshi—*vide* below, p. 128, n. 2.

² مقرب احضرت اسلامانی the favourite of His Majesty the king.

³ *Vide* above, p. 128, n. 5. This commander seems to be in charge of the *chauki* at the time when the order in connection with the farmân was given.

The king's seal is at the top of the Farmân, as in the case of the first Farmân, and as referred to by the Âin-i-Akbari. It is made up of eight circles, containing the names of Akbar and his seven ancestors. The names in these circles are not as distinct and clear as in the case of the first farmân, and unfortunately the photo-litho. has not come out so well. However, placing these two farmâns side by side, one can determine the names with the help of a magnifying glass.

We will now come to the seals at the end of the Farmân. As in the case of the first Farmân, we have to turn the Farmân upside down to read the seals and the note of the *waqiah-nawis*, beginning from the first fold.

Seal No. 1. The name on it is not at all legible. But from what is said in the Âin-i-Akbari,¹ and from the fact that that statement of the Âin-i-Akbari is confirmed by the seal No. 1 of the first Farmân,² we can safely say, that this is the seal of Khan-i-Âzam Mirzâ Aziz Kokah, the then Vakil of king Akbar's time. We saw in the case of the first Farmân,³ that at that time (1003 Hijri, the 40th year of Akbar's reign), he was the person "nearest in rank to the Vakil," and as such we saw his seal on the first fold on the left of that of the then Vakil, Khân Khânân. But Mirza Kokah was promoted to the Vakilship in 1004 H. He continued in that post up to the time of the death of Akbar.⁴ So at the time of the second Farmân (the 48th year of Akbar's reign, i.e., 1011-12 Hijri) he was Vakil of the state and so the seal No. I seems to be his. It is just at the place pointed out by the Âin-i-Akbari, as the place of the Vakil's seal. It says, "On the first fold, which is less broad, at a place towards the edge where the paper is cut off, the Vakil puts his seal."⁵

Seal No. 2. The writing on it is not legible. Only a letter here and there can be deciphered. I think that from a comparision with the order, observed in the first Farmân, we can infer that it may be the

¹ *Vide* p. 111.

² *Vide* p. 111.

³ *Vide* pp. 111-112.

⁴ *Vide* Abul Fazl's list of Akbar's Vakils.—Blochmann's Text I., p. 232, 1-8. Translation I., p. 527. About Mirza Kokah's career, *vide ibid* pp. 325-28.

⁵ *Ibid* Text, p. 195, ll. 19-20. Translation I., p. 263.

seal of the *Waqiah-nawis* who must be in attendance on the king, when the order of the Farmân was issued. In the case of the first Farmân, we saw,¹ that at the end of the text of the Farmân, on the very first fold, a note was put down to say, that the document was noted in the *resâlah* and *chauki* of Abul Fazl and in the record of the turn (*naôbat*) of *Waqiah-nawis* Muizzuddin Hussain. We also saw that the two seals on the left of the above two lines of the first fold, seemed to be those of Abul Fazl and the *Waqiah-nawis* Muizzuddin.

Now in this second Farmân, we find a similar statement about the documents being recorded in (a) the *resâlah*, (b) *chauki*, and (c) *naôbat*. But there is this difference that, while in the case of the first Farmân, both the *resâlah* and the *chauki* were in the charge of Abul Fazl, in the case of the second Farmân they seem to be in the charge of two separate officers, the *resâlah* in that of Âçaf Khân, and the *chauki* in that of Khwâjagi Fathullah. The *naôbat* (*i.e.* the record of the turn) was that of Mahomed Shafia. So in the case of the second Farmân, we must expect three seals of three different officers on the left of the above-mentioned lines, in which these officers, make a note that the Farmân had been issued according to the records of their *resâlah*, *chauki* and *naôbat* respectively. Now on seals Nos. 3 and 5 we read the names of the above two officers, Âçaf Khân and Khwâjagi Fattah Alla (or Fathullah). So I think, that this illegible seal may be that of the third officer, the *Waqiah-nawis* Mahomed Shafia.

Seal No. 3. We read in it at the top the words  Fattah Allah. The words below these are not legible. This name then shows, that it is the seal of Khwâjagi Fattah Alia, who, as said in the three lines on the first fold, was in charge of the *chauki*. As referred to above,² and as pointed out by the 9th Âin, there are two trustworthy officers always in attendance upon the king and in charge of the royal guard at the palace. One was a Mançabdâr and another the Mir 'Arz. As Abul Fazl says, "All orders of His Majesty are made known through these two officers (the Mir 'Arz and the Commander of the Palace). They are day and night in attendance about the palace, ready for any orders His Majesty may issue."³ Thus it

¹ p. 105.

² p. 104, n. 2.

³ Blochmann's Translation, I., p. 257.

is, that we see, that these two officers Âçaf Khân and Khwâjagi Fattah Allah, together with the *Wâqiah-nawis*, make a note upon the Farmân to say that the Farmân was issued during their time of office, and they put their seals to verify that statement.

We find the following particulars about this Khwâjagi, given by Abul Fazl in his *Ain-i-Akbari*, خواجى قطب الدین No. 285).¹ He was one of the *si-sad va panjahi*, i.e., officers in charge of 350 men (پنجاھی و سیصد). At one time he was a Bakhshi of the State.² In the 45th year of the reign (1008 Hijri), when Akbar besieged Âsir, he was associated with Muzaffar in besieging Fort Lalang.

Seal No. 4. We read over this seal very clearly the words Âçaf Khân. As said above, he is the officer who, together with the above Khwâjagi Fattah Allah, the officer in charge of the *chauki*, and Mahomed Shafia, the *waqiah-nawis*, makes a note on the Farmân that the order was entered in his *resâlah*. He is the *resâlahdâr* in whose term of office, the original orders for the Farmân were issued. We said above that according to the *Ain-i-Akbari*, an *yâddâshth* or memorandum was made of the orders daily issued by the king. A Taliqah or abridgment is then prepared from the *yâddâshth*. From that Taliqah the Farmâns are prepared. "The abridgment is," says the *Ain-i-Akbari*, "signed and sealed by the *Waqiah-nawis* and the *Resâlahdâr*, the *Mir 'Arz* and the *Dârogah*."³ Of the first three officers, we saw that Mahomed Shafîha was the *Wâq'ah-nawis* in charge of the *waqiah*, Khwâjagi Fattah Alla, the *Mir 'Arz* in charge of the *chauki*, and Âçaf Khân the *Resâlahdâr* in charge of the *resâlah*. Having made a note on the Farmân of the issue of the orders for the grant of land during their terms of office, they put their seals on the Farmân near the note.

We find the following particulars about this officer Âçaf Khân. Âçaf is a title. Akbar had bestowed this title upon three of his grandees. So, Badaoni, to avoid confusion, distinguishes the second and the third Âçaf Khân as صف خان دواني i.e., Âçaf Khân II. and صف خان تلث i.e., Âçaf Khân III. Abdul Majid, Âçaf Khân I., died

¹ Blochmann's text I., p. 229.

² Badaoni. Lowe's Translation II., pp. 328, 372. So he is called *Bakhshi-al-mulki* in our document.

³ Blochmann's Translation I., p. 259.

before 981 Hijri. Khwajah Mirza Ghiasuddin Ali, Aṣaf Khân II., died in 989 H. So the Aṣaf Khân referred to in this Farmân of 1011-12 H. was Mirza Jâfar Beg, Aṣaf Khân III., who lived at the time of the Farmân. (*Vide* Badâoni Lowe II., p. 322.)

He was one of the grandees enumerated by Abul Fazl in his *Ain-i-Akbari* (No. 98). His name was Jafar Beg جعفر بیگ. He came from Qazwin in the 22nd year of the reign. He was first appointed a commander of Twenty (پیستی). After a short time he was made a commander of Two Thousand (دو هزاری) and was then given the title of Aṣaf Khân. In the 44th year (1008) he was appointed *Diwan-i-Kul*.

According to Badâoni he was a known writer of Akbar's time. He also fought several battles for Akbar. He was the collaborateur with Maulânâ Ahmad in his *Târikh-i-Alfi* (i.e. the history of 1,000 years), which Akbar, in about 990 Hijri, asked to be written for all Mahomedan nations up to the thousandth year of the Hijri era. (Elliot, Vol. V., pp. 150-53). Maulânâ Ahmad was killed by one of his personal enemies after having finished two volumes. "The remainder of the work was written by Aṣaf Khân up to the year 997 H" (*Ibid* p. 153). Badâoni also had a hand in the writing of this history.

In the 38th year of the reign (1001 H.) this Aṣaf Khân took part with Zain Khân Koka in a fight with the Afghans of Swat and Bajaur. (Elliot V., p. 467.) According to the *Akbar-nâmeh*, in the 45th year of the reign, he, in company with Abul Fazl, took part in investing the fortress of Âsir. (Elliot VI., p. 971.)

Seal No. 5. We read on this "Al Hussaini Çadr-i-Jahân kamterin-bandeh," i.e. humblest slave Çadr-i-Jahân-al Hussaini. We saw his seal on the first farmân also. As we said above, he was the last Çadr of Akbar's court. He came to office in 997 Hijri and continued in office till the end of Akbar's reign, and even for some time in Jehangir's reign. So we find his seal in both the farmâns. In this second farmân also we find his seal in the same place as that allotted to him in the *Ain-i-Akbari*.¹ A little below this seal and on the left we find a date. It says : "Entered on the 14th of the month Meher ilahi year 48." On the first sight, it does not appear certain, whether the date belongs to this seal of Çadr-i-Jahân, or it belongs

¹ *Vide* above, p. 113.

to the above seal (No. 4) of Âqaf Khân, or to seal No. 6, which is illegible and which is mixed up with No. 4. But a comparison of the way, in which the date is put in here, with the way in which we find the date under Çadr-i-Jahân's seal in the first farmân, leads us to say, that this date is that of Çadr-i-Jahân's seal. There also we find it a little below Çadr-i-Jahân's seal and a little on the left. What is more striking is that in both cases there is a peculiar stroke over the dates. As Çadr-i-Jahân is the only person whose seal is common to both the farmâns, and as we find this peculiarity near his seals, we are led to believe that the date in question is the date of Çadr-i-Jahân's seal.

Seal No. 6. It is quite illegible, and it is mixed up with seal No. 4.

Between the seals No. 6 and No. 7, it is possible, there may be one or more seals of some officials, but as the portion between these two is patched up in the original old document with a piece of paper, to support the tattered condition of the old paper, we are not certain if there was or not any seal there.

Seal No. 7. We read on it the name Abdul Karim Bandah-i-Yazdâni and under it, the date 9th of the month Meher of the *ilâhi* year 48. The words are مطاع شد ۹ ربیع اول ۴۸ مهر الہی سنه. They are written in a very mixed fashionable way. It seems that the different officers had different styles of recording the document: one said سبت shûd, another said قلامی shûd, a third said مارکوم shûd, and a fourth said مطالع muttali shud. All these seem to be the technical wording, special to different departments, for signifying, that the farmân had been entered into the records of their departments, or seen and passed by their departments. Now the technical wording of this seal is the same as that on seal No. 10 in the first farmân (pp. 106, 116). We saw in the case of the first farmân that the seal with that wording under it, was possibly the seal of the Mustaufi. So perhaps this person Abdul Karim (or perhaps Abdul Rahim) was a Mustaufi. We cannot positively say who this person was.

Seal No. 8. The words on this seal are not clear, but we can distinctly read the words Ali Murtaza. Under the seal we read مارکوم علی مرتضی Under the seal we read مارکوم علی مرتضی مطاع شد ۷ ربیع اول ۴۸ مهر الہی سنه i.e., written (or dated) on 7th of month Meher *ilâhi*, year 48. The same date is written vertically on the margin a little below the seal. The seal in the first Farmân with a similar wording

is seal No. 9 (pp. 106, 115). The word *لـ* in both the seals is common. Again in both cases their dates are repeated on the margin. So at first sight, one would be tempted to say, that it is the same person who has put down both the seals on the two Farmâns. But that is not the case. We saw in the case of the first Farmân that the seal seemed to be that of some officer connected with the preparation of the *Taliqah*. This seal therefore seems to be that of a similar officer. It may be that of the Darôgah (superintendent of the office). We saw above, on the authority of the Âin-i-Akbari that the original *Taliqah* from which the Fârman is made is prepared, "signed and sealed by the Wâqiahnawis, and the *Resâlahdâr*, the *Mir 'Arz* and the *Darôgah*." Of these four officers, we saw that the names of the first three, who are the principal officers, are mentioned in the three lines of the first fold, and that they have also put down their seals. So perhaps this is the seal of the fourth officer, the Darôgah.

Seal No. 9. This seal is quite legible. The words on it are حسین کمال اللہ بن i.e., servant Hussain Kamâluddin. Under the seal we read ماهی ۷ میں ۴۸ سنه i.e., written the 7th of the month Meher ilâhi, year 48. This seal occupies the same place in the second Farmân as seal No. 11 in the first Farmân. Again it is the same person who has put on the seal, though his seal is not the same. In the first Farmân, the seal reads اعبد حسین کمال الدین but in the second Farmân it reads عبد حسین کمال الدین. The name is exactly the same, but the word expressive of humility, though the same, is a little different in its formation. It is *al abd* in the first Farmân, but *abdeh* in the second. Again the style of the date under both is exactly the same. From the technical phraseology "*qalami shûd*," found both in the Farmân and in the Âin-i-Akbari, and from its position in the Farmân, we determined, that the seal No. 11 in the first *farmân* seemed to be that of the Qahib-i-Taujih. On the same grounds, and because the name on both the seals is the same, we can safely say that this seal also is that of the Qahib-i-Taujih.

Let us now examine the order of the dates in the second Farmân. It appears from the contents of the second Farmân that Kaikobad was not allowed to remain long in the peaceful possession of the 300 *bigahs* of land—of which 200 were those of his father and 100 of his own—given to him according to the first Farmân in 1003 Hijri. H

seems to have been molested. So the second Farmân, issued eight years later, mentions the fact of the previous Farmân, and enjoins that the land may be given back in his possession, and that whatever of his income from the land, in the then current year (*i.e.* the 48th year of the reign 1011-12 Hijri) and of the preceding year, he may have been consequently deprived of, should be made good to him. It further enjoins that no fresh Farmâns should be asked from him from year to year, but that the Farmân in question with the royal seal should suffice. This Farmân was dated 2nd of the 7th month Meher, in the 48th year of the reign.¹

In the case of the first Farmân we saw, that His Majesty had issued orders for the grant on the 15th of the 7th month Meher (1003 H.). On the 13th of the next month Abân, *i.e.*, 28 days after the first issue of the order, the order was properly recorded and the *taliqah* made, and on the 10th day of the 12th month Aspandârmad, *i.e.*, about four months after the first issue of the order, a regular and *pucca* Farmân was granted to Kaikobâd. The other officers took about two months to record it in their respective departments and to put on their seals. The whole thing was complete in the second month Ardibehesht of the next year, *i.e.*, 1004 Hijri. In the case of the second Farmân, we see, that on account of the hardship caused to him by not being allowed to continue to remain in the peaceful possession of the land given by the first Farmân, there has been very little delay. The second day Bahman of the 7th month Meher is the day on which the Farmân is sealed with His Majesty's seal. On the same day, the officers who had to do with the *taliqah*, or the abridgment of the memorandum of His Majesty's orders, sign it. The Qadr-i-Jahân signs it, and within 12 days all the other officers sign and seal it.

¹ Kaikobad is said to have got subsequently from king Jehangir another farmân for these 300 *bigâhs* of land, all in his own name.

Document No. 3.
(The third document, called
the *Parwanchah*, of the 48th
year of King Akbar's reign—
see above p. 41.)

الله اکبر

حکم خان خانان مرزا خان بیهادر سپر سالار

متقصد پان مهمات و معاملات سرکار سورت و قصبه نوساری و پرگنه تلاری بدانند که چون حکم چهان مطاع عالم مطیع در رباب وظیفه داران صوبه کجرات صادر شده بود که از اینچه مدد معاش داشتم باشند نصفی بدهند موافق فرمان عالیشان سابق در وجه مدد معاش کیقباد فارسی از قصبه مدد کور و موضع توری من اعمال پرگنه تلاری مقرر بود یکصد و پنجاه بیگه زمین که موافق فرمان عالیشان مجدد آورد که اراضی مدد معاش کیقباد که سه صد بیگه زمین از مقبوضه قدیم مع اشجار به موجب تفصیل ضمن در وجه مدد معاش او مقرر باشد باز که اراضی مدد بور را به مومی الیه و گذارند که حاصلات آن را متصروف میشده باشد و بدعاوی دولت ابد پیوند بندگان حضرت مشغول باشد و بعلت مال وجهات وسایر جهات و کل تکالیف دیوانی چیزی از و مطالبه نهایند و پیچوچه من الوجوه مراحم و معارة حواله او نشوند و حسب الامر العالی عمل نموده از فرموده در نگذرند

تحیراً اول اسفند اربعه ماه الهی سنّه ۴۸ مطابق ۲۱ شهر رمضان المبارک ۱۰۱۲
مقرر ضمن تعليقه از قرار بقاریخ روز باد ۲۲ بهمن ماه الهی سنّه ۴۸ مطابق ۱۰ شهر رمضان المبارک ۱۰۱۲ بهر و کالت پناهی شجاعت شعاعی میرزا حسن علی بیگ و صدارت دستگاهی میرزا عبدالمک دیوان و عمده دولت خواهان خواجه محمد معصوم میربخشی آنکه نواب کامکاری هملکت مداری امر فرمودند که چون بهزیج حکم چهان مطاع که ارباب وظایف ضمن کیقباد فارسی از قصبه نوساری و موضع آن توری سابق در وجه مدد معاش کیقباد که سه صد بیگه زمین که موافق فرمان عالیشان مقرر بود یکصد و پنجاه بیگه زمین به مشارا الیه عذایت شده بود درین ولا که به مومی الیه فرمان عالیشان مجدد آورد که اراضی مدد معاش کیقباد که سه صد بیگه زمین است بتمام و کمال مع اشجار خرما از محل قدیم با و گذارند حکم عالی شد که موافق سه صد بیگه از مقبوضه قدیم مع اشجار خوما در وجه مدد معاش او مقرر باشد باید که دیوانیان سرکار خاصه سندی در زمان به مومی الیه بدهند پردازگی فضائل ماب صدارت دستگاهی مولانا عبد العزیز و شرح حاشیه بخط محضرت پناهی میرزا عبدالمک دیوان آنکه حسب الامر العالی موافق فرمان عالیشان از مقبوضه قدیم پروانچه قمهی تمام بدهایند

قصبه نومناری که زمین مدد کور قیل از این در وجه ۵۵
معاش مابیمار بود
مال بیگه

(*Translation of the parwâñchah, the third document relating to the grant of land in virtue of the two Farmâns.*)

God is Great!

The order of Khân Khânân¹ Mirza Khân, Bâhâdur,² the Sapâh-sâlár (*i.e.*, the Commander-in-Chief).

Let the Government officers³ of the affairs and business of the sarkâr of Surat and *kasbeh* of Naosari and *paraganah*⁴ of Talâri know, that Whereas an order (of His Majesty), obeyed by the world and submitted to by all people, in the matter of the *wazifah-dârâns* (*i.e.*, the holders of wazifahs) of the Subah of Guzrat, had been issued, to the effect, that of whatever may have been possessed as *madad-i-mâûsh*, half may be given; (and Whereas) out of about 300 *bigâhs* of land, which, according to the previous Farmân of His Majesty, have been assigned from the abovesaid *kasbeh* and from the village⁵ of Tavri from the tract⁶ of the *paraganah* of Talâri for the purpose of the assistance of the livelihood of Parsee Kaikobâd, 150 *bigâhs* of land have been given to the above-mentioned person;⁷ (and Whereas) at this time, when the above-named person⁷ brings a fresh *Farmân* from His Majesty, that the lands for

¹ *Vide* above, p. 111 We find him placing his seal on the first Farmân with the name Khân Khânân. His full name was Khân Khanân Mirza Abdurrahim, and as Blochmann says, "Historians generally call him Mîrzâ Khân Khânân." (Ain-i-Akbari Translation I., p. 335.) Badaoni called him Mirza Khan before he was given the title of Khan Khanan. He says:

میرزا خانرا خطاب خان خانانی.....و منصب پنجھزاریلشکریہ

"To Mirzâ Khân was given the title of Khân Khânân and the rank of a commander of 5,000." (Badaoni. Lees and Ahmed Ali's text, Vol. II., p. 336, ll. 10-12. Lowe's translation, Vol. II., p. 346.) He is called Sapah-Salâr because he was the commander of the army. According to Blochmann he was called Khân Khânân or Khân Khanân o Sipah-Sâlár. (Ain-i-Akbari, I., p. 240.)

² So called on account of his victories. With an army of 10,000 troopers he had defeated Sultan Muzaffar of Guzrat at the head of 40,000 troopers (Blochmann's Ain-i-Akbari, Translation I., p. 334.) This bravery gained him the title of Khân Khânân. Again he showed great bravery in the fight with Suhail Khan (*ibid* p. 335).

³ مُتَّسِدٍ مُتَّسِدٍ muttasaddî, any inferior officer of Government, clerk, accountant.

⁴ For the terms *sarkâr*, *kasbeh* and *paraganah*, *vide* above, p. 105 n. 4.

⁵ مُوْضِعٌ مُوْضِعٌ a village, hamlet, place. ⁶ اَعْمَالٌ pl. of عَمَلٌ rule, a tract, country.

⁷ mushâr ilâihî and مُوْصِيٌ الْمُوْصِي mûmî ilâihî the above named (person).

the *madad-i-mâdsh* of Kajkobâd, which are 300 *bigâhs*, should be given him, whole and complete, together with date trees, from his old place. The exalted order is issued that about 300 *bigâhs* of land of his old possession,¹ together with trees according to the particulars of the contents, should be assigned for his *madad-i-mâdsh*. And also that the above-named lands should be given over to the above-named person, so that he may be possessed² of its income, and joined with the servants of His Majesty, may be engaged in praying for his perpetual good fortune. And on account of land tax, and imposts on manufactures and the rest of the taxes and all civil taxes, nothing should be demanded of him. And in no way³ whatsoever should there be any obstacles⁴ and delay⁵ in his assignment⁶. And acting according to the order of His Majesty, they should not turn back from orders.⁷ Written on the 1st of the month Asfandârmaz, Ilâhi year 48, corresponding to the 21st of the month Ramzân al mubarak, 1012.

The contents of the *Talîqah* (are) fixed⁸ from the *qârâr*,⁹ on the date of the 22nd day Bâd (*i.e.*, Guâd) of the month Bahman ilâhi year 48, corresponding to the 10th of the month Ramzâu-al-mubârak, 1012, with the seal of Mirza Hasan Alibeg,¹⁰ who is the protector of administration,¹¹ and who is intrepid,¹² and Mirza Abdul Mulk Diwân

¹ مَقْبُوضٌ *maqbûz*, seized, possessed, held. ² مَصْرُوفٌ *mâṣrûf*, possessed.

³ *Wajh min wajuh*. Lit. in any way out of the ways. Or it may mean 'no tax out of the other taxes (*wujuh*) should cause delay in the assignment. *Vide p. 98, n. 2, for wajuhat.*

⁴ مَعْرَضٌ *muzâhim*, obstacle, impediment.

⁵ مَعَارِرٌ *muârrat* 'delaying.' If we read the word مَعَارِرٌ *muârrat* the meaning would be "contention, opposition."

⁶ حَوْلَاتٍ *hawâlat*, *hawala*, transfer, assignment.

⁷ *Farmudâh*, ordered.

⁸ Muqarar fixed, settled.

⁹ *qârâr-nâmahs* are, according to Blochmann, papers, that "specify the revenue collections."

¹⁰ This officer seems to be Mirzâ Ali Beg Akbarshâhi referred to by Blochmann (Ain-i-Akbari translation I. p. 482).

¹¹ The word is not clear. It seems to be *vakulat*.

¹² شَجَاعَتٌ شَعَارٌ *shâjâ'at shâ'âr* intrepid.

who is the helper of premiership¹ and Khwajah Mahmad Maçum Mir Bakhshi, the pillar² of the well-wishers. The powerful Nawab, who is the centre of sovereignty, has ordered that (Whereas) according to the world obeyed order (of His Majesty) that of whatsoever the owners of the Wazifahs of the Subah of Gujurat may have possessed as madad-i-maâsh, half may be given (And Whereas) of about 300 bigâhs of land, which according to the previous Farmân of His Majesty, has been assigned from the *kasbah* of Naosari and its village Tavri, for the *madad-i-maâsh* of Parsi Kaikâbâd, 150 bighâs of land, had been given to the abovesaid person (And Whereas) at this time, the abovesaid person brings a fresh Farmân, that the lands of the *madad-i-maâsh* of Kaikobâd, which are 300 bigâhs of land, should be given him entirely and completely, together with date trees, from his old place. The exalted order has been (issued) that about 300 bigâhs of his old possession, together with date trees, should be assigned for his madad-i-maâsh. It is necessary that the officers of the *Sarkâr* should instantly give to the abovenamed person a special grant.

Parvângi (i.e., permission) of Maulana Abdul Aziz, who is the receptacle³ of excellences, the strength of premiership⁴ and the marginal *shark* in the hand of Mirza Abdul Mulk Diwân, the protection of the royal court⁵. According to the exalted order, and in conformity with the Farmân of His Majesty, the *parwanchah* of the old possession may be put into writing completely.

Village Tavri in the paragnâh
Talâri.

The town of Naôsâri, where
the abovementioned land was,
ere this, for the purpose of the
assistance of the livelihood of
Mâhyâr.

100 bigâhs.

200 bigâhs.

¹ Sudârat premiership.

² ڦڻوڻ pillar.

³ معاپ If you read باب door.

⁴ ڦدارة The office of Grand Vazir or prime minister

⁵ ڦخضروت پناہ mahsarat panah. ڦخضروت royal court.

The text and the Translation of the lines on the margin.

(Lines written at the commencement in an inverted position.
Vide photo-litho fac-simile. A line under these is not clearly
 intelligible.)

الله اکبر
 بپیغمون پروانچه عزل نموده هرچا که فرمان عالیشان مجده باشد
 بپروانچه معطل ندارند بصیر

i.e., Acting upon the contents of the *Parwâncâh* wherever His
 Majesty's order has been renewed, the *Parwâncâh* may not be
 neglected.¹ (The abovementioned lines are under the following seal.)



A little under the seal we have the words تحریر کرد شد i.e.,
 written.

(The line on the margin of the other side of the *Parwâncâh*.)

بموجب تعلیمه حکم پروانچه عالی قامی شد

i.e. according to the Taliqah, the order of the exalted *Parwâncâh*
 has been written.

This document is a *Parwâncâh*. About this kind of document
 Abul Fazl says:—

گاه فرمان بعوان طغرا بنویسند و هوسطر نخستین کوتاه نگردانند

آنرا پروانچه بر گویند

"Farmâns are sometimes written in *Tughrâ* character; but the
 two first lines are not made short. Such a Farmân is called a
Parwâncâh." (Bk. II., *Ain II.*, Blochmann's Text I., p. 195,
 ll. 7-8. Translation I., p. 263.)

We find, that as said above, in the two Farmâns, the two first
 lines are short, but in the *Parwâncâh* in question they are not so.

Again the *Parwâncâhs* are not signed by His Majesty. Abul Fazl
 says: "His Majesty, from motives of kindness, and from a desire
 to avoid delay, has ordered that these *Parwâncâhs* need not be laid
 before him."²

¹ معطل *mu'attal* abandoned, neglected.

² Blochmann's Translation I., p. 236.

Now let us examine the seals on the *Parwâncâhâ*. We find the seal of Khân Khânân in the front page below the marginal note. We read on it مورید اکبر شاه خان خان Murid-i-Akbar-Shâh-Khân Khânân. The wording on this seal is the same, as that on Khân Khânân's seal on the first Farmân, though the seal is a little different.

The Khân Khânân issued this *Parwâncâhah* as the senior officer, under whose seal as the Vakil, the first Farmân was granted.

As in the case of the Farmân, the *Parwâncâhah* also has its first fold less broad, and at a place towards the edge the paper is cut off, as referred to in the 12th Âin. It has ten seals, including that of Khan Khânân, referred to above.

The first seal on the right in the first fold has the words علی مصصوم حسن العبد This seems to be the seal of the officer Mirza Hasan Ali Beg referred to in the document.

The second seal on the first fold, a little on the left of the first seal has the words مصصوم . . . خان خان مصصوم legible on it. The word in the middle looks like مصصوم. It would then mean Mâ'acum the disciple of Khân Khânân.

The third seal on the first fold, a little on the left and a little above the second seal, has a few letters here and there legible, but the whole seal is not legible.

The next six seals are not legible. In the matter of dates, this *Parwâncâhah* differs from the Farmân in this, that though in the body of the *Parwâncâhah*, the ilâhi era is mentioned, in the four dates attached to the seals of the officers the dates are Mahomedan. In three cases it is the 22nd of the Ramzân رامضان of 1012 Hijri, and in the fourth case it is the 23rd of the same month.

We saw in the case of the second Farmân that it was granted in the 7th month Meher of the 48th year of the reign. It appears that even after that, the difficulties of Kaikobâd were not over. The king had issued a general order that the grant of Madad-i-mâsh may generally be halved. So out of his 300 *bigâhs* of land, only 150 were left to him and the other 150 were taken away. This Parwâncâh then ordered that, in his case the whole of the land without any reduction may be given to him at once. The *Tuliqah* in this matter was made on the 22nd day of the 11th month Bahman, and the final Parwâncâhah granted nine days later on, i.e., the 1st of the 12th month Asfandârmaz.

Document No. 4. The fourth document (نحوی مختصر) which speaks of the 200 bigahs given by King Akbar to Dastur Meherji Rana (vide above p. 42).

الله اکبر

نواب نامداری^۱ صادق محمد خان

شوفی ازین نوشته آنکه بتاریخ بیست و ششم ماہ ربیع الثانی سنه ۱۰۰۵
در عمل... بحضور شرع^۲ شریف شق نوساری و خواجه میرزا جان
شقدار قصبه مذکور مسهمی کیدقباد ولد شهریار پارسی فرمان
عالیشان آورده که موازی دویست بیکم زمین معه درختان و تار و خرمان
وغیره که دران زمین واقع است از سواه قصبه مذکور قبل ازین
در وجم مدد معاش شهریار که مقبوضه قدیم است تسلیم نمایند بنابین
بجهت تحقیق مقبوضه سابق خواجه مشارالیه و جماعت مسلمانان و
کارکن! و کماشتم امین و شماری و رعایان و مقدمان قصبه مذکور بو
مقوی غیره سابق عزیمت فرمودند و تمام مقبوضه به تفصیل ذیل تحقیق
نموده و پیموده مشخص نموده اند بدین تفصیل

(Here follow a number of lines giving a detail of measurements. Then we have the following lines on the right margin, making several statements. The first line on the right margin is as follows):-

ذبت پادا المسطور باخبر المخبرین عند خادم الشرع شریف کثیر تمینا و نعم

(The next marginal statement is also on the right, under the above one. It runs as follows :—)

بحضور شرع شریف قصبه نوساری معامله مدد معاش کیدقباد شهریار
بموجب فرمان و پروانچه قدیم^۴ مدد صدیق^۵

^۱ The word is without *nuktahs*. It can also be read پایه اری

^۲ The last two letters are torn off in the original.

^۳ "Shiq-dar a governor; an officer appointed to collect the revenue from a certain division of land."—Steingass.

^۴ I cannot make out exactly what this word is, but it seems to be نواب, which we find in the full name in the beginning.

^۵ I cannot make out what follows.

(On the right of the foregoing lines, we find the following statement in Gujarati :—)

૩ને ૨૬ રાની-
લાખર રાન ૧૦૦૫
શ. ૧૬૫૩.

“દ્વારા અમીન ખુ. ફરમાન પાતશા...”^૧ જલાલદી અકુ-
ભર શાહ... વિને વળ્ણિએ...^૨ કેકાજ મહીર પારસી ને ખુ. ભિ-
હજર દિલાઆ હજરતી કાળ તા. મીરનું જાણ દીનોં
તેજ્જ્પાથ વા ગુમશતે
પારસીની ને દેલાઆ મેહેજર ભરા ૨૦૦)

આદિ ૧૧૬॥

વી ૮૦૧૩ દરખતાન

(Then we have the following lines above the Gujarati lines) :—

ચુંન દ્રો સાલ ગુરુષી જીમિન ખૂદ કાશ્ટે મુહે દર્ખનાન ખ્રમા કે આ
કીયા દીપાયી પ્રકન્દ પાર્ચોલ બસ્તે ત્યામાની ગ્રફ શેડ ડ્યું આ વ્યાચાન નીચે શેડ

(Then follow a few lines of measurement, after which we have the following lines of what is called ગ્રાવ્યી *gavdhi* or evidence about the 200 *bigahs* granted to Dastur Meherji Rana.

કે એન મુદ્દોસ્થે ત્યામ નશ્રુ ચર ચર મુડ મુશ મુજોયાર મુડ કૂર
ચ્બી એઝીન તુંધીન બોડ હોકે રા બ્રેસ્કેટ એન જાલ વિચ્ચે એન મેચાલ
એકા વિચ્ચે રોશન બાશેડ ગ્રાવ્યી ખ્વોશ દર દ્યીલ એન મુખ્યસ્થ ડીપ ફ્રોમાયન્ડ
તા મોજીબ એટ્ચાડ વિસામાન ગ્રોડ

(Here follow a number of signatures. Owing to the peculiar way in which the Mahomedan signatures are made, their decipherment is a little difficult. It is possible others may decipher and interpret them in another way).

مشائخ بـ ما قبل عبدالكريم نور مـ مـ بخطي الواحد من الحاضرين
فـ بـ بـ بـ كـ بـ

الواحد من الحاضرين خـ سـ عـ عبدالرزاق بـ خط

الواحد للـ الله من الحاضرين فـ قـ يـ نـ حـ عـ مـ اللـ جـ مـ يـ اللـ

شـ اـ بـ ما قبل زـاجـ الدـينـ بـ اـ طـافـ اللـ

¹ This is the date given in the commencement of the document. There the month is called “rabi’u-l sâni,” i.e., the second Rabi. Here it is called “rabi’u-l akhar,” i.e., the last rabi.

² Some letters which are unintelligible. The word ખુ. in the first line is an abbreviation of ખુદા બાન્દે i.e. the great (*farman*).

³ Not legible. Perhaps શ્રી.

⁴ Miswritten for سـ

⁵ i.e., witness to what precedes.

⁶ i.e., written by my own hand.

અનંત નાનાભાઈ રાખ્ય
 નાહિંના¹ ચેંગા રાખ્ય
 ૧ શહેરીઆર નાગોજ રાખ્ય
 ૧ એહચંમ કરેદુન રાખ્ય
 ૧ રાંણુલુ ચ્યા. બ્યંન² રાખ્ય
 ૧ દાલ ધચિયાં રાખ્ય
 ૧ કુકા³? માણુક રાખ્ય
 ૧ મેહશ રોઈ રાખ્ય
 ૧ કેસવ કદ રાખ્ય
 ૧ મહીચાં માંહીચાં રાખ્ય (?)
 ૧ નાના જદ્વ રાહદી
 ૧ ગોવંદ⁴ નરાંથ રાહદી
 ૧ ધના હીરા રાખ્ય

(Translation of the above fourth document.)

GOD IS GREAT.

Nawâb Nâmdâri Câdiq Muhammad Khân.⁵

The object of this writing is this, that Whereas on the date
26th of mâh Rabi-ul-sâni year 1005 in the rule of . . .⁶

¹ Reading doubtful.

² Or perhaps આખીન.

³ Reading doubtful. This and the succeeding two names seem to be Hindu.

⁴ The modern proper form would be ગોવંડ નારથ. Govind Nâran. The last word નારથ means witness અલિન.

⁵ Vide below, p. 145 for particulars about this personage.

⁶ It is said that in old writings of this kind, sometimes, when the subordinate officers had to mention the names of kings or princes, they, out of respect for the king or prince, kept the place for the name blank, leaving the readers to supply it. Sometimes the name was written on the margin. It seems that here, after the word અમલ or rule, some space is left blank with a similar purpose. The amal or rule referred to here may be either that of the king himself as the ruler of the whole country or that of Prince Sultan Murâd as the ruler of the province of Gujrât.

in the presence of Shar-i-Sharif¹ of the division² of Naosari and of Khwâjah Mirjzâ Jân, the *shiqdâr*³ of the said town, a person named Kaikobâd, son of Meheryâr, a Parsee, brought the *farman* of His Majesty, that about 200 bigahs of land—from the environs of the abovenamed town, together with palm and date trees, which are growing on that land—which were ere this, in the previous possession of Meheryâr for the purpose of his *madad-i-mâdsh*, be given to him, therefore for the purpose of ascertaining that old possession, the abovesaid Khwâjah, and an assembly of Mahomedans and *karkuns* and superintendents (*gumastuhs*) of the Amin⁴ and *shumâri*⁵ and non-Mahomedan subjects⁶ and leaders⁷ of the said *kasbah*, resolved (to meet) on the old possession and having examined as detailed below,⁸ and, having measured, ascertained the whole possession according to these details.

(Translation of the first line on the right margin, p. 139.)

This⁹ description (is) written according to the information of informers¹⁰ (brought) before¹¹ me (lit. servant) in the Court of Justice much¹² (....)

¹ شریف شرع Shar-i-Sharif “citing one before a Court of Justice.” The Qâzi seems to be referred to under this title. That the Qâzi of a place had something to do with the jagirs appears from the following passage in the 19th Âin. (Bk. II.):—

“Again, when His Majesty discovered that the Qâzis were in the habit of taking bribes from the grant-holders, he resolved, with the view of obtaining God’s favour, to place no further reliance on these men (the Qâzis).” Blochmann’s Translation I., p. 269.

² شرق Shiqq “a large division of a country forming a collectorate.”

³ Vide above, p. 139, n. 3.

⁴ امین an officer employed to collect the revenues.

⁵ شماری counting, *gumâshteh-i-shumâri*, i.e., officers making calculations.

⁶ رعایان subjects, especially non-Mahomedan of a Mahomedan ruler.

⁷ مقدم muqaddam leader. مقدم

⁸ نسبی appendix, postscript.

⁹ اخبار this.¹⁰ مخبر mukhâbir, informer, teller of news.¹¹ اسی near, before, according to.

¹² The last two words are not intelligible.

(Under this first line on the right margin, we have a seal on the right. It reads):—

حضرت سپهان خادم الشرع فضل الله بن دوسي عماي
i.e., Fazlallah, son of.....¹ servant of glorious God.²

(Translation of the second line on the right margin beginning with بحضور p. 139.)

In the presence of Shar-i-Sharif (i.e., Court of Justice or the Qâzi presiding there) of the town of Naosari, in the affair of the madad-i-mââsh of Kaikobâd Maheryâr according to the old *farman* and *parwanchah*³ Muhammad Çâdiq⁴

(Over these lines, a little on the left there is a seal. It reads:—)

عبدة میرزا جان ابن خواجه خان

i.e., servant Mirzâ Jân,⁵ the son of Khwâjah Khân.

(Translation of the statement above the Gujarati lines, p. 140.)

As in the past year, his cultivated land with date trees,—the water of Kikâ Desâi (?) of the *paragnah* of Parchol, being shut up—was all drowned, no income was obtained out of it.

(Translation of the last statement about the *gawâhi*)

The whole of this possession was, ere this, fixed in the above *Shark*,⁶ for the purpose of the *madad-mââsh* of the abovesaid Meheryâr.⁷ Those who are aware and informed of the correctness of this state of affair, and of the truth of this statement may write their signatures (lit. evidence) below this document, so that it may be the cause of confidence and arrangement.

(Under this form, about 17 persons put their signatures to certify that the land of Meheryâr, was examined and settled by them. Among the signatories we find members of all communities, Mahomedans, Hindus, and Parsees.

¹ This name is not quite legible.

² The person referred to here seems to be the Qâzi or the *Shari-i-Sharif* referred to in the body of the document.

³ This word is not quite intelligible.

⁴ The rest of the writing is not intelligible to me.

⁵ The Gujarati lines also give this name.

⁶ The *Shark* or description, as given above.

⁷ In this document, we find the name Mâhyâr as Meheryâr, which is the proper form under which the name has come down to us as Meherji.

As one should expect in a Mahomedan Government, the first signatories are Mahomedans, and they sign in Persian characters. It is difficult to give correctly the names of all the signatories of this document. But I will give them as far as can be deciphered.

The Mahomedan signatures are as follow :—

1. Abdul Karim Nur Muhammad.
2. Mohammad Abdul Razâk.
3. Fakir Naâmat Allah Jamil Allah.

(Most of the signatories begin their signature with the word **الواحد**, i.e., the one, i.e., the God. They also add the words **من ام حاضرين** i.e., "From the persons present." They mean to say that they were present when the measurements; etc., were made.)

4. Tajuddin bin Latfullah.

(Then follow Hindu and Parsee signatures. Most of them add the words **شاهي** or **شاهي** i.e., witness after their names.)

5. Anant Nânâbhâi. (This is a Hindu name.)
6. Nâhnâ Changâ?
7. Shaheryâr Nâgoj (Parsee),
8. Beharâm Faredun (Parsee).
9. Rânji Bahman (Parsee).
10. Dâjî Dhayân (Parsee).
11. Kuka Mânak.¹
12. Mesh Shôî.¹
13. Kesav Kau.²
14. Mâhiâ Mâhiân (Parsee).
15. Nânâ Jâdav.
16. Govand Narân (Hindu).
17. Dhanâ Hira (Parsee!).

We will now examine the contents of this document : — Firstly as to the person Câdik Muhammed Khân, who issued the order, we find the following particulars about him :—

¹ Reading doubtful.

صادق محمد خان Çâdiq Muhammad Khân was one of the great Amirs and commanders of Akbar. He was one of the grandees (No. 43) named by Abul Fazl in his Âin-i-Akbari (Bk. II., Âin 30). Abul Fazl there calls him simply صادق خان Çâdiq Khân.¹ Blochmann says, "Akbar disliked the names Muhammad and Ahmad; hence we find that Abul Fazl leaves them out in this list."² "Other Historians call him Çâdiq Muhammad Khân. . . . He was one of the best officers Akbar had."³ We read in Badâoni.⁴

از رسیدن این خبر فرمان بشزاده سلطان مراد بهالو رفت تا
بدارائی گجرات منصوب گرد و محمد صادق خان را بجای اسماعیل
قلی خان بوکالت او نامزد گردانیده از درگاه رخصت دادند و سوکار
سورت و بهروج از تغیر قلیخ خان در وجه جایگیر او ^۵ مقرر شد

Translation.—"On the arrival of the news,⁶ a *farmân* was sent to the Prince Sultân Murâd that he should become governor of Guzrât, and the Emperor having appointed Muhammad Çâdiq Khân in the place of Ismâîl Quli Khân as his *wakil*, allowed him to leave the Court. And the province of Surat and Baronch (Broach), on account of the removal of Qulij Khân, was fixed as his *jâgir*."⁷

This event is described under the events of 1001 Hijri. We thus see that Çâdiq Muhammad Khân was appointed under Prince Murad at the head of the Sarkâr of Surat in 1001 H. He continued to serve in this office till he died in 1005.⁸ So he appears to have issued this order a few days before his death.

¹ Blochmann's text I., p. 223, Translation I., p. 355.

² *Ibid.*, Translation I., p. 355, n. 1.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 355 and 357.

⁴ Ahmed Ali's text, Vol. II., p. 387, ll. 17-21.

⁵ Compare the words وجہ جاگیر مقرر شد used here with similar words issued in the two *farmâns* and the *parwâncâhah*. These words, which Blochmann translates by "was fixed as his *jagir*," seem to be the technical words for similar *farmâns*.

⁶ Viz., that Khân-i-Azam Mirza Kokah (Mirza Kokah, one of the signatories on the 1st Farmân, *vide* above, p. 111), who was the Governor of Gujrat, had suddenly left his post and gone to make a pilgrimage to Mecca.

⁷ Lowe's Translation II., p. 401.

⁸ Blochmann's Âin-i-Akbari I., p. 357.

He is called nâmâr, but if we read the word , پادار pâidâr (*i.e.*, holder of the foot), it seems to be a title or a post in the king's service. At one time he was called , رکبدار Rikabdâr, *i.e.*, spur-holder. This was a post he held in Bairam's service.

The first three documents were the documents from the King's own Court. They were what we can call Imperial documents. The fourth document under consideration is not Imperial, but what we may call Provincial. But it is very important in this point, that it speaks more particularly, of the 200 *bigdhs*, allotted previously to Dastur Meherji Rana. It seems that on Kaikobad's going to the Sârkâr of Surat, armed with the very farmân of His Majesty (dated 1003 Hîjri) in the matter of the 200 *bigâhs* granted to his father and 100 to him personally, the Nawâb of that district issued an order that the original land granted to Meherji Rana may be ascertained and fixed on the authority of well-informed persons. It seems, that on the death of Meherji Râna, Kaikobad was not allowed to remain in peaceful occupation of the place, so he must have gone personally to the Court of Akbar and obtained the *farmân* of the Shah. This inquiry was the result of the *farmân*.

Having given the text and translation of the Persian documents—two *farmâns*, one *parvanchah*, and one *malzar*—of King Akbar's time referring to the original grant of 200 *bigâhs* of land to Dastur Meherji Rana, and having examined their contents, we will now examine some of the Gujarati documents referred to in the paper. The documents have an important bearing on the subject-proper of the paper. But apart from that, they will be found interesting from several points of view. To the student of the Gujarati language, they present specimens of Gujarati, especially Parsee Gujarati, written about 300 years ago. Again they throw side-lights on some religious customs of the day. In the case of the Persian documents, I have given their photo-litho facsimiles and have reproduced them in types in the same way as they are written. In the case of these Gujarati documents also, I have given their photo-litho facsimiles, but in reproducing them in types, I have changed a little the old forms of letters and have given them in a way as can be best read now by the Gujarati reader. In case of old archaic forms I have given in foot-notes their modern forms. I give the documents and their translations in the order in which they are referred to in the paper.

¹ Blochmann's *Ain-i-Akbari* I., p. 355.

(Document No. 5. *The first agreement (of 1635 samvat) that refers to Dastur Meherji Rana as the head of the priests.)*

નૌસારીના માયોદા દસ્તુર ભેડરળ્ણ રાનાને પોતા વડા ગણેશ્વર
તે બાબેનો પેહેલો દેખ્ય).

સંમરસ્ત અંજમંન નુસારીના જોગ ક. સંમરસ્ત હેરખુદ જત આસ ત. નવ¹સો
નવાઢે કે હેરખુદ આપસની તુઘે² નવાઢે તે એ. શ્રી ભેડરળ્ણ રાંધ્યાને
હન્જુર પુષ્ટી નવસો દીએ ત. આસ ઈન્ને તે પુષ્ટી ઈન્ને. ચાત³દાર વરાંએ આસ
ત. નવસોનાં દ્વાકડા જે આવે તે ચોતદાર આલે⁴ તે વરાંએ ખીલું કોઈ નહીં
આલે⁴ જે આલે⁴ તે અંજમંનનું ગુનાહગાર આસ ઈન્ને ત. નવસો દીએ તે એ.
શ્રી ભેડરળ્ણ વાધાને પુષ્ટી દીએ. નહીં પુષ્ટે તે અંજમંનનું ગુનાહગાર. રોજ
ગુચ્છાદ માછ તીર સંવત ૧૬૩૫ વર્ષે કંતશે સંમરસ્ત હેરખુદ

૧⁵

- ૧ મોખ્યદ ખુરસેદ (સા)
- ૧ ચાંદણી કાકા (મતુ)
- ૧ પદમ ઇસ્તમ (મતુ)
- ૧ મોખ્યદ સાયેર
- ૧ બહેરાંમ જેસંગ
- ૧ આ. ધ્રમપાલ⁶ કામદીન
- ૧ બદ્ધન હાશંગ

¹ તથા નવસો *Nav-shô*, the sacred bath given every third day in the Barashnum ceremony of nine days. Perhaps سو شو, i.e., a new bath (ن پھر) or from Avesta ٩ ملھل ۱۰ ۱۱, i.e., (the ceremony of) 9 nights.

² વારી પ્રાણે નોબત turn.

³ વારીદર. The person to whose lot the turn comes, or perhaps پورتار or موقر a treasury. The man who collects all income to be afterwards divided according to shares.

⁴ The word આલદું in the sense of 'to give, to bring,' is still used in Nowarsi.

⁵ In the signatures in the Gujarati documents, I put into brackets those words at the end of names which do not form a part of the names, but signify different meanings which the signatories wish to convey. In these signatures આ. is for અધીનાર, i.e., priests, એ. or એ. is for લખતા, i.e., writer. This word is sometimes written in full, in various ways, such as લખિદ or લખતા. The word લખતાબ લખતા also 'signifies writer.' It also is variously written as લખિય or લખતાય. The word શી also is found appended to names. It is a Gujarati form of appellation still used among Hindus.

⁶ or ધ્રમપાલ.

૧ નુશેરવાન યાશદન
 ૧ ચાંદખાં કાંમદીન ધનપાલ
 ૧ અ. રાણા પેશીતન
 ૧ આ. મહેરજી ચાંદળ
 ૧ આ. ખુરસેદ બહેરામ ભાઈચાં
 ૧ આ. બહેરાન બહેરામ

Translation of the first agreement.

To the whole of the Anjuman of Naôsâri. Writers (are) all the Herbads (*i.e.*, priests). To wit. When they perform Sraôsh (ceremony) and give the sacred bath, the priest, who gives the bath according to his turn, shall give the bath, after asking the permission of Meherji Rana. And when he performs the Sraôsh ceremony he shall perform it after asking (him). The persons, entitled in turn, may bring the Dokdâ (*i.e.*, the share of fees), which may come to their share for the Sraôsh and sacred bath. No persons, other than these, shall take them. He who will take them will be a wrong-doer before the Anjuman. He who performs the Sraôsh and gives the sacred baths, must ask Meherji Vachcha before doing so. He, who would do that, without asking him, shall be a wrong-doer before the Anjuman. *Rôz Guâd mäh Tir Samvat 1635*¹
 Written by all Herbads.

(Signed)—Mobad Khoorsed. Chândnâ Kâkâ. Padam Rustam. Mobad Sâhêr. Baherâm Jesang. Dhampâl (or Gharpâl) Kâmdin. Bahman Hoshang. Nushervân Yâshdain (Âsdin). Chândnâ Kâmdin Dhanpâl. Rana Peshitan. Meherji Chandji. Khoorshed Bahêrâm Bhâiyâ. Bahman Baherâm.

(Document No. 6. The second agreement (of 1636 samvat) which refers to Dastur Meherji Rana as the head of the priests.)

(નૌસારીના ભોબદો દસતુર મહેરજી રાનાને વડા ગણેછે તે બાયેના (સર્વત ૧૬૩૬ ના) બિને દેખ)

શ્રી અંગમન નુસારીના જોગ્યા લા. હેરખુદ સમર્સત જત અંગીયારીની રાસ વેહેવા તા. ઘધરંખાં તા. સરોશ તા. શેઅાવ તા. સંજના તા. નવસો તથા ભગર તા. અંગીયારી સંમધી જે કાંઈ આવે તે એ. શ્રીમહેરજી વાધાની તરફીમં² કીંદું. એ. શ્રી મહેરજી વાધાની બગેર³ રણ કર્ય અંગીયારી સંમધી

¹ i.e., 12th March 1579. Parsee Prakash, p. 8.

² مسلمٌ conceding, granting, مُؤْمِنٌ.

³ بغير without એવ.

કિઅસે^૧ વંખુ પુષે^૨ કામ કરે તે વરસ ૧ એક લગે ભાગથી અલગું. એથાન^૩ તં યુગ^૪ પડકે, તે દ્વારા ૧ લીએ તેહનાં બમંનાં એથાનત આપે. એ નામું એ. શ્રી મહેરજી વાખાની તસલીમ કીધું. એ લખાયી યુકે તે અંજલનાં ગુહનેગાર. એ નામું એ. મહેરજીની શેહતે રહે સહી. દોજ મેહેર મા. દેશે સંવત ૧૯૩૬ અતિરીશા વર્ષે.

દૈહયાં ચાંદળ શાખ્યે

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૧ ખર્ણન ચાંદા (ભતુ)

૧ આ. પેસીતન ચાંદા (લખતંગ)

૧ અ. બહેરામ જેસંગ. (લખતાં)

ની લા. આ. પદમ ઇસ્તમ

ને આ. કુર્થકાદ મહીઆર
આ. ચાંદણા કાડા (લખતંભ)

૧ આ. ઘરપાલ કામદીન(લખતંભ)

૧ લા. આ. શાપર આસા

૧ લા. આ. ચાંદણી કામડીન ધન-
પાલ (માય)

ੴ ਖਾਲੀ (ਸ਼ਾਨ)

નગરીનાં પ્રાણીનાં કાંઈ હોય નથી
અને તું આપની જીવનિઃસ્વાર્થ
નાં એવી વિશે નથી

નુશ્વાગ ધારણ (લિંગતમ) મી આદર રાણી (કટલે⁵)

ੴ ਪਾਂਡਿ ਰਾਖਾ (ਤੁਤਬੜ)
੧ ਥ ਘਰਥਨ ਹੋਇਆ

१. क्ष. अहम द्वारा
२. वा. से अन्त गायत्री

ੴ ਸਤਿਗੁਰ ਪ੍ਰਸਾਦਿ

४ नरसंग रामकृष्ण

¹ બાંધાને. The latter part of the word આંદે, (bring) is the same as in the previous agreement. So it may be another form of the same word or it may be some word from પણ્ણતી to recede, to depart from an agreement.

૩ વગર પુદ્ધવે.

^۳ خیانت fraud.

⁴ Perhaps كُوچ a profound inclination or genuflexion before the King ; humility ; or كُوچ a mistake ; or perhaps read كُوچ The meaning seems to be dishonesty.

⁵ કાંપે is the same as કાંપણ. Like એ. or કાંપણ, it either precedes the name or comes after it.

⁶ I have put into brackets the words at the end which do not form a part of the names, but simply signify "a witness, a signatory, a writer," &c.

? or Rānji रान्जी.

- ૧ આ. કાકા અસરીઅ (લખતમ)
 ૨ લા. પેસીતન ણવા (આ.)
 ૩ નરીમાંન હોમ (સાઘ)
 ૪ આ. ખુરશેદ યત્ન (સાઘ)
 ૫ આ. ધર્માં બહરામ (સાઘ)
 ૬ આ. બહરામ ઇર્ડુન

Translation of the second agreement.

To the Anjuman of Naôsâri. Writers all the priests. To wit. (All the affairs of) the income of the Agiâry¹, marriage and re-marriage and Sraôsh, and Siâv², and Sanjâna³, and nav-sô, and Bhagar,⁴ and all the income in connection with the Agiâry are entrusted to Ervad Meherji Vâchchâ. He, who shall recede from the agreement,⁵ or do anything in connection with the Agiâry, without the permission of Ervad Meherji Vâchchâ, and shall do any work without asking him, shall be debarred for one year from his share. He who fraudulently or dishonestly (*i.e.*, without permission) receives any fees, shall have to give two, for every Dokdâ, that he receives.⁶ This agreement is given to Ervad Meherji Vâchchâ. He who breaks the terms of this writing shall be a wrong-doer before the Anjuman. This agreement shall remain with Meherji. Signed Rôz Meher, mâh Deh Samvat 1636⁷ thirty-six Varkhê.

Dhayân Chandji (Shâkh, *i.e.*, witness) Bahman Chânda. Pesitan Chânda. Baherâm Jesang. Padam Rustam. Kaêkabad Mahiyâr. Chândnâ Kâkâ. Gharpal Kâmdin. Shapur Asâ. Chândnâ Kâmdin

¹ The temple where the religious ceremonies are performed.

² Consecrated clothes which are presented to the priests as a part of their fees.

³ *i.e.*, the fees of ceremonies falling to the lot of the priests, who had come to Naôsâri from Sanjân, with the sacred fire of the first great fire temple founded in India.

⁴ *i.e.*, the bhâg or share of fees falling to the lot of the original priests of Naôsâri. “લગર વિભાગ” *i.e.*, to divide the Bhagar or shares is a term even now used in some places. Out of the sacred breads presented at the fire-temple by different parties for the recital of the Bâjs, the officiating priest removes one from each Bâj and all from the Sraôsh bâj. The collection so made is afterwards divided by the priests as a part-payment of their fees.

⁵ *Vide* above, p. 149, n. 1.

⁶ *i.e.*, for every pice that one receives for secretly performing any religious ceremony, without informing and taking the permission of Meherji, he shall have to pay two as fine. ⁷ *i.e.*, 1st September 1580.

Dhanpâl. Kheorshed Baherâm Mahiyâr. Nushervân Yâshdain. Adar Rânâ. Bahaman Hoshang. Môbad Sâîr. Narsang Ranji. Kâkâ Asdia. Pesitan Jivâ. Narimân Hôm. Khurshed Bahman. Dhaiyâ Beharâm. Beherâm Farêdun.

(*Document No. 7. An old copy of the document about the proper performance of the ceremonies, wherein Dastur Meherji Rând signs at the top.*)

કીયાચો બરાબર કરવા આપેનો સંવત ૧૬૨૨ નો લેખ કેમાં મેહરળ
રાના વડા વરંક પેહેલી સહી કરેણે.

સમસ્ત શી અંગમન તુશારના જોગ લખતં શમસ્ત અંધ્યાહે તથા
શમશ્ત હેરબુદ્ધ જત આજ પથી જે કાઈ અંધ્યાહે થાઈ અગીઆરી
માણા ફિતરત¹ કરે ભગર લુટી² ચોરી કરે બેહેદીનની ફરસ્ત આપણ શી કરી
આપણ ક્ષિદ્ધી કેર જાએ³ તે અનજમનનું શુનાહગાર અને દીવાનની એઆ-
નત સમારે. બીજું બાજું ખરનાર કેંઠું વારું⁴ હુએ તે દીશ પુહરમાં
ખુખ કરી એક પુરમાણા શરવ બાજ ધરે. બાજ ધરતાં તખ્ખીર નહીં કરે.
તેહની બાજ ધરણા શમદાં⁵ કે લવાજમ સદા છે તે લીજે તે વરા⁶ઓં કાઈ
અધીક નહીં લીએ. બાજ ધરતાં ઈજશુને હંદિલાને કાઈ દારાહી⁷ નહીં લીએ
આપણ શી દાદ દાવર આગલ માગે. બીજું સરોશ, રચાવ, વેહવા, ધઘરણાં
શરવમાંથ કે કાઈ ચોરી કરે તે ભી અનજમનનું શુનાહગાર, દીવાનની એ-
આનતસમારે. બીજું ભગર વાંદે તે બાજ ધરીએ પાખી નહીં વાંદે. બાજ
ધરી સર્વ વાંદે લીએ સહી. અસ્યલ ખત વધે પ્રપાંકનાથ¹⁰ રોજ આદરમાણ
અસપ્દારમદ સંવત ૧૬૨૨ વર્ષે

¹ ફરસ્ત relaxation, remission અચોડમાઈ, મેદરડારી.

² લુટ. એટલે અગીઆરીના ડાનમાં મેદરડારી કરે અને લુટ અધ્યા ચોરી કરે એટલે અપ્રમાણીકપણ
ખાપડે. ³ યાતાનાં ફકી મધેસની બાજનાં દઢન ભિભરાત મેહેદીનાં દઢન પાતાનાં કરી યાતાસાથે લક્ષ જાય, તે
અભાનત (તંડુખ fraud) ભાઈ જવાબદાર રહે. ⁴ વાંદે રોપ, turn.

⁵ નેપુર એટલે બપાર. દીશપુર (શાનગહી શરણાત) માં ખુખ કરી બપાર પડતાં બાજ ધરી રહે.

⁶ સુન્મત finding the right way, course, direction, towards. ⁷ વરા except,
besides મીલાય.

⁸ એરાઇ કેપર, supporter. ⁹ એરાઇ કોસ to cause to hold, i.e., કાઈ અધેલે નહીં
(doubtful); અધ્યા કોઈ અદ્દ નહીં, કોઈ બાજ ધરતો હેઠાતો તોનાં ઈધોરાપર જઈ તેની કુખ્યને અવાજ
(અપાણ) કરે નહીં, પણ તેની સામે એ રુણા હેઠેતો દસતુર દશર આગલ જઈ ફરાદ કરે. Compare
this word with the word ¹⁰ એરાઇ used by Badaoni (vide above, p. 145, l. 2
of the Persian passage). The meaning seems to be no body should disturb
him while performing the ceremony.

⁹ સર્વ. ¹⁰ It is an old form of benediction which means that the parties
should adhere to the terms of agreement.

૧ કટમે ^૧ સમસત હેરખુદ અંધ્યરુ	૧ લા. આ. સાયેર બહેરામ
૧ લા. મહીઆર વાધા	૧ લા. પદમ દુસ્તમ બહેરામ.
૧ બહેમન આ. ચાંદા (કૃતભુ)	૧ લખતમ કર્ધા અણુકા
૧ આ. કુએકબાદ મહીઆર	૧ લા. કામદીન રાણા
૧ આ. કાકા શુત ^૨ આસીન	૧ લા. દોહીઆ હોમ
૧ લા. આ. પદમ દરસ્તમ	૧ આ. પદમ ત્રવા (મતુ).
૧ રાણા ચાચા	૧ લા. ચાંદણા કાકા
૧ આ. હોરંગ હોસંગ (લખત)	૧ લા. કામદીન હોરંગ
૧ લા. દરદીન કાકા	૧ રાણા નરસંગ
૧ લા. બહેમન હોસંગ	૧ લા. આ. પેશીતન ચાંદા.
૧ લા. શાપુર ચાશા	
૧ આ. અરૂપદીઆર કાકો શાખ	
૧ લખતમ દરસ્તમ ધથ્યપાલ	
૧ લા. મોવદ મેહેરવાન	
૧ આ. નેસંગ જથા	

*Translation of the document about the proper performance
of the ceremonies.*

To the whole of the Anjuman of Naôsâri.—Writers the priests and all the Herbads. To wit. From this day forward, he, who being a priest, is relax in (his work in) the Agiâry (*i.e.*, fire-temple), or practises dishonesty and fraud in the matter of his share (*bhagar*) appropriates as his own, the *farast*^૩ of the Behedin (*i.e.*, the layman) and takes them away with him, shall be a wrong-doer before the Anjuman, and shall be responsible for the loss. Again he, whose

^૧ એટદે લખતા અધ્યવા લખનાર.

^૨ કોડરો. કાકાનો યોડરો આસીન એટદે આસીન કાકા Kâkâ's son Asdin.

^૩ Of the draôns (*i.e.*, consecrated breads) some are called fracast from the word (ફ્રાચાસ્ટ) *fracasti* (yaçna VIII-I), on reciting which, it is lifted up by the officiating priest and tasted in the ritual. (Le Zend Avesta par Darmestetter, Vol. I., Introduction LXVI). Out of these sacred breads used in the recital of " different Bâjs (જાજા) in honour of different *yazatas*, the priest has the right of taking to his own house, those in the Sraôsh Bâj, *i.e.*, the Bâj in honour of Sraôsha. The other sacred breads consecrated in the other Bâjs, are taken back from the fire-temple to their own houses, by the laymen, who get the ceremony performed. Here it is meant that the priest, who besides taking the sacred breads of the Sraôsh Bâj, over which he has a prescriptive right as a part of payment in kind, takes away other sacred breads also, will be considered as committing a dishonest act.

turn it is to perform the Bâj ceremony, shall perform the Khûb¹ in the pôhar² of the day and finish all the Bâjs by the second pôhar (*i.e.*, noon). He shall commit no faults in the Bâj recitals. He shall take as his proper fee for the Bâj, the usual allowance. He shall not take anything more than that. While performing the Bâj ceremony, he shall not create a disturbance³ on the Hindolâ (*i.e.*, the stone slab for the performance) of the Yazashnê. He shall pray for justice before the Dâvar. Again, he also, who shall be dishonest in the matter of (the fees of) Sraôsh siâv, marriage, re-marriage and all (such ceremonies) shall be guilty before the Anjuman. He shall make amends for the loss. Again the distribution of the shares shall not be without the performance of the Bâj. All shall be distributed after the Bâj⁴. The original agreement may ever be respected.⁵

Rôz Âdar mah Aspandâmad samvat 1622.

Writers all the Herbads, priests.

(Signed)

Mahyâr Vâchhâ.	Sáer Baherâm.
Bahman Chânda.	Padam Rustam Baherâm.
Kaêkabad Mahiyâr.	Kaiya Mankâ.
Kâka's son Âsdin.	Kâmdin Rânâ.
Padam Rustam.	Dohiyâ Hôm.
Rana Ghâchâ.	Padam Jivâ.
Hoshang Hosang.	Chândnâ Kâkâ.
Fardin Kâkâ.	Kâmdin Hosang.
Bahman Hosang.	Rânâ Narsang.
Shâpur Âsâ.	Peshitan Chândâ.
Aspandyâr Kâkâ.	
Rustam Dhanpâl.	
Movad Meherwân.	
Jesang Jâyâ.	

¹ Khub is a preparatory ceremony, which a priest must perform in order to be considered as qualified for the performance of several other ceremonies.

² यज्ञ व्रत of the day. The time meant seems to be the first part of the Hâvangâh.

³ Doubtful! It may mean 'he shall not lean'. The priest who performs the Bâj ceremony has, even now, to do so sitting in a position detached from adjoining sides or things; or it may mean, he shall not go over the Hindolâ of other priests and disturb them. If he has any grievance against others, he must properly submit them before the Dâvar, *i.e.*, the person deputed to inquire into and do justice in such cases. *Vide* p. 151, n. 8.

⁴ *Vids* p. 150, n. 4. ⁵ *Vids* p. 151, n. 10.

*Document No. 8. (આતશબેહરામમાં કીયા કામ કરતા તાડી નહીં
પીવા બાંનો સંવત ૧૬૨૬ નાં લેખ.)*

*The document about abstaining from toddy during one's turn
to officiate at the Fire-temple.)*

સમર્પણ અંજમન જોગ્ય લા. સમર્પણ હેરખુદ જત હેરખુદ સારતુ¹ થાઓ
તાડી નહીં પીએ કે તાડી પીએ તે બરસમ હાથ નહીં ધરે સારથ્યા²થી
બાહેર નીકળે, બરશતુમ માંઠાંથી બાહેર કલે સહી ને ની કોઈ આતશ
ખુએ દીએ તે તાડી નહીં પીએ. તાડી પીએ તે બરશતુમથી બાહેર નીકળે
સહી. તોજ અરદબેઢશે ભાડ અસર્પદરામદ સંવત ૧૬૨૬ વર્ષે જે કોઈ
ખાજ ધરે તે તેતલા દાઢાડા આપણુંસી તુખ્યાં અગીઆરીમાંથી રહે તેટલા
દાઢાડા દરવંદ સાચે નહીં અડકે સહી

કાલે મહીઆર વાણી

૧ આ. શાપુર આસા (કાલે)

આ. ધરપાલ આ. કામદીન (કાલે)

૧ આ. પેસતન કુવા (કાલે)

૧ કાલે ખુરશેદ બહેરામ

૧ ક. આ. હમણુઆર પદમ

૧ કાલે આ. નરસંગ સાએર

૧ બહેરામ સૈહીઆર (કાલે)

૧ આ. કાકા સુત³. અસર્પદીઆર
(કાલે)

૧ (કાલે) પદમ દૂષ્ટમ

૧ મહેરણ માનક (કાલે)

૧ આ. ખુરસેદ અસરીન (કાલે)

૧ આ. કિર્ણિઆ. માણ્ડક (કાલે)

૧ તુશેરવાન આસરીન (કાલે)

૧ ચાંદણાં કામદીન (કાલુ)

૧ દૂષ્ટમ સહીઆર (કાલુ)

૧ મોવદ સાએર (કાલુ)

૨ કુઝેકખાદ મહીઆર (કાલે)

¹ જારો, કંને કીયાકામ કરો. A.v. એં શુ પટ્ટું સુરો to chant. ગાઈને લાણો (of "ગેણ સારો, આશીરવાદ સારો, એથે સથળી કુઝા કરો.) The meaning seems to be "when he begins to perform religious ceremonies."

² ગાયા ઇન્દ્રાને નિગેરે લાણવાની કુઝાણી.

³ contracted form of કાલે બુંગુ' writer.

⁴ Vide p. 152, n. 2.

⁵ The first part of this name is not quite clear. But I think it is the same as that which appears in the old copy of the original of 1622 *Samvat* as કિર્ણિઆ માણ્ડક. The old copy of *Samvat* 1622 is not a safe guide, because it is not the original itself. I think the name is પટ્ટાણ, the like of which we find in other names. By the help of the second part of this name here, we can correct the second part (father's name) of the name in the document of 1622 as માણ્ડક instead of માણ્ડા. The former name is common among Parsees.

Translation.

To the whole of the Anjuman. Writers all the Herbads (priests). To wit. The priest who begins officiating (at the Yaçna ceremony), shall not drink *toddy*. He who drinks *toddy* shall not hold the *barçam* in his hand.¹ He shall be out of the Çärnâ,² shall be out of the Barashnûm.³ And he who performs the ceremony of Bôî before the fire (of the Åtash-Beharâm) shall not drink *toddy*. If he drinks *toddy*, he shall have to be out of the Barashnûm. *Roz Ardibehesht mäh Aspandarmad Samvat* 1626. He who performs the Bâj may remain (at his home) from the Agiary during the days of his turn (of office), and shall not come in contact with *darvands* (i.e., non-zoroastrians).

Mahyâr Vâchhâ	Khurshed Baherâm
Shâpur Âsâ	Hamajîär Padam
Gharpâl Kamdin	Narsang Sâér
Pestan Jivâ	Baherâm Sahyâr
	Kâka's son Aspandyâr
	Padam Rustam
	Maherji Mânock
	Khursed Asdin
	Kaiya Mânock
	Nusherwan Åsdin
	Chandnâ Kâmdu
	Rustam Sahyâr
	Movad Sâér
	Kaekabâd Mahyâr.

(Document No. 9. *The document for the assignment of a Wadi at Pipalia to Dastur Meherji Rana.*

દસ્તુર મેહરેજી રાનાને આપવામાં આવેલી પીપળીએ ભર્યની
વાડી બાબેનો લેખ.)

સવંત ૧૬૨૬ ઉગણુની⁴સાતરા વરષે રાજ હોરમજદ મા શહેરેવર

¹ The بُرْسَم (Av. ပျော်ဆုမ်) is used only in the Yaçna, Bâj and Vendidâd ceremonies. So to debar one from holding the *barçam*, means that he shall not perform the above ceremonies, *vide pp. 21-22.*

² i.e., the higher class of ceremonies in which the *barçam* is used.

³ Those who perform the ceremonies in which the *barçam* is held, have to go through the Barashnûm ceremony.

* The figure 29 is repeated in words.

અધે શ્રી નાગમંડળ કરણે¹ પાદશાહ શ્રીઅકૃતરશાહ વેજ² રાજે હવાલે-
ખાન શ્રી કલેય મહમદખાન વ્યાપારે પંચકુળ પ્રજાપતે³ લા. શા.⁴ ભની-
ઘેર બહન તથા પા. નાગુજ ભાષ્યક તથા નુશેરવાન ચાંગા તથા શે.⁵
ધૈયાં આસદીન તથા રૂસ્તમ જમશેદ તા. સમર્સત બેહદીન અંજમન નુસા-
રીનાં ચા. મેહાર વાછા જોગ્ય જત એનામ વાડી પીપલીચા. અધે ભુભી
વીધાં ૧૦ દસ લાડ ૫૦ પચાસ તા. અજુરી ૧૦૦ અક્ષરો સાલ⁶ એનામ પદે⁷ દીવાનકનેથી પદાવે⁸ સમર્સત બેહદીન ભલી પદાવે સહી.

નાગુજ ભાષ્યક (લખતન)	૧ નરામા હોમ (લખતન)
૧ લા. નુશેરવાન ચાંગા	૧ આઉવા ધૈયાં લખતન
૧ લા. રૂસ્તમ જમશેદ	૧ રાણુણ બહમન (શા)
૧ લા. ધર્ઘયાં આશદીન	

Translation.

In the year Samvat 1629 roz Hormazd māh Shaharévar in Nâgmandal⁸ in the time of Pâdshâh Akbar Shâh in the victorious rulership of Kalich Mahmud Khân,⁹ the ruler of the trading and all the mixed communities. Writers Manochahêr Bahman and Nagôj Mânock and Nusherwân Chângâ and Dhaiyân Âsdin and Rustam Jamshed and all of the laymen class of Naôsâri. To Mahyâr Vâchhâ. To Wit, an Inâm¹⁰ wâdi at Pipalia of 10 bigâhs of land with 50 palm trees and 100 date trees shall be maintained¹¹ as inâm from year to

¹ ગ્રૂફ a generation, time, વાત, અકૃતરશાહાનાં વાતમાં.

² વિજય victory.

³ એ મહમદખાનનાં વિષેન કે તે "વેપારી પંચકુલ પ્રજાનાં પતી" એટલે વેપારી અને પાંચ વરણની પ્રજાનાં પદી.

⁴ એ આ. (અધ્યાત્ર) અધ્યાત્ર પા. (પારસ્ય) જેવા લાભ આપેલા કુઝ રૂપાં નંતુ ૩૫ કે. એરા તે શાહરૂ કુઝ ૩૫ કે, એ શાખ હાલપથ હાંકુઓઓ આનાં ઠથાણી તરીકે વપદયાં. કંદેકે એ ડાખુતાનાં પથ વપદાય કે.

⁵ એ વાંદ્યાએ તો મઝેન (શાદ)નું એ ૩૫ હોય.

⁶ સાલ અટલે ૬૨ વરસે

⁷ કરુથી એલબે. દીવાન કનેથી શાનધાનાં કરેથી તે કનાની જમીન તરીકે પરમખાતે છુદી રખાયે.

⁸ An old name of Naôsâri.

⁹ Vide p. 157 for this personage.

¹⁰ Inâm اِنْعَام. According to Badaoni In'âmi-zaminhâ, and In'âmi-dehhâ were some of the old terms applied to lands (Blochmann's Âin-i-Akbari I., p. 271).

¹¹ The word is પાડ્યાં. It is P. પાડ્યાં to rear, to purify. The meaning seems to be that they would see that the land may remain in the hand of Meherji Rana for religious purposes as inâm land, free of taxes. To properly understand this document we must read it in relation with another document (p. 158) given to Meherji Rana's father by the laymen. Or the meaning may be એ વાડી એ નામ ઉપર રહે i.e., the wadi may be on this (Meherji Rana's) name.

year. It shall be maintained free from taxes from the Diwân (i.e., the civil authorities). All laymen shall so maintain it free.

(Signed.)

Nagôj Mânock

Nariman Hom

Nusherwan Changâ

Auwa Dhaiyâb

Rustam Jamshed¹

Rânji Bahman (witness)

Dhaiyân Ashdin

We will examine here, who the officer Kalich (Kalij) Mahamad Khân, alluded to in the above document was.

We learn from the Tabakât-i-Akbari that Kalij Khan was the Governor of Surat at this time (1629 Samvat, i.e., 1573-74 A. D.). We read in that book: "Now that His Majesty's mind was set quite at rest by the suppression of rebels, and the reduction of their lofty forts, he turned his attention to the conquest of Gujarât. The order was given for the assembling of the army, and on the 20th Safar, 980, (1573) in the 18th year of the reign, the Emperor started and proceeded"² The conquest of Surat "was effected on the 23rd Shawwâl in the year 980. Next day the Emperor went on to inspect the fortress on the same day he placed the custody of the fort and the government of the country in the hands of Kalij Khân."³

Elliot gives the name in the above passage as Kalij Khan, but the text of the Tabakât-i-Akbari gives the full name as قلیچ محمد خان Kalij Mahâmad Khân, as we find it in the text of the document. Elliot's translation is too free. The passage about this officer's appointment is as follows:—

وہ انروز نام حکومت و حواسِ قلعہ سورت و آن ^۴ ناحیر را اقتدار
قلیچ محمد خان کر بشرف و منزلت اختصاص دارد توفیض شد ^۵
i.e., on that very day the Government and the custody of the

¹ On comparing his signature in the original (*vide* the photo-litho) with his name as written in the body of the document, we find that both are very similar. So I think that the document is in the handwriting of this person.

² Elliot's History of India, Vol. I., p. 340.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 350-351.

⁴ ناحیر = neighbourhood, surrounding country.

⁵ Munshi Newul Kishore's text of 1875, p. 299, ll. 4-5.

fortress of Surat and its neighbourhood, were confided to the trust of Kalij Mabâmad Khân, who has great distinction in honour and dignity.

This original passage of the Tabakât-i-Akbari shows, that the full name of the officer was the same as that which the document gives, and that he was placed in charge not only of Surat, but of its neighbourhood, of which Naôsâri forms a part. The Tabakât-i-Akbari speaks of him as the jâgirdâr of Surat.

"When the Emperor had settled the affairs of Gujarat, and had returned to his capital, the disaffected and rebellious men . . . once more raised their heads. . . . Kalij Khân, who was jâgirdâr of the fort (Surat), made it secure and prepared for a siege."¹

In the events of the 23rd year of the reign, Elliot also gives his full name as Muhammad Kalij Khân.² Under the events of the 29th year of the reign, we still find him named as the "Jâgirdâr of Surat."³

(Document No. 10. Document assigning a Wâdi to Rana Jeshang.

રાણુ જે સંગને એક વાડી ધર્મખાતે આપવા બાબેના દેખ.)
૭૪॥ શ્રી દીનનીખાતર બેહદીવાને...

.

સંવત ૧૫૭૬ જુટરા વખે મા બહુમન દોજ બહુમન એટેલ⁴ શ્રી નાગમંડલ
કણે⁵ પાતશાહ શ્રી સુલતાન મનજિરશાહ વિજરાગે અમલ મલક શ્રી ઠિકામ
નસીર વ્યાપારે પંચકુલ પ્રજપતૈ લખતં શ્રી માણિક ચાંગા વ⁶ આ.⁷ આસ-
દીન બેહરવાન વ⁸ શ્રી ધૈર્યાં રાણું વ⁹ શ્રી રાણું જમાસ વ¹⁰ શ્રી આસા બહેરામ
વ માણિક બહેરામ વ¹¹ એ. ખુરશેદ ચાચા વ¹² બહેરામ સાગર વ સમસ્ટલોક વ¹³
નૈથા રાણું વ ગા.¹⁴ મહેરવાન એરવદ રાણુ જે સંગ જોય જત તાડ વ ભૂમી

¹ Elliot, V., p. 360.

² Ibid. p. 404.

³ Ibid. p. 434.

⁴ In the similar document of Meherji Rana (No. 9) એ એદે adhê. Perhaps મેદૂત અધ્ય i.e., "now, then" signifying 'at the time'.

⁵ For કણે, ride document No. 9 p. 156 n. 1 પાદશાહના વાતમાં.

⁶ This word is Persian, va 'and' used for Gujarati 'અને' or 'તથા' used in the other similar document of Meherji Rana (No. 9).

⁷ એ. doubtful, perhaps contracted form for એના Av. એનાંગુંઘરા.

⁸ એ. This seems to be a contracted form of a word like આ. for એથીઆડ
પા. for પારમી, શ્રી for શ્રીઓ રોદ, એ. for એદુલ. Perhaps it is the contracted form
of the Gujarati word ગોર or ગોરા, i.e., a priest. It seems, that this word
was at one time applied to Parsee priests by their laymen, because the
word ગોરાથી is still sometimes used for a wife of a priest, who prepares
sacred breads, &c, for the ritual. Perhaps the word ગોર �was specially applied
to those priests who prepared દારનું daruns or sacred breads and sacred food
used in the ritual.

આનામ¹ તાડ ૧૦૦ તથા ભૂમી વીધા ૧૦ દસ એક્ટ તાડ સુખત² રહે. રાણા કેસંગને સાલ પે સાલ પાલે³ તાડ વ ભૂમી ન ભાલા આચે⁴ સાલ ૫ સાલ પાલે સમસ્ત બહેરીન મલી પાલે સહી એ વાત કલ⁵ કાવલ⁶ નહી દીવાનથી પદ્ધાવે. સમસ્ત એક દીઘરા⁷ થાઈ પદ્ધાવે.

- ૧ લખતં ભાણુક ચાંગા
- ૧ લા. આસદીન બહેરવાન
- ૧ લખતં ધેરયાં રાણા સેહી
- ૧ લા. રાણા જમાસર
- ૧ લખતં ચુરસેદ ચાચા
- ૧ લા. ભાણુક બહેરામ
- ૧ લે. આશા બહેરામ
- ૧ લા. નિધામા રાણા ધેરચાં
- ૧ લખત. બેરામ સાગર
- ૧ લ. બહેરામ રાણા

Translation.

For the sake of religion, Bahadins.¹⁰

By the name of God.

In the year *Samvat* 1576 at the time of month (*mâh*) Bahman, day (*rôz*) Bahman, in Nâgmandal, in the time of the

¹ કનામની ભૂમી કા. *النعام*. According to Badâoni *Inâm-i-Zaminha*, *Inâm-i-Dehhâ* were some of the terms used before the Moghuls. (Blochmann's *Ain-i-Âkbari* I., p. 271.)

² સાંપેલી રહે P. *سُفْتَه* *suftha* 'gift.'

³ *ચાલુણ* *چالوں* to rear, educate; to purify. પદ્ધત. The meaning seems to be that they would see that it remains in the hand of Rana Jesang for the above religious purpose (ધનની આતર) from year to year, free of taxes.

⁴ “ન આસ આચે” એટલે “ન માલે સાચે” i.e., રાજ રાજ. I think it is the corrupted form of *ن માલ સાચો* i.e., without miscellaneous revenues, i.e., free of tax.

For the words *مાલ* *مال* and *سાચો* *سچا* *vide* above, p. 98.

⁵ *કલ* *کل* *hail*, trouble, injustice, a heavy burden.

⁶ Perhaps *قوں* *qâwal* speakers. The meaning seems to be that “there should be no troubles and questions or inquiries in the matter.”

⁷ *پિક ડ ગ્રી* *پیک د گری* uniting one with another, i.e., in concert with one another.

⁸ Or perhaps *સેં*. An old copy of this document reads it *સેં*.

The document seems to be in the handwriting of this man, because on comparing the names of the signatories, as written in the body of the document, with their own signatures at the bottom of the document, we find, that in the case of all signatories, their names and signatures differ a little in style and form, but in the case of this રાણા જમાસ Râna Jâmas they resemble a good deal.

¹⁰ Doubtful. Perhaps for *بے ڈھان* i.e., civil matter.

victorious¹ rulership of Padshâh Sultân Muzaffar Shâh,² in the rule of king Ibhrâm Naçir,³ the ruler of the trading and all mixed communities. Writers Manock Chângâ,⁴ and Âsdin Meherwân and Dhaiyân Rânâ and Rânâ Jamâs and Ásâ Baherâm and Manock Baherâm and Khurshed Châchâ and Baherâm Sâgar and the whole of the community and Nayâ Rânâ and Meherwan.⁴ To Ervad Rânâ Jesang. To wit, palm-trees and Inâm land, 100 palm trees and 10 *bigâhs* of land may be given. It (*i.e.*, the land) shall be kept with Rânâ Jesang free of taxes from year to year. The palm trees and the land shall be maintained free of taxes from year to year. All the laymen together shall maintain it free of taxes. There shall be no trouble and bother about it. It shall be kept free from the civil authorities. All uniting one with another shall maintain it free.

(Signed)—

Manock Chângâ
Âsdin Meherwân
Dhaiyân Rana
Rânâ Jâmâs

¹ વિજીત, વિજીત is the same as વિજ્યુ meaning 'victorious.'

² *Vide* below, p. 161 for this personage.

³ For notes on some of the words of this document, *vide* the footnotes under the Gujarati document, p. 158-59.

⁴ This man seems to have been popularly known as ગો. મેહરવાન Go or Gor Meherwan, but his real name seems to be બેદ્રામ રાણી Behrâm Rânâ, because he puts down his signature as such. There are ten persons named in the body of the document and these ten persons sign the document. In the signatures the order is changed a little. The first four signatories sign in the order of their names in the document. Then the fifth signatory ખુરશેડ આસા Khoorsed Châchâ is the seventh in the order of the names in the document, and the eighth signatory આસા બેદ્રામ આસા Behrâm Sâgar is the fifth in the body of the document. Then the eighth and ninth persons નૈયા રાણી Behrâm Sâgar and નૈયા રાણી Nayâ Rânâ in the document similarly change places as signatories. Nayâ Rânâ signs seventh as નૈયા રાણી બઈઅની Nayâ Rana Dhaiyân. Then the tenth or the last person on the list ગો. મેહરવાન Go. Meherwân signs as બેદ્રામ રાણી Behram Rânâ. This shows then that ગો. મેહરવાન Go. Meherwan must be his popular name, while his real name was Behrâm Rana. Again, we find that the writer seems to have first intended to close his list with the 8th person Behrâm Sâgar because he has put after this name the words સમાનલક્ષ્યઃ *i.e.*, "and all the community or all the people," but after writing these words he has added the above two names of the ninth and tenth signatories.

Khurshed Châchâ
 Manock Baherâm
 Naiyâ Rânâ Dhaiyân
 Asa Behrâm
 Berâm Sâgar
 Baherâm Rânâ

The king (Padshâh) Sultan Muzaffar Shâh referred to in this document of *Samvat* 1576 (1520 A. D.) is the Sultan Muhammad Muzaffar of Gujarat. He is one of the five Mahemedan kings, referred to by Bâbar in his *Tuzak-i-Bâbri*, as ruling in India when he conquered the country. He says, "At the period when I conquered that country, five Musulmân kings and two Pagans exercised royal authority. Although there were many small and inconsiderable *Râjs* and *Râjâs* in the hills and woody country, yet these were the chief and the only ones of importance. One of these powers was the Afghâns, whose Government included the capital. The second prince was Sultan Muhammad Muzaffar in Gujarât. He had departed this life a few days before Sultan Ibrâhim's¹ defeat. He was a prince well skilled in learning, and fond of reading the *hadîs* (or traditions)."² He is known in history,³ as Muzaffar II. He reigned in Gujarât for 15 years from A.D. 1511 (917 Hijri) to 1526.

The king ભાઈ નસરીર Ibhrâm Naçir seems to be Ibrâhim Lodi.

(Document No. 11. દીવ લખેણો કાગજ. *The letter to Diu wherein Dastur Meherji Rânâ is referred to as the leading priest.*)

લ. અ.⁴ કાકા શુત⁵ આસદીન બહેરીન દોથના સમર્પત તે બુ⁶ પદ્ધાના એ
એજદાં બાદ જત બુ⁷ ચાંડિ ક્યામદીન હુ લીએ⁸ અંધારી માંહે અહો જ (ન)

¹ Ibrahim Lodi whom he defeated in 1526 in the battle of Pânipat.

² Elliot IV. p. 259.

³ Elphinstone's History of India, 5th Edition, by Cowell, p. 765.

⁴ Contracted from અસ્તન અંધાર.

⁵ A son. Kaka's son Asdin કાકાનો ઓદારો આસદીન આસદીનકાડા.

⁶ Looks like ત but it is 'બ'. Compare it with the first letter in the word જરશુઅ in l. 6 of the original بپناهہ يزدان باد

⁷ Doubtful. Perhaps બ.

⁸ Doubtful. Perhaps જત એ ચાંદા ક્યામદીન હુ લીએ (એલં મારી ભય)

આર બેઠા હતા તેહાં એમ કહિઓ જે દીવનાં સમર્પણ એહેદીને કહું જે એક
હેવદ ખરોનુમ સુ¹ આંહાં આવે તે બાજ ધર્ષું તા. જેહેસારથું કરે અલારાંનો
મુખ્યાંની નિમત² આફિગાન કરે તેહની અહભો એહે વાછુ³ તેહેવી તેહની
તથ્યું⁴ કરે તે વાત કીયા પર એ. શ્રી મહેરન્દ્ર રાણાં તુએક શુદ્ધવી⁵ તાકીદ
કરી દીવનાં કંબ ચાલતાં કરવા મોકલઈએ છે ખુખ છે લાએક એ ડાંક⁶
છે સાસતુ⁷ છે જેહવુ આપણો દીન જોઈએ તેહવુ છે. એહની તત્પું એદના
ફક્ત⁸ જોઇ કરણે સહી રો.⁹ ગુચ્છાદ મા. આદર સંવત ૧૬૪૬ વર્ષે.

સમર્પણ બેહેદીન નાય¹⁰ અલારાં પનાહે અનદાં બાદ કરેયું¹¹

Translation.

“Writer priest¹² Kâkâ’s son Asdin. To all the Bahadins (*i.e.*, laymen) of Diu. May they be in the protection of God. To wit, two persons (*viz.*) Chanda Kiamdin with myself (*i.e.*, altogether), we four persons had sat together in the Agiâry (*i.e.*, fire-temple). There it was said that all the Bahadins of Diu have said that “a Herbad (*i.e.*, priest) with Barashnum,¹³ may come here, that he may perform the Bâj and Gehsârnâ¹⁴ ceremony, that he may perform the Afringân ceremony, for the repose of our dead, and that we will continue,¹⁵ him as you will fix.” On these words being said

¹ સુપાં.

² نیمات nimat sleep, slumber (peace) મુખ્યાંની માટી માર or for نیت naiyat નિઃભાવ intention.

³? جمعیدن, to collect, to pick out. એ સુકર હેય. Or it can be read નહેવા ખુર (for ખર) doubtful.

⁴ P. تابع searching diligently, continuation ખાલુ રાખવીની *i.e.*, નવી રીતે ઘટ તેની રીત.

⁵ Doubtful reading, *vide* p. 163, n. 1.

⁶ For કાયો wise. માનેદ મારો છે, લાયક છે, કાયો છે, ધનતો છે.

⁷ شاپતુસ્ત shâpatust worthy, fit. Or perhaps ‘patient’ as in પીએ માંસતો.

⁸ કંબ ફુલ work. જેણાં કંબ જોઈ એંઝી નોડરી ખાલુ રાખળ.

⁹ رોજ روز

¹⁰ نیت niyat, aiming at, intention. નિઃભાવ, માર, or towards.

¹¹ of the كاتب *i.e.*, the writer. અમે લખનારની ધનદી પાંદ ખાંદ.

¹² એ. Contraction of અંધિારો andhiâroo, *i.e.*, priest.

¹³ *i.e.*, an officiating priest who had gone through the Barashnum ceremony.

¹⁴ The funeral prayers to be recited near a dead body before its being removed to the Tower of Silence. The prayer recited is yaqna Chaps. XXVIII to XXXIV.

¹⁵ If you read it تابع it is تابع tatabba, searching diligently, continuation, or it may be corruption of تابع كارتكن, stipend.

Ervad Meherji Rânâ agreed¹ and has hastened to send (a priest) for carrying on religious rites (lit. affairs). He is a good, fit, wise, (and) worthy man. He is just what is required for our religion. Continue him (in your service) looking to his work. *Rôz Guâd mâh Adar year samvat 1646.* May our good wishes be for the protection of God upon all Behdins."

Having given above, copies of the documents referred to in the paper, I will now give here the colophons of some of the manuscripts, and extracts of letters, &c., referred to therein.

(Colophon of the old manuscript of 1792 A. D., which contains

Tansen's song—*vide* above, p. 42.)

એ કેતાખ રાગ તા. કુભીત તા. યેધરધાયનો કૃશા વગેરે તમામ થાઈ
શ્વો રોજ આખાં ઈન્ડ માહા મુખુરક બહુમન અમિશાશપદ શને ૧૧૬૧૪ અચ
જદીજરદીનાં. ૧૮૪૮ આખાડ વદ ૧૩ શેને તમાં કૃધ્યા. એ કેતાખને
લખાવનાર નેકનાંમ, નેક નહીંએત, દીન દોશત, આલી હીમત, અશા પરવર,
રોશન તાલે એહેદીન શીજમશેદળ ગુરથમાં મકાની ફૂકાળ પોતે પોતાના મુતા-
દ્દ² તા. વાચવા ખાહેશ કરી લખાવી શાહી. એ કેતાખનો લખનાર કમતરીન
ખાકશાર મેલેદ જોદે મુખેદ એહેરાન વલેદ માલેદ છુણ શુરતનો રેહનારાએ
લખી શાહી. એ કેતાખ ને કોઈ વાચે તે લુલાયુક હેણે તાહા શમારે શાહી.³

(Tansen's song about Dastur Meherji Rânâ—*vide* above, p. 42,

copied from f. 81b. of the above old manuscript.)

(એ રાગ શારંગ છે બષોરના ગાએ)

ઈઝાહુ પારથી પઠે શો કયુલ,
ઈઝા ધણી પારથી પઠે શો કયુલ.
અગરકી પીઠ ચેદન લપેટેઓ.
જેશાઈ શ્રૂયદ પેડ.
ઈઝાહુ પારથી પઠે શો કયુલ.

¹ Perhaps એક શુદ્ધ વી તાકિદ કરી. P. كرد كي و كي 239 مطالع reading, study, અભ્યાસ.

² Colophon at the end, folio 237b—238. The book has in all 239 folios with 13 lines in a page. From folio 202 we have the story of Changragâcha, an Indian sage, who is said to have visited the Court of King Gushtâsp to discuss religious matters with Zoroaster. The writer calls his book "શા તા. કુદી તા. અપરથાયનો કીર્તિ" i.e., the book of songs and poems, and of the story of Changragâcha. For Changragâcha and for his visit, *vide* "Zoroastre, Essai sur la Philosophie Religieuse de la Perse, par M. Joachim Ménant" (1857), pp. 57, &c. Zoroaster, the Prophet of Ancient Irân, by Prof. Jackson, pp. 85—88.

લંખી લંખી દાહાડી શાહ મેહેરીઆર.

રેરી ભૂઘપર અરશત નૂર.

ઈઆહુ પારથી પઢે શો કબૂલ.

કેહે તો મીરાં તાંન શુંગ.

શુનો શાહ અકબર.

ઈઆહુ મેહેરતોડા કુલ.

ઈઆહુ પારથી પઢે શો કબૂલ.

(*Translation of the song of Tansen.*)

Oh Lord!¹ the Parsee's prayer is accepted,

Oh Master! the Parsee's prayer is accepted.

The baek of agar² and sandalwood is put round it,

With it there is a piece of sandalwood.³

Oh Lord! the Parsee's prayer is accepted.

Shâh Meheriyâr!⁴ you have a long beard,

Glory rains over your face.

Oh Lord! the Parsee's prayer is accepted.

Mîan Tansen says,

Oh King Akbar! hear me,

He is the flower of the paradise.

Oh Lord! the Parsee's prayer is accepted.

¹ Yâ-hû, i.e., Oh God — *Vide* Blochmann's *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol. I., p. 170. “His Majesty passed whole nights in thoughts of God; he continually occupied himself with pronouncing the names Yâ hu and Yâ hadî.” The word here seems to be originally Ahu (Avesta *ao*), and it is applied in Persian even to kings. The song being transcribed in Gujarati, its language and orthography may not be quite correct. ² Agar (aloe wood) is a kind of fragrant twig.

³ The meaning of this second distich is not quite clear, but it seems to tell how the Parsee Meheriyâr (another proper form of Meherji) referred to in the song said his prayers, placing fragrant wood and twigs in the fire.

⁴ For the word Shâh, *vide* above, p. 156, n. 4.

(Mahârâjâ Sir Sourendro Mohun Tagore's letter, about Tansen's song—*vide* above, p. 44.)

Hara Kumara Bhabana,
Pathuria Ghata Raj Bati,
Calcutta, 6th February 1902.

To

J. JAMSHE DJI MODI, Esqre.,

DEAR SIR,—I am of opinion, so far as my humble belief goes, that the song which you had sent me as Tansen's is, as I already wired to you, his. Though the language is not that in which he ordinarily composed his songs, yet from the construction and general style of the piece, the song affords internal evidence of being the composition of that great singer. The piece, I understand, is sung in the Sâranga Ragini, and if this tune has been traditionally handed down, this is another proof of the piece being Tansen's, for Darliâri Kânârâ and Sâranga are known to have been his favourite Raginis.

Yours truly,

(Sd.) SOURENDRO MOHUN TAGORE,

Mus. Doc. Oxon.

*Extracts from letters of Drs. West, Geldner and Mills, with reference to the alleged ignorance of the Parsees of Gujrât in the 16th Century—*vide* above, p. 52.*

Dr. West says : —

" I have carefully read the contents of the Newspaper Cuttings, and need only say that my opinions, regarding the matters in dispute, practically coincide with those expressed by the writers whose signatures are Ed. Ochiltree, Junior, and J. O. E.¹

" Regarding the alleged ignorance and incapacity of the Gujarat Parsis, both priests and laity, in the 16th century, I believe that such an accusation would be a gross exaggeration of the actual facts. It appears to be based upon certain statements made in the

¹ Prof. S. H. Hodivala's letters to the *Bombay Gazette*, in its issues of 24th August, 30th and 31st October, 5th November and 7th December 1896. His letter in the issue of 5th November 1896 is worth studying. Therein he has produced a number of instances as evidence to show that " even in those ages, supposed to be so dark, there were Parsees possessing a knowledge, not only of Sanscrit, but of Zend and Pahlavi "—*vide* below, p. 167, for his views on the general charge of ignorance.

Rivayets brought by Nareman Hoshang from Iran in 1478 and 1486. Strictly speaking, these were written about a century before the time of Meherji Rana, but it will be instructive to consider how far they were correct in their own time.

"One of the Iranian Scribes of the Rivayet of 1478 wrote in Persian as follows :—

"For this reason I have not written these things in Pahlavi writing, inasmuch as Nareman Hoshang said and declared that perhaps (*magar*) priests and laymen of the Mazda-worshippers of Nausari, Kambay, Broach, Surat, and Anklesar may not be understanding Pahlavi writing. He said there are laymen of these towns, and even priests, who perchance do not understand Pahlavi writing." But the earlier part of the same Rivayet contains a Pazand colloquy between Zaratusht and Ormazzd, written in Avesta characters, also some extracts from the Gathas in Avesta and Pazand, as well as occasional Pahlavi phrases, with plenty of Persian. This free use of Avesta and Persian writing, and even some Pahlavi, clearly shows that the Iranian scribe had no real fear of not being understood by the Indian Parsis (whose vernacular was old Gujarati, and to whom even Persian was a foreign language) unless he used too much Pahlavi.

"With regard to the questions taken to Yezd by Nareman Hoshang, it seems to me (judging from the replies to about forty, which may be found scattered about in various parts of Darab Hormazyar's Rivayet Collection) that the queries, propounded by the Indian Parsis, do generally imply not so much any ignorance on the part of their priests, as an increasing reluctance on the part of the laity to comply with their teachings and decisions. The laity, living among those of other religions, would naturally find many of the precautionary observances and customs, enjoined by their own priesthood both troublesome and oppressive. Under such circumstances, the priests and more conservative elders would at last find it necessary to refer the principal matters in dispute to their brethren in Iran, so as to have their opinion to quote among their own more unruly members.

"If the Indian Parsi priesthood had been really ignorant and indifferent about their religion, they would not have undertaken the trouble and expense of referring such matters to a higher Court of

Appeal, such as the Iranian priesthood must have appeared to be to the Indian Parsis. And the questions, thus referred, seldom involve any of the great fundamental dogmas of the Parsi religion, but are nearly always confined to details of ritual and purification, or to matters of casuistry.

"The same may be said of all the other Rivayets and writings which were obtained from Iran, from time to time, during the next two centuries. They all indicate the deep interest which the Parsi priests and laity took in the preservation of their religion, and in obtaining copies of rare manuscripts from Iran." (Extract from Dr. West's letter, dated Maple Lodge, Watford, June 10th, 1898, to Mr. Mancherji Palanji Kutar.)

Dr. Geldner says:—

“. . . . It may be that such Dastur lived in the obscure corner of Gujarat. With Brahmins and Jews also, it is also often the case that the real traditional knowledge lived on in corners. In certain Indian Dastur families the knowledge of Pahlavi must have remained traditional. Where otherwise—to mention only one—would the venerable Dastur Hoshangji in Poona, the teacher of the Europeans, have acquired his knowledge of the Pahlavi? Consequently a learned Pahlavi scholar was very well able to explain the doctrines of Zoroaster to the great Mogul in a convincing manner.

"The Revayets, too, do not always treat elementary subjects, but often some with very important questions. cf. Sacred Books of the East. Vol. XXXVII., pp. 419, &c. They frequently give the authoritative decisions of the learned Dasturs in Iran.

"It is reported that Jâmâsp brought the Farvardin Yasht to India in 1721, which was said to have been lost there. This loss can only refer to certain congregations and not to the Parsees of India in general. The fact is that this Yasht existed in India at that time in several copies, and partly in a better state than the Persian MS. gave, but it was possibly kept secret by the owners." (Extract from Dr. Geldner's letter, dated Berlin, 25th August 1898, to Mr. Mancherji P. Kutar.)

Prof. S. H. Hodivala says:—

“. . . . Every scholar in fact knows that Pahlavi and Pazand manuscripts of the sixteenth century are comparatively numerous. May

we not ask the meanings of these facts? May we not ask why so many of these copies were taken at Navsari? May we not ask why these copies should have been so carefully multiplied, if the ignorance in Gujarat was so universal that no one, whether priest or layman, could read or understand them? Perhaps, it will be said that merely copying manuscripts requires no knowledge of the language on the part of the scribe. This is certainly not strictly true, but even if it were, what can be the object of having work copied if nobody can make any use of them? Besides the colophons of many of these transcripts contain express statements as to their having been made by priests for their own use—a fact which certainly militates against this theory of universal ignorance. But this is not all. We have something more than mere copies of the sacred texts. . . . These efforts were really the earliest manifestations of a kind of literary activity whose ampler fruits we possess in the works of Hormuzdyar and his son Darab, of Rustam Peshotan, and many others in the next century" (Extract from a letter to the *Bombay Gazette* in its issue of 5th November 1896).

Dr. Mills says:—

" A highly intelligent traditional knowledge existed among Parsi priests at the time of Akbar, and before and after. And Akbar would certainly not have been so foolish as to get a Parsi who knew nothing to inform him." (Extract from Dr. Mills' letter, dated 119, Essex Road, Oxford, May 25, 1898, to Mr. Mancherji Palouji Kutar.)

(Colophons of Pazend and Persian manuscripts written by Rânâ Jesang, the father, and Kaikobâd, the son, of Dastur Meherji Rana, *vide* above, p. 68.)

I have come across three old Pazend and Persian manuscript books which tend to show that the family of Dastur Meherji Rana was a learned family. They had that amount of learning which one may expect in those times from learned priests. Besides Gujrâti the language of their country, and Avesta, the language of their scriptures, they knew Pazend and Persian languages.

The first old manuscript that I want to draw attention to, is an old manuscript of the Pazend Jâmâspi written by Rana Jesang, the father of Dastur Meherji Rana. It belongs to the first Dastur

Meherji Rana Library of Naosari.¹ I give below the colophon in Persian given at the end of the book. It gives its date as *roz Meher, mah Ardibehesht, year 873 Yazdajardi* (1560 *Samvat*), i.e., 1504 A.D.

(Colophon of the manuscript of the Pazend Jamâspi written by Rana Jesang, the father of Dastur Meherji Rana.)

نهام شه این² کاتب جاماپسی من دین بندۀ از کهترین خاک رویان رازان بن چربه جیسنک بن چربه دادا بن چربه جیسنک بن چربه موبد بن چربه قیام دین بن چربه موبد بن چربه کامدین بن چربه زرتشت بن موبد چومزد پار بن چربه رامپار از زنگنه دیر زیوشلی چربه کروان بن چیکجیو بهروجی نوشتمن از جهت دانشمند نوفو چنکیانرا و کفره و خشنمنی پهندینانرا تن درستی دیر زیشنی ایو په گیتی اشو په میندوی روانوا گرور تهانی باد روز مهرومه اردبیشت سال پیشصد پفتاب سه بهند بوی سال

سंवत १५६० वर्षे रोज महिर मा, अर्द्धविश्व पारसी संवत ८७६
वर्षे.

Translation.

Completed. I am the writer of Jâmâspi, I a servant of the religion from the humblest of the dust-faced,⁴ I Rana, son of Herbad Jesang, son of Herbad Dâdâ, son of Herbad Jesang, son of Herbad Mobad, son of Herbad Kayâmdin, son of Herbad Mobad, son of Herbad Kâmdin, son of Herbad Zartusht, son of Mobad Harmazdyâr, son of Herbad Râmyâr. I have written it from a copy of Herbad Karvâ (may he live long), son of Bikajiv of Broach, for the knowledge of new preceptors and for the increase of righteousness of the Behdins (*i.e.*, the Zoroastrians). May there be health of body, long life, *i.e.*, in this physical world, may they be righteous, (and) in the spiritual world may their souls attain paradise. *Roz Meher, mah Ardibehesht year eight hundred and seventy-three.* In Indian year *Samvat* 1560 *roz Meher, mah Ardibehesht, Parsee era* 873.

¹ *Vide* the catalogue of the library published in 1894, Gujarati list of Pahlavi, Pazend and Persian manuscripts, p. 62, manuscript No. 9.

² One may take it as miswritten for کتاب and complete the sentence at the next word *جاماسپی*, but the sentence must be completed with the words *نهام شه* ³ For either Bhicâji or Vicâji.

⁴ Khâk-ruyân. It may be khâk-rubân. A term of humility, an equivalent of خاکسار.

The manuscript is written in Pazend and the colophon in Persian. This shows that Rana Jesang knew languages other than the language of the country, the Gujarati.

The next manuscript written by Rana Jesang is that of the Bahman-nameh.¹ It belongs to Mr. Minocherjee Burjorjee Pavree. It has 378 folios, i.e., 756 pages, with 13 couplets in a page.² Its colophon at the end, giving the name of the writer and its date, runs thus:—

تمام شد این کتاب بهمن نامه ایو پنقو ایواشی³ تمام شد این داسفان
شاہ بهمن بن اسفندیار شاه ملوك ایران بیزدان کام باد فرجیه پدرود
شادی و رامشندی و دیروزیوشنی من دین بندۀ کاقب الحروف چیرید رانان
بن چیرید چیسنک بن چیرید دادا از گوهر موبید چورمژیار چیرید رامیدار
از در قصبه نوساری در عهد^۴ و داده سلطان بن طیف خان
برادر زاده بهادر شاه سلطان بروز آستاد و ماه آدر سال نهم پانزده^۵
از تاریخ ایزد زرد شهریار و شهود سنه خمسین نسخ ماه و چندی
(folio 378a, l. 13.) سال همهوت سول چود و نور

Translation.

This book of Bahman Nâmah is finished. There is only one path which is that of virtue (or piety).

This narrative of king Bahman, the son of Asfandyar, the king of the kings of Irân, is finished. May it be according to the wish of God. Finished with good wishes, joy and pleasure and long life. I a servant of the religion, the writer of these writings (am) Herbad Ranâ, the son of Herbad Jesang, the son of Herbad Dâdâ from the family stock of Mobed Hormazyâr, (son of) Herbed Râmyâr, in the city

¹ Le Livre des Rois par M. Mohl, Vol. I., Preface, p. LXVIII.

² This gives ($756 \times 13 =$) 9828 couplets or distiches. M. Mohl says: "Le Bahman-nameh contient à peu près dix mille distiques." *Ibid.*

³ It is the first line, written in Persian characters, of the following Avesta proverb, which is found at the end of several old Parsee manuscripts.

کیم لعزم سپس
که کیم لعزم سپس

i.e., there is only one path of virtue. All other paths are no paths. The Pahlavi rendering of it is:—

لعن د عبد مدد
که کیم لعزم سپس

of Naosari, in the time of Mahmûd Shâh¹ Satân bin (i.e., son of) Latif Khân, the nephew of Bahâdur Shâh Sultan, on day Âstâd and month Âdar, year nine hundred and fifteen, of the era of Yazdagird Sheheryâr. Friday,² year 955 (Hijri),³ Hindi year Samvat sixteen hundred and two.

The third manuscript I wish to refer to, is an old manuscript of the Persian Darâb-nameh,⁴ belonging to Mr. Mâhiar Nowroji Kutâr. The manuscript is dated 1025 Yazdajardi (A.D. 1656). It appears from this manuscript that Dastur Kaikobad, the son of Dastur Meherji Rana, had taken a copy of the Persian Dârâb-nâmeh from the library of king Akbar. Dastur Kaikobad's own manuscript is not to be found, but the old manuscript of 1656 notes the fact.⁵ It is a MS. of 266 folios with 25 lines in a page.

The following lines in the colophon narrate the way in which the manuscript came to be written :—

تَمَتْ تِهَامْ پَذِيلَةَ الْكِتَابِ دَارِ الْبَنَامَهُ دَرِصَنَهُ الْفَ..... شَهْرُ شَعبَانَ يَوْمَ
يَكْشِنَبَهُ بِتَارِيخِ سَيِّمَهُ وَقْتُ فَجْرٍ بِخَطِّ بَشْتُونَ ابْنُ فُرِيدَهُونَ لَقْبُ ارويسيگاپان
دَرِ قَصْبَهِ نُوسَارِيِّ تَحْرِيرٍ يَافَتْ فَرَجِبَهُ بَدْرُودَ وَشَادِيِّ وَرَامَشَنِيِّ
رَوْزِ رَشَنِ مَا مَهْرِ مَبَارِكِ سَالَ اُورِ يَكْهَنَارَوِ بَيْسَتَ وَپَنْجَ ازْ شَهْنَشَاهَهَ
يَزْدَ گَرَهَ شَهْرِيَارَ ازْ تَخْمَهَ مَهَا سَانَ ابْنُ اَدَرْشَيَرَ ابْنُ اَسْفَندَيَارَ ابْنُ
کَشْتَهَسَپَ نَوْشَمَهَ شَهَدَ

ఆరీస్ నృప విక్రమార్క సమయాతీత సవత १७१२ వర్షా శాకే १५७८ ప్రవర్తనానె ఉత్సరా
యన గతి ఆరీ స్వంత సమాగల్య పరిషే పరమ పద పవిత్ర జోష మాసే శుక్లపక్ష పంచమి తీథి
రవివాసరే పుష్య నక్షత్రాం ధ్రువ యోగే బవకరణే ఎవు పంచాంగ శుధీ రవిగతె వర్ష రాశౌ

¹ This Mahmûd Shâh was Mahmûd III. of Gujrât, who reigned for 16 years from 1538 A.D. (944 Hijri) to 1553-54 (961 Hijri). Elphinstone says on this point, "Bahâdurshâh's natural heir was his nephew Mahmûd, the son of Latif Khân." (Elphinstone's History of India, Fifth edition, by Cowell (1866).

² شہووڈ shuhûd, Friday.

³ خمسين khams five. تسع tisa 'nine.' ٦٠ one hundred.
So the whole number is, $5 + 50 + 9 \times 100 = 955$.

⁴ Le Livre des Rois, par M. Mohl, Vol. I, Preface, p. lxxiv.

⁵ The following lines in the colophon give the date of the manuscript :—

فرَجِبَهُ بَدْرُودَ وَشَادِيِّ وَرَامَشَنِيِّ رَوْزِ رَشَنِ مَا مَهْرِ مَبَارِكِ سَالَ اُورِ
پَكَ ہَزَارَ وَبَيْسَتَ وَپَنْجَ ازْ شَهْنَشَاهَهَ يَزْدَ گَرَهَ شَهْرِيَارَ

चंद्र गते कर्क राशौ एवं शुध्यं श्री वारावनामः पुस्तकं लिखितं करेदून सुत पेशुतं
न लिखितं समाहा。(१)

چون این کتاب جان افزا در بلاد بند وغیره غریب است
از آنש کم کسی بدیده وازین مشکین نقاب دلربا مشام اهل تاقار
و خطابوئی نشینده در اکثر امصار و بلدان اذوا چچ کس نداشته
و نیاقدم مگر بکتب خانه شریفه حضرت بادشاہ جلال الدنیا
والدین محمد اکبر بادشاہ غازی خلدالله تعالی مملکم ابها بنظر اندر
آمد و چون انتقام این کتاب نادر مقبول خاطر بجناب مکرمت آیا ب ...
سعادت دنار مفخر اهل فارس یعنی نوشیروان ابن بهمن شاه بارسی
ساکن قصبه نوساری طول عمره وزاد قدره فوق الحمد بود بنوشتن
اشارت ارزانی فرموده بنایر حکم ایشان اقل العباد کیقیاد این
مهیار بارسی کمر خدمتکاری بر میان جان استوار کرده سعی تمام و
کوشش لاکلام بجای آورده تا از روی آن منقول غریب مسوده شکسته
بهتر بست تحریر یافته بود و ازان مسوده ... خواجگی حپو رضی الله عنہ
بخط عبد الرحمن در برگزنه پا نسوت رقم کناییده بود بس آن کتاب بدست
مزرا بن موزا محمد زمان آمدۀ ازان مسوده این کتاب تحریر یافت
(Folio 266 a, l. 20.)
بخط بشوتن بمرای خود

Translation.

"Finished this² book of Dârâb-nâmeh in the year one thousand

¹ I give below the correct rendering of the Sanskrit in modern Gujarati types, and its translation as kindly done for me by a friend. My English translation is rendered from the Gujarati version.

શ્રીમન् નુપ વિકારી સમયાતીત સંવત ૧૭૧૨ વર્ષે શાકે ૧૫૭૮ પ્રવત્તામન ગતે શ્રીમુર્યે સન्
અંગાલ્ય પ્રદે પરમ પદ પવિત્ર નષ્ટ માસે શુદ્ધ પસે પ્રયત્ની તીથો રન્વિસરે પુષ્ય નક્ષત્રે શુદ્ધ યોગ બ્રવ
કરણે એવું પચાંગ શુદ્ધો રહેલો ગતે વૃષશત્રો અંગતે કર્દી શરૂઆ એવું શુદ્ધભ્ર. શ્રી વારાવનામ પુસ્તકાંજી લિ-
ખીતમાં કરેદૂન સુત પેશુતન લિખિતમાં શામા.

અર્થો.

શ્રીમન રાજા વિકારીના સમયને ૧૭૧૨ વર્ષ ગયાં ત્યારે, અને શાલીવાળના શાકનું વર્ષ ૧૫૭૮ આલતું
હતું ત્યારે, અને સ્વર્ય ઉનશયનમાં હતો ત્યારે, માથા મંગલને આપનાર ઘણા પવિત્ર નષ્ટ શુદ્ધ ૫ રન્વિસર
પુષ્ય નક્ષત્ર, શુદ્ધયોગ, બવકણ, હતા. એ પ્રમાણે પચાંગ શુદ્ધી હતી ત્યારે રૂપી વૃષણ શરૂઆતે હતો
એ કર્દી રાશનીના હતો, ત્યારે આ વારાવનામાનું પુસ્તક કરેદૂના પુત્ર પેશુતને લખાયે. શુદ્ધયોગ.

² | ડ્ર. hazâ.

.¹ in month Shâbân,² on day Sunday, on the 30th day at the time of morning. Written by the hand of Beshôtan,³ son of Faridun surnamed Arvisgâhân,⁴ in the town of Naosari. Finished with good wishes, joy, and pleasure. Written on the day Rashna, auspicious month Meher, year 1025 of king Yazdagard Sheheryâr of the line of descent of Sâsân, the son of Ardeshir, son of Asfandyâr, son of Gushtâsp.

In the year 1712 of the glorious king Vikramark, in the year 1578 of Sâlivân era, when the sun was in the winter solstice, on the true auspicious holy day Jeth Shûd 5 Sunday, Pushya nakshatra,⁵ Dhruva yôga,⁶ Bar Karana.⁷ When the positions of the heavenly bodies, according to the calendar, were in these proper positions, the sun was in the Taurus and the moon in the Cancer. It was then that this book of Dârâb-nâmeh was written by Peshutan, the son of Faridun. May it be auspicious.

¹ There is a gap which the writer seems to have thought of filling up later on. The number of the year in Arabic words cannot be written at once by a Parsee without a reference to books. This seems to be the cause of this gap.

² The 8th Arabic month.

³ Same as Peshôtan.

⁴ ارویسگاہ arvisgâh is the place where the Parsee priests perform the ceremony of Yaçna, Vendidâd, &c. The writer seems to have taken his surname from this word, because perhaps he belonged to the class of priests who performed those ceremonies. It is not all the priests who perform these ceremonies. He seems to have taken this surname just as others even nowadays take their surnames, such as Mobedji or Dastur from their work or profession. I find from a manuscript Persian book (*vide* colophon of the tract *درباب رحمت گوید*) on miscellaneous subjects belonging to Mr. M. R. Unwala written in 1012 Yazdazardi that Arvisgâhân was used as a surname. In this manuscript, the writer gives his name as چند ابیات در باب رحمت گوید زاده هرید جمشید پن مهرنوش لقب ارویسگاہان. The manuscript begins with Persian couplets under the heading

از در گفت سی و سه اعشا مغند

⁵ The 8th lunar mansion.

⁶ Polar junction.

⁷ *Karana* "is a division of the day in astrology. These *Karanas* are eleven."

1 . . . As this soul-reviving book is rare in the cities of India, etc., one has seen very little of it, and as (even) the people of Tâtar and Khatâ have not smelt the perfume of this heart-ravishing musky veil, (and) as nobody got it or acquired it in most of the great cities and towns, but it was seen in the library of His Majesty the noble king,² . . . the splendour of the country and of religion Mahomed Akbar Bâdshâh Gazi, the exalted of the great God, of the everlasting royalty, and as the desire of having this rare book was dear to the heart of a great man possessing generosity . . .³ clothed⁴ with happiness, glorious among the people of Pars (the Parsees), viz., Noshirwan,⁵ the son of Bahman Shâh, a Parsee inhabitant of the town of Naosari, who was (a man) of excellent glory,⁶ and unlimited⁷ innate power,⁸ he ordered⁹ it to be written. So according to his order, his obedient servant¹⁰ Kaikobâd bin Mahiyâr, Parsee, tying the belt of service strongly on the waist of his life, tried his best and endeavoured a good deal, so that from the copy of the abovesaid rare manuscript eaten by worms (lit. torn by moth *matta* مَوْتَةٌ) he wrote a copy correctly.¹¹ And from that copy

¹ A portion of the page being spoilt, a word here is not legible.

² The portions omitted are in the praise of the book and of the king and they do not give any further particulars about the history of the manuscript.

³ دَارَ upper garment.

⁴ He seems to be the great grandson of the well-known Chângâshâh of Naosari. His father is called Bahman Shâh. Shâh seems to be the appellation or title of honour by which his father Mânock and his grandfather Chângâ were known as Mânock Shâh and Chângâ Shâh. Shâh is a common term of respect. They say it is even now used in Afghanistan. Among the Bhâtiâs, a sect of the Hindus, it is generally used before a name in place of 'Mr.' It appears that this family took an interest in the ancient literature of their fatherland. We learn from the Parsee Prakâsh (Vol. I., p. 7) that Bahaman Mânock, the father of this Noshirwan and Mânock Chângâ his grandfather, had got the Virâf-nameh rendered into Persian verse by one Kâus Fariborz bin Nowroz from Yezd.

⁵ طَوِيلَةً عَمِيرَةً excellent, long, and crown, tiara.

⁶ فوق الحد fauq 'l-hadd, beyond measure.

⁷ زَادَ born and قَدْرَةً power, strength.

⁸ اِرْزَانِي فَرْمُودَنَ to order, اِرْزَانِي sign, signal.

⁹ اِقلَى least. عَبَادَ ibâd, servant, holyman, devotee.

¹⁰ سَهَّتَ Finding the right way.

Khajagi Hapu—may God pardon¹ him—got a copy made by the hand of Abdul Rahmân in the *paraynah* of Hansôt.² Then³ the book having come into the hand of Mirzâ bin Mirza Mahammad Zamân, this book was written from that manuscript by the hand of Peshutan for himself.

It appears from the colophon of this old Persian manuscript that Kaikobâd, the son of Dastur Meherji Rana, had taken a copy of this book from the library of king Akbar. It is said that laudatory poems were composed by Kaikobâd in honour of Jehangier and Prince Khurram (afterwards Shâh-Jehan), and that he had visited the Mogul Court in the time of Jehangier also. Anyhow this old manuscript shows that Kaikobâd was versed in Persian, and that he also had visited the Court of Akbar later on.

From the different documents, manuscripts and books that we have produced as evidence in this paper, we have prepared the following chronological table about the different events of Dastur Meherji Rana's life :—

Date.					EVENTS.
A.D.	Yazda-jardi.	Samvat.	Hijri.		
1553	923	.....	.....		{ In the Revâyet known as Kâus Kâmdin's Revâyet, Dastur Meherji Rana's name is mentioned first in the address (<i>vide</i> p. 64 of this paper).
1566	.....	1622	.....		{ In an agreement about the proper performance of religious ceremonies, his signature stands first (<i>vide</i> p. 62).
1570	.....	1626	.....		{ In an agreement to abstain from the drink of <i>toddy</i> , while engaged in certain rituals, he signs first (<i>vide</i> pp. 62-63).
1570	.....	.....	.....		{ In a letter from Persia brought by Faredu'n Murzban, and given in the Revâyet his name is mentioned first (<i>vide</i> pp. 63-64).

¹ Lit. May God be contented (*razi*) with his faults (عنت)

² A town near Broach.

³ پس پس for

Date.

EVENTS.

A. D.	Yazda-jardi.	Samvat.	Hijri.	
1573	1629	.....	By an agreement by the laymen of Naosari, land in a place known as Pipalia-wadi, is given to him as the head of the community for religious purposes (<i>vide p. 63</i>).
1578	986	Badaoni mentions under the events of this year, the event of the coming of the Naosari priests to the court of Akbar. He mentions this event in this year as a past event, so he must have gone there either this year or the year before (<i>vide pp. 9-12</i>).
1579	1635	.....	The date of the first document of the Naosari priests in which they speak of him as their head (<i>vide p. 46</i>).
1580	1636	.....	The date of the second document to the same effect (<i>vide p. 46</i>).
1590	1646	.....	The date of a letter to Diu, wherein he is referred to as the head (<i>vide p. 48</i>).
1591	960	.....	.....	Death.

From the different documents, manuscripts and books that we have produced as evidence in this paper, to show that Meherji Rana's family was a well-known family, we have prepared the following chronological table about the different events of the life of Rana Jesang, the father of Dastur Meherji Rana:—

Date.

EVENTS.

A. D.	Yazda-jardi.	Samvat.	Hijri.	
1504	873	1560	.....	Rana Jesang wrote the manuscript of Pazend Jamasp (vide p. 169).
1520	.....	1576	.....	He was given a piece of land by the laymen of Naosari for religious purposes (<i>vide pp. 65-66 of this paper</i>).
1527	896	.....	.....	The date of Shapur Asa's Revayet, in which Rana Jesang is addressed first (<i>vide pp. 66-68 of this paper</i>).
1546	915	1602	955	The date of his manuscript of the Persian Bahman-nâmeh (vide p. 170).

*Chronological List of Events in the life of Dastur Kaikobad,
the son of Dastur Meherji Rana.*

A.D.	Yazda-jardi.	Samvat.	Hijri.	
1565-66	1622	.....	Signs with his father and other priests the document for the proper performance of religious ceremonies, wherein his father signs at the top (<i>vide pp. 151-52</i>).
1570	1626	.....	Signs with his father an agreement to abstain from <i>tadly</i> while engaged in the Ātash Behrām and other ceremonies.
1580	1636	.....	Signs with other priests the second document, acknowledging his father Dastur Meherji Rana as the head of the priesthood (<i>vide pp. 149-50</i>).
1591	He came to Dasturship on his father's death.
1595	1003	Akbar's first farmân in his name (<i>vide p. 95</i>).
.....	1005	The <i>jāzī</i> mahzar for inquiry. Hijri 1005 (<i>vide p. 141</i>).
1603	1011	The second farmân (<i>vide p. 121</i>).
1603	1012	The Parwanchah (<i>vide p. 134</i>).
29-10-1619	12-12-988	.....	.....	Death.

**ART. IX.—*The Shahee dialect of Arabic.* By Lt.-COLONEL A. S. G.
JAYAKAR, I.M.S. (*Retired*), M.R.A.S.**

(Communicated, April 1902.)

The most northern extremity of the province of 'Oman, which consists of an almost triangular tract of land having for its base an imaginary line drawn from the seaport town of Dabá on the shores of the Gulf of 'Oman to Galeel near Rás-ul-Kheimá on the shores of the Persian Gulf, and for its apex Rás Masandam, may be considered in a dialectical point of view specially apart from the Batineh coast of 'Oman on the one hand and the Pirate coast in the Persian Gulf on the other. This mountainous and rocky tract called the Roos-ul-Jibál is inhabited by several tribes which go under the generic name of ash-Shahooth, and speak a dialect of Arabic so totally different from that of their close neighbours on either side, as to deserve more than a passing notice.

Some of these tribes, as will be observed from their names, were evidently originally offshoots from the 'Omanee tribes, but by their long-continued residence among the Shahooth, have now become thoroughly incorporated with the original inhabitants of the place, so that though they still retain their original tribal names, the language they speak is the common dialect of the place. Palgrave speaks of the inhabitants of Roos-ul-Jibál in general as "a strange set," and says in regard to their dialect that his Arab associate and guide Yoosuf called it "Liisan-ot-teyyoor," "bird's speech."¹ This latter remark is more particularly applicable to the language of one small tribe included in the generic name of Shahooth, which speaks in addition to the dialect common to the place a peculiar and unintelligible dialect of its own. The Kamázareh, which is the name of this tribe, live principally at Khaṣab and Kamzár, and are ethnologically and dialectically distinct from the general Shahooth group; and although the principal features of their dialect will be noticed at the end, the chief object of this paper is to show the main characteristics of the general Shahee dialect.

¹ Central and Eastern Arabia, Vol. II.

The Shahooh themselves claim to have descended from Málík bin Fahm, the first Azdee immigrant to 'Oman from Al-Yaman through Shah bin Málík, as alleged by them, but history does not seem to favour such a claim, as Málík bin Fahm is not known to have had any son or direct descendant bearing a name which would give a clue to their tribal name. Sheikh 'Alee bin Muhammad, one of their learned men, however, on the strength of the general belief which obtains among them of their having originally come from Sabá (Shebá) in Al-Yaman, and of their being the descendants of a Málík, suggests that they are most probably the descendants of Shajeej (شجئي) bin 'Adee bin Málík bin Zeid bin Sahl bin 'Amr Seifee bin Sahá the younger bin Ka'b, &c.¹, and that their name Shahooh (شحوه, sing. شھي) is most probably derived from Shaheeh, a corruption of Shajeej. This explanation, interesting as it is in a dialectical point of view, as an instance of the conversion of ζ into χ , with the great tendency of the Shahee dialect, and for that matter to a certain extent of many of the modern dialects of Arabic, to an interchange of letters and abbreviation of words, appears to be a plausible one also, though it seems difficult to believe that the Shahooh could have thus abbreviated the name of their original ancestor from Shaheeh to Shah by eliding the last syllable of it.

Whatever may have been their exact origin, there appears to be a strong presumption for the belief that they have descended from some of the original immigrants from Al-Yaman and that having been isolated in some manner from the 'Omanee and other surrounding tribes, they have retained in some respects the features of the dialect they brought with them, and in other respects developed features which are foreign to Arabic, perhaps through constant intercourse with the inhabitants of the Persian coast. It is, however, certain that the legendary explanation of their origin as given by themselves cannot be maintained in the case of the Kamázareh whose dialectical peculiarities and physical features betray a foreign origin.

As is the case with the 'Omanee tribes which are classed under the two great political factions — the Hináwee and Gáfree — the Shahooh are also divided into two great political divisions, — the

¹ According to the genealogy as given in Vol. II. of *العقد اللفظي* of Shihabud-deen Ahmad al-Andalusee under the head of the genealogy of the Arabs.

Beni Shiteir and Beni Hidiyyeh. The following are the tribes at present included in the Shaḥooḥ group:—

Beni Shiteir.

- Al-Kamázareh
- Beni Mureh
- Al-Kiyasheh
- Beni al-Asám
- Ahal Leemeh
- Al-Khanúbileh
- Ahal Salhad
- Al-Mahábeeb
- Al-Mukádiheh
- Beni al-'Urwah
- Beni Jum'ah bin Sá'id
- Ahal Sh'am
- Ad Dahoorieen (in alliance with the Kamázareh)
- Ahal Maḳám (half)

Beni Hidiyyeh.

- Beni Sa'eed
- Beni 'Alee
- Al-Khanázireh
- Beni Hamm* Sálím
- Al-Haboos
- Beni Judeid
- Ash-Shirádineh
- Beni Zubboh
- Beni Kamál
- Beni Hamm* 'Abeid
- Ahal Makám (half)

Of all these tribes, the tribe of Beni Sa'eed, though numerically a small one, consisting as it does now of only about thirty or forty men, is politically by far the most important one, as it is the only tribe believed to represent the original Shaḥooḥ, and therefore to possess the right of furnishing the general Sheikh for the Shaḥooḥ group.

* Hamm stands for Muhammad in this dialect.

The principal places on the coast occupied by these tribes are Dabá, Leemeh, Kamzár, Khaṣab, Kadá, al-Jaree, al-Jádee, Bukhá, Fadgá, Gamdá, Teebát, Sha'm, Galeeleh and Khore Khuweir.

The dialect of Arabic spoken by these tribes, as might be expected, has a strong affinity to the 'Ománee dialect, but both the alphabetical and etymological variations from it are so many that to enumerate them all would be beyond the scope of a paper of this kind. We shall therefore restrict ourselves to such of the prominent variations as give to the Shahee dialect its peculiar character and value.

As in the 'Ománee dialect the initial **ا** is sometimes altogether elided, but whilst in the 'Ománee dialect it is often substituted by either **و** or **س**, in this dialect the letter substituted for it is invariably

ف, a characteristic of the Yamánee dialect; thus **أين** (*where*) becomes **فين** or **هين** in the 'Ománee dialect and **فيين** in the Shahee dialect. The letter *hamzah* sometimes becomes converted into **س** and itself and **ا** often serve as substitutes for **ع**, thus instead of **شَرُوب**, (*a shower of rain*), **واعي**, **شهبوب** **يُعْجِل** (*awake*) and **واعي** (*awake*), we have **واي**, **شهبوب** **يُعْجِل** (*quickly*), we have **باجل**

The letter **ث** is invariably substituted by **ت**, thus **كوب** (*cloth*) **نقيل** (*he pressed in this dialect*), **ونق** (*he closed in this dialect*) and **بحت** (*he dug*) become **ونق**, **نقيل**, **نوب** and **بحت** (*he dug*) become **ونق**, **نقيل**, **نوب** and **بحت**.

The letters **ج**, **ح** and **خ** are interchangeable as in some other modern dialects of Arabic.

د often takes the place of **ذ** and is sometimes substituted for **ذ**, thus in **دكول** (*tame* in this dialect) the **د** evidently stands for **ذ**, and in **ابوقدهح** (*a rainbow* in this dialect) for **ذ**.

The sound of the letter **ر**, when medial or final is one of the most remarkable features of this dialect, showing as it does a great tendency to assimilating it to the sound of the letter **س** in the Indian languages, which tendency reaches its acme in the Kamzáree dialect. Thus, the words **طوف**, **خبر**, **غروب** &c., are pronounced as if they were written as **طوف**, **خمس**, **مسداب** &c. As an initial letter it

takes the place of خ and ل in رِيْطَة (Om. غِيْطَة = *mud*) and رِقْطَة (لُقْطَة = he picked); and in مَكْجَل (a cauldron) the م evidently stands for the ن of the standard Arabic word نَرْجَل.

The Beni Hamm 'Abeid invariably pronounce the letter ش as س, and the latter letter often takes the place of ص in this dialect.

Initial ع generally becomes ل and medial ع becomes ي, or hamzeh; thus بَعْدَ (quickly), أَمْ (a master as of a slave), أَرْبَدْ (a shoe), أَرْبَدْ (four), سَبْعَةْ (seven), أَشْرَقْ (ten), stand for بَعْدَ, أَمْ, بَعْجَلْ, أَرْبَعَةْ, سَبْعَةْ and أَشْرَقْ.

The letter خ is sometimes converted into و or ل, as in رِيْطَة or رِقْطَة (*mud*), which is a corruption of غِيْطَة. It is sometimes altogether elided as in the imperfect tense of the verb بَغَى (he wanted); thus, هَوْمَاتَبَا (ho-ma-tabá = what do you want?). It may, however, be here noted that the Shahee women generally pronounce the خ distinctly in expressions like the above one, and that it is mostly elided by the men.

The letter ي is sometimes converted into ج; thus, يَابَسْ (dry, arid) becomes جَابَسْ. In the 'Ománee dialect, on the contrary, ج sometimes becomes ي.

Beside these important alphabetical variations, the reader will be able to detect others of a minor importance in the vocabulary given at the end.

The etymological peculiarities of this dialect are numerous and often vary among the different tribes, so that it is difficult to deduce from them any rules which would include all of them. The most important variations from the standard and 'Ománee dialects only will therefore be here noticed, so as to give a general idea of the dialectical features.

The most remarkable variation as regards number is, that the dual number is often expressed by the plural form of the noun with

the word **تَنْيَنٌ** (two) added to it, and that when the regular dual form is used the word **تَنْيَنٌ** is still used with it ; thus, **تَنْيَنٌ سَكَنْيَنٌ** (two knives). Similarly the plural number is often preceded by the word **هَبْشِيٰ** (many, much) or followed by **وَيْدٌ** (many, much), which is evidently done to give emphasis to the sense ; thus, **هَبْشِيٰ سَكَاكِينٌ** (knives), **فَلَمَّا وَيْدٌ** (pens).

The following are some of the forms of the broken plurals of triliteral nouns, both masculine and feminine, in common use :—

Singular.	Plural.	Plural measure.
طَحْفٌ (a gale)	طَحْفُوفٌ	قُعُولٌ
لَخْمٌ (a shark)	لَخْوَمٌ	
مَعْرُوقَةٌ (a throat)	مَعَارِقٌ	مَفَاعِلٌ
حَمَّةٌ (a kiss) ...	حَمَّوْنٌ	فَعَلَوْنٌ
قَطْرَةٌ (a cat) ...	قَطْوٌ	فَعَلٌ
نَدَّةٌ (a present) ...	نَدَّبٌ	
قَمَّاطَةٌ (a centipede) ...	قَمَّامِيتٌ	فَعَاعِيلٌ
مَسْقَبٌ (a club)	مَسَاقِبٌ	مَفَاعِلٌ
مَسْنَوَةٌ (a courtyard)	مَسَارٌ	فَعَالٌ
صَدِيقَةٌ (a fastness)	صَيْبٌ	فَعَلٌ
بَنَّاءٌ (a potter)	بَنَّايةٌ	فَعَالَةٌ
نُوبٌ (a shirt)	نَوَابٌ	فَعَالٌ
شَنْطٌ (a lucifer-match)	شَخَاطٌ	
كَدَّةٌ (a sleeve)	كَنَانٌ	فَعَالٌ
جَفَرَةٌ (a pit) ...	جَفَارٌ	فَعَالٌ

The regular plurals of both the masculine and feminine nouns are formed in the usual way, but in the case of the latter there is a great tendency to treat them as irregular nouns.

The vowel of the Diminutive is invariably *kasreh* as in the 'Ománee dialect ; thus, كَلْيَب (a small dog), جَبَيل (a small mountain), &c. It may be here observed that a word indicative of the diminutive nature of the thing expressed is sometimes added, evidently for the sake of conveying a clear meaning as in the case of the dual and plural numbers, thus صَنِيدَقْ شَشْتُون (a small box).

The separate personal pronouns are as follow, though their pronunciation differs a little amongst the different tribes :—

	Singular.	Plural.
3rd P.	Masc. هُوَ or هُوَهُ (hoh). Fem. هُيَ (hey).	Com. gend. هُمْ or هُمُّ
2nd P.	Masc. إِنْتَ Fem. أَنْتِينَ or أَنْتَنَ	أَنْتُونَ or أَنْتُونُ أَنْتَنَ
1st P. Com. gend.	أُونَّا, أُونَّا or أُونَّا, أُونَّا	حَنِينَ

The dual is formed as in the case of nouns by the addition of the word تَنِينَ (two) to the plural number, thus أَنْتُونَ تَنِينَ (you two).

The affixed possessive pronouns are the same as in standard Arabic, with a slight variation in their pronunciation, but in addition to them the separate pronouns are also used, as is sometimes the case in the 'Ománee dialect ; thus كِتَابِي إِنْتَ (my book), كِتَابِي أَنْتَ (thy book), كِتَابِهِ هُوَ (his book), كِتَابِهَا هُيَ &c. The first personal plural affix, however, among some of the tribes is نُّو ; thus كِتابَنُّو حَنِينَ (our book).

The Demonstrative Pronouns are :—

	Singular.	Plural.
This	Masc. هَذِهِ دَرْ, هَذِهِ دَرْ Fem. هَذِي	Com. gend. هَذِهِنَّ دَرْنَهُ or هَذِهِنَّ دَرْنَهُ

Singular.	Plural.
That Masc. مُهْوَك or دُوك Fem. هَدِيك	هَدِينوک or هَدِيناك Com. gend. هَدِينوک

The Hadar generally substitute $\dot{\sigma}$ for $\ddot{\sigma}$ in the demonstrative pronouns as in many other words containing the latter letter.

The Relative Pronoun is أَلَّدِي, being the same in both the genders and both the numbers.

The Interrogative Pronoun *what* is expressed by هَوْم and *who* by مَن; thus هَوْم دُو (what is this?)

The Cardinal numerals are :—

One	وَاحِي	Seven	صَبْعَةً
Two	تَنِي or تَنِين	Eight	ثَمَانِيَةً
Three	تَلَاتٍ	Nine	تَسْعَةً
Four	أَرْبَاعٌ or أَرْبَعَةٌ	Ten	أَشْرَعَةً
Five	خَمْسٌ	Eleven	حَدَّأَشْرَعَةً
Six	سَتٌ	Twenty	إِثْرَيْنِ
		Hundred	إِمْدَادٍ

The Ordinal numerals are expressed as رَابِعاً, ثَالِثَةً, قَانِي, حَادِي, خَامِسٌ &c., &c.

The months of the year, with the exception of the four months Rabee'a al-Awwal, Rabe'a al-Ākhir, Jumáda-al-Awwal and Jumádā al-Ākhir, which together are called اِرْبَاعَةُ الْمَوَالِد, are the same as in standard Arabic. Rabe'a al-Awal is called أَوَّل مُولُود or مُولُودُ الْأَوَّل and Jumáda-al-Awwal is called مُولُودُ الْتَّانِي or قَانِي مُولُود. Rabe'a al-Ākhir is called مُولُودُ الْعَالَمَات or قَاتِكَ مُولُود and Jumádā al-Ākhir is called رَابِعاً مُولُود or مُولُودُ الْعَالَمَات and Ramadán is called either مُرَضِّعَان or رَمَبَان.

Considering the general nature of the dialect which varies even among the different tribes of which the Shahool group is composed, the variations to which the verb is subject in its inflexion ought not to excite any surprise. Although the model of inflexion is the same throughout the whole dialect, it is evident that two distinct forms known principally by the sound of the final vowel of the verb in the preterite tense can be recognised; for instance, in the third person plural the final *t* is not only omitted, but the consonant preceding the final *t* takes among some tribes a *fathah*, and among others a *dammeh*; thus كَتَبُوا (*they wrote*) in the standard Arabic is either كَتَبَوْ (katbaw) or كَتَبُو (katbo) in this dialect; so also in the second person plural both the standard form with the final syllable تُمْ and a form with تُونْ as the final syllable are used; thus, *you wrote* would be expressed either as كَتَبْتُونْ or كَتَبْتُونْ. In the first person plural, too, the final pronominal affix is either لِّ or نْ thus كَتَبْنَا or كَتَبْنَنْ (*we wrote*). Similarly in the first person singular the pronominal affix وْ is either pronounced sharply or prolonged into نْ; thus كَتَبْتُ or كَتَبْتُو (*I wrote*). As the Shahool are in the habit of expressing the separate pronoun in addition to the pronominal affix, the distinction in sense between the first person singular with the sharp sound of وْ and the second person singular is easily made out. The medial letter of a trilateral verb in the preterite generally bears a *fathah*.

The vowel of the medial radical in the aorist in the case of regular trilateral verbs is mostly a *fathah*, in which respect and also in regard to the vowel of the pronominal prefix, this dialect differs strongly from the 'Ománee dialect; thus يُضَرِّبُ (*he strikes*), يُكُتبُ (*he writes*) of the 'Ománee dialect are يَضَرِّبُ and يَكُتبُ in this dialect. In the 'Ománee dialect the vowel of the pronominal prefix is generally determined by the vowel of the medial radical, but this rule does not seem to hold good in this dialect, in which the pronominal prefix of the second person, sometimes in the singular number only and sometimes in both the numbers, takes a *kasreh*; thus يَكُتبُ (*he writes*), تَكُتبُونْ (*thou writest*), يَكُتبُونْ (*you write*), يَكُلُّسُ (*he sits*), تَكُلُّسُ (*thou sittest*)

The vowel of the imperative in the case of triliteral verbs is mostly a *kasreh*; thus اَكْتُب (*write thou*) and اَجْلِس (*sit thou*). In the plural the final *f* is generally omitted and the *و*, which is then the final letter, takes the sound of *o* or *oo*; thus ضَرَبْوُ (darbo or darboo=*strike ye*).

To illustrate these points, the following paradigms of the principal forms of verbs are here given, so that the reader may at a glance be able to notice the verbal peculiarities of this dialect:—

كَتَبَ (he wrote).

Preterite.

Singular.		Plural.
Masc.	Fem.	Com. gender.
3rd P. كَتَبَ	كَتَبَتْ	{ كَتَبُوا (katbo) or كَتَبَوْهُ (katbow).
2nd P. كَتَبْتَ	كَتَبْتِينَ or كَتَبْتِي	كَتَبْتُونَ or كَتَبْتُمْ
Com. gender.		
1st P. كَتَبْتُونَ or كَتَبْتُ		كَتَبْنَا or كَتَبْنَنَا
	Aorist.	Com. gender.
Masc.	Fem.	
3rd P. يَكْتُبُ	تَكْتُبَ or تَكْتُبْ	يَكْتُبُونَ
2nd P. تَكْتُبَ	إِنْكَتَبَينَ or إِنْكَتَبِي	
Com. gender.		
1st P. أَكْتَبَ		نَكْتُبَ
Singular.		Plural.
Masc.	Fem.	Com. gender.
2nd P. إِكْتَبَ	كَتَبَيْ	كَتَبُوا (kitbo) or كَتَبَوْهُ (kitbow)
Imperative.		

رَكَبْ (he mounted).

Preterite.

Singular.		Plural.
Masc.	Fem.	Com. gender.
رَكَبْ	رَكِبْتُ	رَكِبُوْ (rakbo) or رَكِبُوْ (rakbaw).
رَكِبْتُونْ or رَكِبْتِيْ	رَكِبْتِيْ	رَكِبْتُونْ or رَكِبْتِمْ

Com. gender.

1st P. رَكِبْتُ or رَكِبْتُونْ

Aorist.

Masc.	Fem.	Com. gender.
يَرَكَبْ	ذُوكَبْ	يَرَكِبُونْ
قَرَكَبْ	ذُوكَبِيْ	قَرَكِبُونْ

Com. gender.

1st P. أَرَكَبْ

Imperative.

Masc.	Fem.	Com. gender.
أَرَكَبْ	رِكَبِيْ	رِكَبُوْ (rikbo) or رِكَبُوْ (rikbaw).

جَلَسْ (he sat).

Preterite.

Singular.		Plural.
Masc.	Fem.	Com. gender.
جَلَسْ	جَلَسْتُ or جَلَسْتِيْ	جَلَسُوْ (jalso) or (jalsaw).
جَلَسْتُونْ or جَلَسْتِيْ	جَلَسْتِيْ	جَلَسْتُونْ or جَلَسْتِمْ

Com. gender.

1st P. جَلَسْتُ or جَلَسْتِنَا

Aorist.

Masc.	Fem.	Com. gender.
3rd P. جِلَسٌ	تَجْلِسٌ	تَجْلِسُونَ
2nd P. تَجْلِسٌ	تَجْلِسِينَ or تَجْلِسِي	تَجْلِسُونَ
Com. gender.		
1st P. جِلَسٌ		تَجْلِسٌ

Imperative.

Masc.	Fem.	Com. gender.
2nd P. جِلَسٌ! or جِلَسٌ	جِلْسِي	جِلْسُو (jilsoo) or جِلْسُو (jilsaw).

رَدَ (he returned).

Preterite.

Singular.		Plural.
Masc.	Fem.	Com. gender.
3rd P. رَدَ	رَدَتْ	رَدُّو (raddo) or رَدَّوْ (raddaw).
2nd P. رَدَّيْتَ	رَدَّيْتِينَ or رَدَّيْتِي	رَدَّيْتُمْ
Com. gender.		
1st P. رَدَيْتَ		رَدَّيْنَا or رَدَّيْنَا

Aorist.

Masc.	Fem.	
3rd P. تَرَدَّ	تَرَدَّ	تَرَدُّونَ
2nd P. تَرَدَّ	تَرَدَّيْنَ or تَرَدَّيْ	تَرَدُّونَ
Com. gender.		

1st P.	أَرَدَ	نَرَدَ
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Imperative.

Masc.	Fem.	
2nd P. رَدَّ	رَدَّيْ or رَدَّيْ	رَدُّو (raddoo) or رَدَّوْ (raddaw).

جی (he came).

Preterite.

<i>Singular.</i>		<i>Plural.</i>
<i>Masc.</i>	<i>Fem.</i>	<i>Com. gender.</i>
3rd P. جيّ or جيّ	جٰت	جٰو
2nd P. جيّت	جيّتين or جيّتي	جيّتون or جيّتم
	Com. gender.	
1st P. جيّت	جيّتنا or جيّتنَا	جيّتن or جيّتنَا

Aorist.

Masc.		Fem.	
3rd P. بِجْيٰ	|	بِجْيٰ	بِجُون
2nd P. نَجْيٰ	|	نَجِيْنٰ	نَجُون
Com. gender.			
1st P. جِيْ	|	جِيْ	جُون

There being no imperative from the same root, the word تَوَهُّ or تَفَهُّمٌ as a substitute for تَعْلِمٌ is employed as such.

The following are some of the variations in the Particles, &c., in use :—

When? is expressed by مَنْتِي instead of مَنْيٰ Where? is expressed by مَنْيٰ instead of مَنْتِي Why? is expressed by لَمْ instead of لَمَا and also by فَيْنٰ instead of أَيْنٰ Also is expressed by اِيْفَاسٰ and also by بَادٰ which evidently stands for بَعْدٰ كُلٰ (each, every) is changed into كِلٰ اونا ترو (ترو هنو هين) = I am here, and here is expressed by هنُوك and there by هنُوك.

Able (to be) ...	...	فُلَانْ مَا يَقْبِرْ (Fulan ma yaqbir). يُقْبِرْ بَعْدَ or بَعْدَ عَبْرٍ aor. اَبْرَ — عَبْرٍ = such a one is not able to work)
Afraid (to be)	...	رَحَاقٌ — خَيْفٌ
Allowance (pay)	...	(فَرِيْضَةً Om.) فَرَأِيْضٌ pl. فَرَأِيْضَةً
Also ...	...	أَيْدَ (اً stands for ع). بَادٌ
Ankle ...	...	جُوازِيٌّ pl. جُوازَةٌ
Anus ...	...	نَفَقَةٌ pl. نَفَقَابٌ (ث for ث).
Aqueduct (small)	...	مَنْيَاتٌ pl. مَنْيَاتٍ
Arbitrate v. i. ...	...	سَلَفٌ aor. سَلَفٍ
Arbitrator ...	...	سَوَالِفٌ pl. سَالِفَةٌ
Arid (as land)	...	شَرَّةٌ
Asleep ...	...	غَيْفَلٌ (This word is used only by some of the tribes, but the words most commonly used are غَافِي , فَائِمٍ نِيَعَاسٍ and نِيَعَسٍ) (This word is used only by some of the tribes, but the words most commonly used are غَافِي , فَائِمٍ نِيَعَاسٍ and نِيَعَسٍ)
Auction v. t. (to sell by auction).	...	فَلَانْ غَيْفَلْ لَا تَوْكِيدْهُ = such a one is asleep, do not wake him up.
Awake ad. ...	...	يَدَّأَلٌ aor. دَلَلٌ
Awaken v. t. ...	...	وَيَعَانٌ وَاعِيٌ also وَأَيٌّ
Axe ...	...	وَيَعٌ also وَيٌ
Axe (Battle-) ...	...	(تَبَرٌ P.) طَبَارَةٌ pl. طَبَارَ
Bad ...	...	(كُوزٌ P.) جَرُوزٌ pl. جَرُوزَ
Bag (purse) ...	...	بَوْطَلٌ — بَاطِلٌ
Baggage ...	...	صَرَّةٌ pl. صَرَّارٌ
		(أَوْيَدْرٌ — حَوَاجِجٌ Om.).

Ball (cannon) ...	... ...	جَ for بَ (بُلُولَة pl. بُلُولَة Om. جَلْوَلَة).
Barber ...	... ...	مُصَّلَّاً pl. مُصَّلَّاتَ
Bastard ...	... ...	بَعْوَلَ pl. بَعْوَلَ (Om.), also نَغْلَ
Bat ...	... ...	خَرَافِيشَ pl. خَرَافِيشَ
Bathe v. i. ...	... ...	يَسْبُرُه aor. يَسْبُرُه
Beautiful ...	... ...	خَلِيقٌ—زَيْنٌ
Beckon v. i. ...	... ...	لَهَا هَوْلِيَةٌ—لَهَا he beckoned to me.
Bedstead ...	... ...	(سَ for صَ) صَمَرَ pl. صَمَرَ (Om.) شَبَرِيَّةٌ
Bet v. ...	... ...	يُزَامِطٌ—يُعَشِّيَ aor. يُزَامِطٌ aor. يُعَشِّيَ
Bet n. ...	... ...	إِمَّا شَاتٌ (used both as sing. and pl.)—زمَطَاتٌ pl. زَمَطَاتٌ
Big ...	... ...	كَبِيرٌ—(عَ) أَوْدٌ (Om. I for عَ)
Blister n. ...	... ...	شَكَّاتٌ pl. شَكَّاتٌ
Blotted (stained) ...		صَبِيٌّ
Body of troops ...		حُشْودٌ pl. حُشْودٌ
Boil v. t. ...	... ...	ثَورَ—يَتَحَرَّ (ثَ for ثَورَ aor. يَتَحَرَّ)
Boon (a gift as from a sultan). ...		شَفَاعِيٌّ شَفَاعِيَّةٌ pl. شَفَاعِيٌّ شَفَاعِيَّةٌ and
Boulders ...	... ...	قَلَوْرٌ (There is no sing. from the same root, the sing. being حَجَرٌ مَلَوَاقٌ and حَجَرٌ مَلَوَاقٌ)
Brackish (highly) ...		مَاءً أَقِقًا—أَقِقٌ = brackish water.
Brackish (slightly) ...		زَوَيلٌ
Brain ...	... ...	مَخٌّ

Brass ...	... ...	شَبِيعٍ ي (for 8)
Brazier...	... ...	مُوقَدٌ هَنَادِيجٌ pl. هَنَادِيجٌ
Breakfast.	... ...	قُوَيْلَكٌ pl. قُويْلَكٌ
Breast ...	... ...	سَبِيلَانٌ مُوسٌ
Broom ...	... ..	مَجْفَافَاتٌ pl. مَجْفَافَاتٌ
Button	... ...	فَسَمَاتٌ فَسَمَاتٌ pl. فَسَمَاتٌ
Button-hole.	... ...	زَرٌ زَرٌ pl. زَرٌ
Calf (of the leg).	...	تَبَابِينٌ تَبَابِينٌ pl. تَبَابِينٌ
Call, v. t. ...	...	فَلَانٌ — يُرَاقِّ يُرَاقِّ aor. رَاقِّ يُصْبِحُ صَاحِبٌ aor. صَاحِبٌ
		فَلَانٌ = يُرَاقِّي such a one calls me.
		فَلَانٌ = مَصْبُوحٌ كَمَصْبُوحٌ such a one is invited or called.
Camel (young male). ...		حَشْرِينٌ حَشْرِينٌ pl. حَشْرِينٌ or حَشْرِينٌ حَشْرِينٌ pl. حَشْرِينٌ
„ („, female). ...		حَشْوَاتٌ حَشْوَاتٌ pl. حَشْوَاتٌ
Cap ...	... ...	قَحَافِيَ قَحَافِيَ pl. قَحَافِيَ
Case (covering for a book).		بَكَائِينٌ بَكَائِينٌ pl. بَكَائِينٌ
Case (covering for a gun)		مَلَابِسٌ لِبَسٌ مَلَابِسٌ لِبَسٌ pl. مَلَابِسٌ لِبَسٌ
Cask...	... ...	بِيَبَبٌ بِيَبَبٌ pl. بِيَبَبٌ
Cat ...	... ...	قَطْوَةٌ قَطْوَةٌ pl. قَطْوَةٌ
Cataract (disease) ...		سُرْقُوتٌ سُرْقُوتٌ pl. سُرْقُوتٌ
Cauldron ...	... ...	رَنْجَلٌ رَنْجَلٌ pl. رَنْجَلٌ (for ن)
Cavern ...	... ...	سُورِيتٌ سُورِيتٌ and مَوَاتٌ مَوَاتٌ pl. مَوَاتٌ
Centipede ...	... ...	قَمَاطَةٌ قَمَاطَةٌ pl. قَمَاطَةٌ

Cheek	...	...	خَرَارٌ pl. ر (for خَرَارٌ)
Chicken	...	...	صَفَّاصِيفٌ pl. صَفَّاصِيفٌ
Choke, v. (with a solid thing.)			لَازِدْ نَطٌ
Choke, v. (with a liquid)			إِسْتَرْوَفٌ
Close, v. t. (shut)	...		= وَنَقَ الْبَيْبَ (ث for يَوْنَقٌ) وَنَقٌ close the door.
Club	...	...	عَسَاقِبٌ pl. عَسَاقِبٌ (Om. قَبٌ).
Collide, v. i.	...	...	مَعَ—مَعَ
Collision	...	...	مَعَادِعَةٌ pl. مَعَادِعَةٌ (Om. نَعَادِعَةٌ).
Commander	...	...	مَهْرُوبٌ pl. مَهْرُوبٌ
Confusion	...	...	غَبَّةٌ
Corner	...	...	رَقْدَةٌ pl. رَقْدَةٌ (ق for رَقْدَةٌ and د for رَقْدَةٌ).
Counterfeit	...	...	بَاطِلٌ
Court-yard	...	...	صَوَابَاطٌ pl. صَوَابَاطٌ and سَكَارٌ pl. سَكَارٌ (ص for س).
Coward	...	...	جَبُونِينَ pl. جَبُونِينَ
Cradle	...	...	مَسَازَةٌ pl. مَسَازَةٌ
" (made of midribs of palm leaves).			شَيْبَةٌ pl. شَيْبَةٌ
Crowd, v. i.	...	...	= الْذِيَسُ مَدْفُوْضِينَ (—مَدْفُوْضِينَ) the people are crowded.)
Crowd, n.	...	...	قَوْصٌ pl. قَوْصٌ
Cultivator (gardener)	...		خَدِيدِيْمٌ pl. خَدِيدِيْمٌ—بَيَادِيْمٌ pl. بَيَادِيْمٌ
Deep	...	...	(غَرِيْبٌ pl. غَرِيْبٌ (Om. غَرِيْبٌ))

Descend	...	...	يَقْبَم aor. قَبْمٌ	يَسْقُط aor. سَقْطٌ
Desert, <i>n.</i>	...	...	( Om.) يَسْبِحُ pl. سَبَّحٌ	(س for ب) يَسْبِحُ pl. سَبَّحٌ
Dig	...	...	يَحْتَثُ (ت for ث)	
Dirt	...	...	صَدَى	
Dirty	...	...	قَنْزٌ - صَمِيٌّ	
Donkey	...	...	حَمُورٌ pl. حَمُورٌ also مَصْرِي (Om.)	
Drive, <i>v. t.</i>	...	...	نَفَدَ	
Drunkard	...	...	دَوَّاخٌ دُوَخَانٌ	and دَوَّاخٌ
Effects (furniture, &c.)	...	...	أَوْيَزٌ آزَةٌ - حَمَالٌ	
Elude, <i>v. t.</i>	...	...	يَغَاوِزُ غَاوِزٌ	
Embrace, <i>v. t.</i>	...	...	يَحْتَبُ حَبٌّ aor. يَصَارِعُ صَارِعٌ aor.	يَحْتَبُ حَبٌّ aor. يَصَارِعُ صَارِعٌ aor.
Embrace, <i>n.</i>	...	...	مَحْبَّةٌ	
Empty	...	...	خَلِيٌّ	
Expedition (military)	...	...	سِيرَةٌ	
Explode, <i>v. i.</i>	...	...	يَتَوَرُ ثَارٌ aor. ثَارٌ (ت for ث).	
Extinguish	...	...	يَقْتَلُ قَتْلٌ	
Fade	...	...	ضَمَرٌ	
Fæces	...	...	حَرَانٌ (ح for خ)	
Fall, <i>v. i.</i>	...	...	يَطْقَنُ طَقَنٌ aor. يَطْقَنُ طَقَنٌ aor.	
Famine	...	...	غَلَى	
Fastness (stronghold)	...	...	صَبَبٌ pl. صَبَبَةٌ	
Fear, <i>v. t.</i>	...	...	زَحْقٌ	
Fill, <i>v. t.</i>	...	...	زَخٌ aor. زَخٌ	

Fish (small)	بُوت (coll.) (This name is applied to all the smaller kinds of fish excepting the sardine, which is called ب زينيب for ح.)
Flay, v. t. (to skin) ...	ح صلخ (for س and ح for خ).
Flee, v. i. (to run away)	فَلَّان فيض - فض such a one has run away.
Flower, n.	شجرة بِرْوَة (col. noun). = a tree in flower.
Fold, n. (a pen for goats, &c.)	زَرْب pl. زَرْبَات
Fox	نَكِيلب pl. نَكِيلب (ث for ث and ا for ع)
Frog	شَفُودْغ (coll.)
Furniture	أُوييْز - سيمان
Gag, v. t.	فَلْع
Gale	طَحْفَو pl. طَحْفَوَات
Gecko	تَابُوت (عمره Om. نعبدة) pl. تَابَات
Girdle	حِزَامَات pl. حِزَامَات
Go, v.i	لَدَّي aor. لَدَّي
Goat	غَلَم (coll. ل for ن) — شَيْهَة (no pl. from this root)
Gradually	بَصَارَة
Grinder (tooth) ...	لَعْيَه pl. لَعْيَهات
Gum (of the tooth) ...	أَمْوراللَّضَرَوس pl. أَمْوراللَّضَرَوس
Hastily...	نُوا بَاجَل - بَاجَل
Hide, v. t.	(ن ل) كَمَل
Hold, v. t.	هَبَش

Hollow ...	... ...	^{نَفْخٌ} — ^{فٌ} (خٌ for خٌ) ^{مُسْجُونٌ}
" (in the head, having no brains).		^{بِنْدِيْوٌ}
Infant ...	... ...	^{شُرُوشِينٌ} pl. ^{شُشُونٌ} — شُشُونٌ pl. شُوشِينٌ ^('Om. تُهُونٌ)
Inquire ...	... ...	^{دُورٌ}
Instalment ...	... ...	^{تُرُومٌ} pl.
Invite ...	... ...	^{صَاحِلٌ} aor. صَاحِلٌ
Joke, v. i.	... ...	^{فَلَانٌ يَكْشِفُ لَكَ} — ^{لَكْشِفُ} = Such a one jokes with you.)
Jump, v. i.	... ...	^{حَوْلٌ} — ^{قَعْصٌ} (the latter is more a Bada- wee word).
Kernel ...	... ...	^{لَبُوْةٌ}
Kiss, v. t.	... ...	^{حَبٌّ}
" (another's hand)		^{حَابِبٌ} ('Om. حَابِبٌ)
" (a woman)	... ...	^{قَبْلٌ}
Kiss, n.	... ...	^{حَبْوَنٌ} pl. حَبْوَنٌ
Knuckle (of a finger) ...		^{كُنْدُوبٌ} مَالٌ صَوَابِدَهٌ pl. كُنْدُوبٌ مَالٌ صَوَابِدَهٌ ^{hamzeh for عٌ}
Languid (from fever, &c.).		^{مُتَكَبِّلٌ}
Last night	... ...	^{لَيْلَةً أَمْسِ}
Lizard ...	... ...	^{حَلَّكٌ} (pronounced as <i>halach</i>) pl. حَلَّكَاتٌ
Loan ...	... ...	^{عٌ} اِبْرَاهِيْمٌ pl. اِبْرَاهِيْمٌ (for عٌ)
Lobster...	... ...	^{خَيلَ الْبَحْرِ}
Low (opposite of high)		^{هَادِي}

Lark	...	...	...	تَكَمُّلٌ
Man	...	...	...	أَوْيَدٌ pl. أَيْدِمٌ — رِجَالٌ (Om.) pl. رِجَالٌ
Many	...	...	...	وَيْدٌ — قُوْضٌ — هَبْشِيٌّ
Master (as of a slave)	...			عَامٌ pl. اَعْمُومِيَّةٌ (for)
Mat (made of grass)	...			حُصُرٌ pl. حُصُرٌ
,, (made of date-palm leaves).				فُرْوُشٌ pl. فُرْشٌ
,, (small)	...	...		مَسْجَاجِيدٌ pl. مَسْجَاجِيدٌ (A small mat, even though not intended for praying upon, is so named.)
Match, n. (lucifer)	...			شَخَاطٌ pl. شَخَاطٌ
Milk	...	...	...	صَرْعٌ — حَلِيلٌ
,, (sour)	...	...		مَحْضٌ
,, (freshly curdled)				رَتِيٌّ (Prepared by milking fresh milk over sour milk.)
,, (curd)	...	...		رُوبٌ
Mortar (iron, for pounding).				رِيشِيدٌ — رِشَادٌ — مَنَاحِيزٌ pl. مَنَاحِيزٌ
,, (wooden „ „)				مَوَاكَأٌ — مَوَاقَأٌ pl. مَيْكَأَةٌ — مَوْقَعَةٌ
,, (large, wooden)				جَوَانَةٌ and جَوَنَاتٌ pl. جَوَنَاتٌ
Moss	...	...	...	خَلٌّ
Mouse (rat)	...	...		رَعٌ (ا) اَصَالَةٌ pl. اَصَلٌ
Mouth	...	...	...	مَضَاحِكٌ — حَلْقٌ pl. حَلْقٌ (the latter is a Badawee word.)

Move, <i>v. i.</i> (aside, out of the way).	إِنْدَهُو
Much	حُويَّةٌ — هَبْشِيٌّ (the latter is Badawee.)
Mud (clean)	غَيْلٌ pl. غَيْلَةٌ
,, (dirty)	رِيَطٌ pl. رِيَطَةٌ
Naked	أَيْوَدٌ — صَلْخٌ
Neutral	طَائِحٌ بَيْنَ الْخَصَبَيْنِ
Nipple	تُوَامٌ pl. تُوَمَّةٌ
Noise (low)	هُورَةٌ
,, (loud)	غَيْثَةٌ
Nonsense	خُوطٌ مُهُوطٌ
Nothing	شِيلُو
Opacity (of the eye) ...	طَيْرَةٌ
Open, <i>v. t.</i>	هَذِهِ الْبَيْتُ — هَذِهِ — طَلَقٌ = open the door.
Oyster (of the pearl- shell).	بَلْبَلٌ
Pass, <i>v. i.</i>	طَأْيٌ
Pebbles..	دَحِيٌّ — بَطْحٌ (the latter word is applied to very small pebbles.)
Penis	زَبٌ pl. زَبَبٌ
Pestle (iron)	رَشَادَاتٌ pl. رَشَادٌ
,, (stone)	سَفَنٌ pl. سَفَنَا
Pick, <i>v. t.</i>	(لِ) رَقْطٌ
Picnic	نَظْمُوشَةٌ — جَشْتٌ
Plaster, <i>v. t.</i> (as a wall)	بَرَاغٌ aor. بَرَاغٌ

Plaster, <i>n.</i> (of a wall) ...	رُوْغَانٌ - رُوْغَانٌ
„ (medicinal) ...	لِحْزَقَةٍ (for حَزْقَةٍ)
Plough	هِيْسَاتٍ pl. هِيْسَاتٍ ('Om.)
Pod	قُبُوبٌ pl. قُبُوبٌ
Potter	بَنَّا يَهْدِي and بَنَّا يَهْدِي
Prawn	رِيْبَانٌ (coll.)
Prepare, <i>v. t.</i>	رَهْبٌ
Present, <i>n.</i>	نَدْبٌ pl. نَدْبَةٌ
Pull down, <i>v. t.</i> (to demolish). ...	هَمٌ - تَفَنَّفٌ - دَهْرٌ
Pull off, <i>v. t.</i> (as clothes)	صَلَخٌ - سَلَخٌ
Rainbow	ابُوقَدْحٌ - تَقْصِيدٌ
Ripe	بَالِغٌ
Room (space)	نَسْمٌ
Room, to make ...	نَسْمٌ
Round	كَتُوْيَا
Row, <i>n.</i> (disturbance) ...	جَوْلَةٌ - تَمْجِيلَةٌ
Sand (on the sea-beach)	دَارِجٌ
„ (mixed with pebbles in a valley).	دَبِحٌ
Savage	فَارِيٌ
Shallow	صَاحِيٌ - غَافِي
Shark	لَخَامٌ and لَخَومٌ pl. لَخَومٌ لَخَمٌ
Shave, <i>v. t.</i>	صَلَعٌ - Badawee word
Shirt (male)	قَمِيصٌ - تَوَابٌ and تَوَبٌ pl. تَوَبٌ
	قَمْصَانٌ and قَمْصَنٌ

Shirt (female) ...	...	قَنْدِيرٌ pl. قَنْدِيرَةٌ
Shoe (male) ...	...	نَيلٌ pl. نَيْلَةٌ
„ (female) ...	...	مَدَسٌ—مَدَسٌ pl. مَدَسٌ—مَدَسٌ
Show, v. t. ...	...	رُدِيٌّ
„ v. t. (to point out)		خَبَرٌ
Shower (light) ...	...	شَهَابَيْبٌ pl. شَهَابَيْبٌ
„ (heavy) ...	...	خَرِيفٌ pl. خَرِيفٌ
Sickle ...	...	دَسٌ (pronounced as <i>dose</i>)—pl. of both دَسَانٌ
Sleeve ...	...	قَنَانٌ pl. كَنَانٌ—Badawee word
Solid ...	...	صَمَطٌ
Soot ...	...	سُوْرٌ—سُورٌ
Spacious ...	...	كَبِيرٌ
Sparrow ...	...	صَفَاصِيفٌ pl. صَفَاصِيفٌ (the same word is used for a chicken).
Spoon ...	...	جَفَشٌ pl. كَفَشٌ—قَفْشٌ pl. قَفْشٌ
Stare (angrily) ...		بَاقِي بِالْعَيْنِ
Stick, v. i. (as a thing in the throat). ...		شَارٌ
Stick n. (walking, with a curved handle). ...		عَكْفٌ—أَكْفَةٌ pl. عَكْفٌ—أَكْفَةٌ pl. أَكْفَةٌ
Stifle, v. t. ...		يُزْفَطٌ aor. زَفَطٌ
Stir, v. t. (as fire) ...		حَيٌّ
Stout ...	...	أَقْارٌ or أَقْيَرٌ pl. أَقْارٌ or أَقْيَرٌ
Strike v. t. ...		ضَرَبٌ
„ v. t. (with a stick). ...		لَفَحٌ

Stumble, <i>v. i.</i> ...	... ...	أَنْقَرَ ^{أَعْقَرُ} and ^{أَنْكَبَ}
„ n. ...	... ...	أَنْرَةٌ ^{أَعْنَرَةٌ} and ^{كَبَّةٌ}
Sugar-cane ...	... ...	سَكَرٌ ^{قَلَمَةٌ سَكَرٌ} pl. (the word is also pronounced as if spelt with ك) قَلَمَةٌ سَكَرٌ
Sugar-candy ...	... ...	تَبَاتٌ (P. ت for ت)
Sweat, <i>n.</i> (from heat) ...		حَرَّ
„ n. (from fever).		أَرْقٌ عَوْقٌ
Sweep, <i>v. t.</i> ...	... ...	جَتَ
Sweepings ...	... ...	خَمَامٌ
Swing ...	... ...	مَحْيَى جِينٍ ^{صَوْجَاهَةٌ} pl.
Tame ...	... ...	دَأْوَلٌ (د for د)
Tassel ...	... ...	رِيشٌ رِيشَةٌ pl.
Tendril ...	... ...	خَيْطٌ pl. خَيْطٌ
Thick ...	... ...	أَقِيرٌ — عَقِيرٌ
Throw, <i>v. t.</i> ...	... ...	يَقِيسٌ قِيسٌ
Tighten...	... ...	سَهَّتٌ
Tool ...	... ...	عَدَّةٌ ^{عَدَّةٌ} pl. دَادِيدٌ also دَادَةٌ — عَدِيدٌ ^{عَدِيدٌ} also دَادَةٌ ^{دَادَةٌ} pl.
Turbid ...	... ...	أَدَدٌ أَدَدِيدٌ and أَدَدٌ
Vagina ...	... ...	مَكْوَاتٌ مَكْوَاتٌ ^{مَفْوَةٌ} also مَفْوَةٌ — أَسْيَيْتٌ أَسْيَيْتٌ pl.
Wait ...	... ...	شُوقِنِيٌّ شُوقِنِيٌّ — أَوْقَنِيٌّ أَوْقَنِيٌّ wait for me.)
Whisper	... ...	فَجْوَةٌ

Widow	...	..	ترکة pl. ترک
Wonder	...	...	إیدا — إیدا
Zigzag	...	...	مُنْجَس — مُنْجَس

Children's Language.

Although the Shahee and 'Ománee dialects differ from each other in so many respects, it is remarkable that after making a due allowance for the orthographical changes, a striking similarity is found to exist in the language of children in the two dialects.

Bad	...	...	Fire	...	...	طش
Beat, v. t.	...	...	Fish	...	...	بچ
Bread	...	...	Fowl	...	...	تینڈا
Breast	...	...	Goat	...	...	امبیاع
Brother	...	...	Hot	...	...	طش
Camel	...	...	Leave (off), v. t.	...	...	کچ
Cat	...	...	Meat	...	...	بچ
Clothes	...	...	Mother	...	...	امما
Come, v. i.	...	...	Old woman	..	..	حبوة
Cow	...	...	Pain, n.	...	...	واوڑہ
Dog	...	...	Pretty	...	...	چ
Donkey	...	...	Sleep, v. i.	...	...	ھرو
Fall, v. i.	...	...	Water	...	...	اچبوہ
Father	...	...		

A Note on the Kamzâree Dialect.

Although the Kamázareh as a tribe are included in the Shahooh group, the language they make use of among themselves is so distinctly different from the Shahee dialect of Arabic, as to require here a special though superficial notice. The men in particular are generally conversant with the latter dialect which many of them make use of for inter-tribal communications, but the language they speak among themselves and in their domestic circles, has distinctive features of its own. This is as might be expected from the fact of the Kamázareh being ethnologically quite distinct from the other tribes constituting the general Shahooh group. Whilst the Shahee dialect is essentially based on Arabic, and is in some respects allied to the dialect of 'Omán, the preponderating element in the Kamzâree dialect is of a non-semitic nature.

It would of course be beyond the scope of the present paper to deal with it in any but a very superficial manner, for beside being totally different from the Shahee dialect, it has hardly any connection with Arabic. A few of its conspicuous points and a small vocabulary would easily enable the reader to judge for himself the nature of the language on which it is based.

There is ample evidence in the general features and vocabulary of the dialect, to show that the Kamázareh or at least the main portion of that tribe must have originally come over from the opposite or Persian coast, and this conclusion can be upheld notwithstanding the fact that there exists among them a sub-tribe that claims to have immigrated from al-Bahrein, which is quite possible on the assumption that the latter immigrated at a later date and were numerically so weak, as to become in time thoroughly incorporated with the previous immigrants and to lose all traces of their language. The Kamázareh are divided into three sub-tribes,—Beni 'Alee Zeid, the origin of which it is very difficult to trace, Beni 'Alee Hasan who claim to have descended from 'Abdullah bin Awd al-Mannáee and to have immigrated from Manáu'ah in al-Bahrein, and al-Mahádiyah who admit having originally come from a place called Biyábool near Mináw on the Persian coast. The last one is considered to be the Baloochee branch of the tribe, and appears to be the one which has contributed mainly in forming the dialect.

As regards the origin of the name of the tribe, in the absence of any positive information, it is only fair to suppose that it is derived from the name of the place where the original immigrants settled on their arrival in the Shaheen country, which assumption is also warranted by the fact, that the subsequent additions to the tribe became incorporated with it under the same name.

Although the majority of the words, as may be seen from the list here given, are evidently of Persian origin, the influence of the Baloochee language, which itself is supposed to be derived from the old Persian, must not be overlooked, particularly as the main portion of the Kamázareh came from a tract which may be looked upon as the border-land between the Persian and Makrán coasts.

One of the great peculiarities of the Shaheen dialect, namely, the tendency to pronounce the medial and final , as a letter having the pronunciation of ʒ is accentuated in the Kamzáree dialect which seems to have adopted it irrespective of the language from which the word is derived; thus اڻڻ (for A. رطب = *fresh ripe dates*), and حڻڻ (for P. حرم = *preserved dates*). This rule, however, does not seem to apply to all words, for in سارو from Persian (*heat*) and نخورش from Arabic (*nose*), the original sound of ر is retained, whilst in some words the medial ڻ also takes the sound of ʒ as in دوڻي from Persian (*smoke*).

Another great peculiarity of the dialect is that many of the nouns end in a quiescent ، with the sound of o as in the English word *go*; thus، بردو (a wall), تيڻو (a road), گوشو (a shoe), &c. Some nouns, however, end in a quiescent ڻ with the sound of ai; thus، دوڻي (smoke), جملوي (a camel), &c., but the quiescent ڻ is heard oftener at the end of adjectives than nouns; thus: شرم بوسي و سني (asleep), (ashamed). The cardinal numeral adjectives also end in quiescent ڻ up to fifty after which ڻ takes the place of ڻ, as will be seen from the following table:—

One	...	...	اً يكُنْيَى	Twenty	...	...	بِدْسِيْ
Two	...	...	دَوْهِيْ	Thirty	...	...	سِيلِيْ
Three	...	...	دَوْهِيْ	Forty	..	...	جَهِيلِيْ
Four	...	...	چارِيْ	Fifty	...	...	لَكِيْ
Five	...	...	پِنْجِيْ	Sixty	...	...	شَشِيْ
Six	...	...	شَشِيْ	Seventy	...	...	هَفْتَنَا
Seven	...	...	هَفْتِيْ	Eighty	...	...	هَشْتَنَا
Eight	...	...	هَشْتِيْ	Ninety	...	...	نُونَا
Nine	...	...	لَيْعِيْ	Hundred	...	...	مَائَة
Ten	...	...	لَيْعِيْ	Two hundred	...	...	دُوَيْسَنَا
Eleven	...	...	بَازِلَيْعِيْ	Three hundred	...	...	لَيْسَنَا
Twelve	...	...	دَوازِلَيْعِيْ	Thousand	...	...	هَازِرَة

The Personal Pronouns are :—

		Singular.	Plural.
First P.	...	صِيَاهَ	مَاهَ
Second P.	...	تُو	شَمَا
Third P.	...	يَاهَ	يَكَانَهَ

The days of the week are :—

Saturday	...	سِبْتَ	Wednesday	...	چار شَمِير
Sunday	..	وَحدَ	Thursday	...	پانِچ شَمِير
Monday	...	دو شَمِير			
Tuesday	...	شَشِيمَر	Friday	...	چَهَات

In the following list of words A. stands for Arabic, B. for Baloochee and P. for Persian :—

Abandon ...	إِيْنَةٌ كَأْغُورَد — وَيْلٌ	Bat	... ...	حَنْفِشَن — A.
	=Leave off this paper.	Beard	... ...	رَشْو — P.
Able ...	صَالِحٌ رَأْيٌ سَيِّئَةٌ رَأْيٌ =Salih is able to lift it.	Beautiful	... ...	جَوَانِي — P.
		Belly	... ..	شَكْمُ — P.
Ablution ...	چَذْخُولٌ چَوْدَمٌ	Big	... ...	گَيْبَيِي — P.B.
Abuse ...	دوشِينِ صَالِحٍ دَشْهُونٌ =Salih abused me yesterday.	Bite v.	... ...	خَايِي — P.
		Branch	... ...	رَكْنَتِي
Accompany ...	حَمْدٌ رَفْوَةٌ — رَفْوَةٌ صَالِحٌ = H a m a d accompanied Salih	Breakfast	... ...	نَاشْتا — P.
		Breast	... ...	پَسْتَانِي — P.
Accurate (correct)	رَاسْتَى — P.	Bring (imp.)	... ...	بَيَار — P.
Afraid ...	تُوشِيسِي — P.	Butter	... ...	زَيْه — A.
Always ...	هُرْرُوزِي — P.	Butter (clarified).	... ...	رُوْگَن — P.
Ashamed ...	شُومُ بُوسِي — P.	Camel	... ...	جمَالِي — A.
Asleep ...	وَسْطَى — P.	Cap	... ...	كَلِيدِي — P.
Awake ...	مَاءَ	Cat	... ...	گَرِيدَو — P. B.
Bad ...	بَنْجِي	Cheek	... ...	خَشِي — A.
Bag ...	كَوْسِي — A.	Chest	... ...	سِينْتو — P.
Basket (small) ...	زَنِيلُو — P.A.	Child	... ...	بَچَك — B.
„ (large) ...	هَنْدَادُور	Clean	... ...	پَاك — P.
		Cloud	... ...	نَم — P.
		Colour	... ...	رُنْك — P.

Come (imp.) ...	بُيو—P.	Hand	دَهْت—P.
Date (fresh fruit.)	أَقْبَاب—A.	Head	مَارو—P.
" (preserved fruit)	حَذَّاف—P.	Heel	اَكْرُوب—A.
Date-palm ..	مَنْجُو—P.	Hole	خَبْقَة—A.
Dirt	چَدَم—P.	Inside	ذَنْدَن—P.
Dog	سَوْگُو—P.	Knife	كَارِدُو—P.
Donkey	خَنَّ—P.	Lip	لُو—P.
Door	دُورُو—P.	Man	مَرَنْ كَو—P.
Drink v.	خُور—P.	Many	خَيْلَى—P.
Dry	إِشْكَى—P.	Month	مَاءِي—P.
Ear	گُوشُو—P.	Moon	مَيْلَان—P.
Eat v.	خُور—P.	Mustache	شَرَبَن—A.
Egg	خَايِك—B. P.	Nail (finger)	لَخْدَن—P.
Empty	رَبِزَك—P.	Neck	گَرَدن—P.
Eye	چَمُو—P.	Nose	نَخْرُوت—A.
Eye-brow	حَيْجَب—A.	Nostril	خَدْفَة—A.
Finger	لَنْكَت—P.	Pot (earthen)	دَوْگُو—P.
Flower	پُوكُو	„ (Metallic)	كَزانِى—P.
Fool	دَنْبِى—P.	Razor	سَنْتَرَكُو—P.
Foot	پَاو—P.	Red	سَرْخَن—P.
Forehead	سَندَه وَهَة	Road	تَيَّدَن—P.
Fowl	مَرْوُوي—P.	Sail	وَزارُو—A.
Fox	رَوَاو—P.	Shave (v.)	سَان—P.
Hair	مُوهَة—P.	Ship	جَهَاز—P.

Shirt ...	خاتني	Tooth ...	دَنَانُونَ—pl. دَنَانَ—P.
Shoe ...	گوشو—P.	Tree ...	شَهْرِيَّتُو—A.
Shoulder ...	كامر	Understand ...	دَانِي—P.
Skin ...	پوسشو—P.	Vessel (sailing, small).	دَادِرُو
Slave (male) ...	زنگو—P.	Waist-wrapper ...	جَامِنْخَ
,, (female) ...	زنگور زنگو—P.	Wall ...	بُورُو
Sleep (n.) ...	خُوو—P.	Water ...	هَاو
Smoke (n.) ...	دَوَقِي	Wave ...	بُورُو
Snake ...	مارو	Well ...	چُوو
Steamer ...	چهارز دوَقِيَنُو	Went ...	رَفَت—P.
Stone ...	بَدَدُو	White ...	سَيِّدَنَ
Stout ...	مسنوي	Whole (all) ...	هَمُو—P.
Strong ...	مسختي	Wind ...	كولو
Sun ...	إنقا فهو	Window ...	دَرْشَو—P.
Thigh ...	فُخت	Wise ...	دَانَا—P.
Thorn ...	خارو	Woman ...	زنکو—P.
To-day ...	إيَّه رُوزُو	Year ...	سَالُو—P.
To-morrow ...	نِرا صَابَاح	Yesterday ...	دَوْشِين—B.
Tongue ...	زُوان		

ART. X.—*The Coins of the Gujarāt Sultānat.*
By REV. GEO. P. TAYLOR, M.A., D.D.

[Communicated, May 1902.]

- I.—Historical Setting.
- II.—Chronological List of the Sultāns of Gujarāt (with notes).
- III.—Genealogical Table of the Sultāns of Gujarāt (with notes).
- IV.—Literature on the Coinage of the Gujarāt Sultānat.
- V.—Cabinets of the Coins of the Gujarāt Sultānat.
- VI.—Mint-towns.
- VII.—Weights and Standards.
- VIII.—“Cumulative” Coin-legends.
- IX.—Catalogue of the Coins on Plates I—VI.

I.—HISTORICAL SETTING.

Authorities for the History of the Gujarāt Sultānat, A.H. 806-980 ;
A.D. 1403-1573.

1. The *Tārīkh i Firishta* by Muhammad Qāsim Hindū Shāh, surnamed *Firishta*, circa A.D. 1606-1611; translated by Lieut.-Col. John Briggs, 4 vols., A.D. 1829.
2. The *Mir'āt i Sikandarī* by Sikandar bin Muḥammad, A.D. 1611; translated in Sir E. Clive Bayley's History of Gujarāt, A.D. 1886.*
3. The *Mir'āt i Ahmādī* by 'Ali Muḥammad Khān, A.D. 1756-1761;
 - (a) translated in James Bird's History of Gujarāt, A. D. 1835,
 - (b) also translated in Sir E. Clive Bayley's History of Gujarāt, A.D. 1886.
4. The Bombay Gazetteer, Vol. I., Part I., A.D. 1896, containing the History of Gujarāt, Musalmān Period, by Colonel J. W. Watson. Throughout this article the following abbreviations will be employed:—

Br.-F.=Briggs's *Firishta*; Ba.-S= Bayley's *Mir'āt i Sikandarī* ;
Bi.-A.=Bird's *Mir'āt i Ahmādī* ; Ba.-A= Bayley's *Mir'āt i Ahmādī* ;

*A copy of the recently published complete translation of the *Mir'āt i Sikandarī* by Fazlullah Lutfullah Faridi reached me too late to be of service in the preparation of this article.

W.-B.G.=Watson's History of Gujarāt in the Bombay Gazetteer.

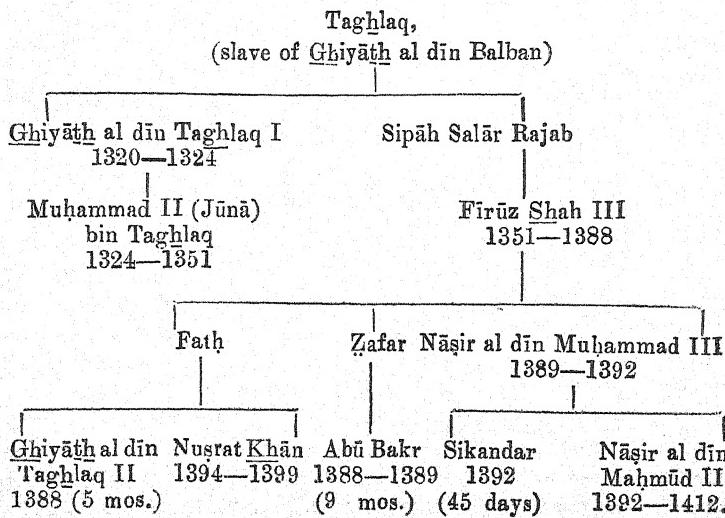
A flavour of romance attaches to the history that has come down to us of the father of the founder of the Gujarāt Saltanat. In the days of the eccentric Sultān of Dehli, Muḥammad bin Taghlaq (A.H. 725-752; A.D. 1324-1351), his cousin Firūz, while on a hunting expedition in the Khedā district of Gujarāt, wandered from his attendants and lost his way. Wearyed with the chase, he turned his horse at eventide in the direction of the village of Thāsrā,* and on the stranger's arrival there the village headmen, two brothers of the Tānka family of Rājpūts, Sādhū and Sadhāran by name, cordially invited him to partake of their hospitality. Soon an ample board was spread, and Sādhū's sister, a maiden "peerless in beauty and loveliness," filling a goblet, presented it to the unknown guest. He received the vessel from her hand with a pleasure he was at no pains to conceal. After he had quaffed three cups, "the rosebud of his disposition unfolded," and now the talk grew confidential. The stranger ere long revealed himself to be the Sultān's cousin and his acknowledged heir. Sādhū straightway gave his sister, "more lovely than a hūrī of light," in nikāh marriage to the prince, and thereafter the two brothers, linking their fortunes with his, accompanied him to Dehli, the capital of the kingdom. It was not long before both of them, in the phrase of Sikandar bin Muḥammad, "obtained the honour of Islām," and on this change of his faith Sadhāran received the title of Wajī' al Mulk, "the Support of the State." With the proselyte's proverbial zeal, the brothers became disciples of a much revered Muslim saint,† and soon gained a high reputation for piety. Of Zafar Khān, the more famous son of Wajī' al Mulk, it is related that this saint, in return for a timely kindness, promised him prophetically the whole country of Gujarāt, and later, giving him a handful of dates, said, "Zafar Khān, thy seed like unto these in number shall rule over Gujarāt." The historian adds, "Some say there were twelve, some thirteen dates, others say eleven: God knows which story is true."

* Some historians are of opinion that the scene of this incident lay not at Thāsrā in Gujarāt, but at Thānesar in the Sirhind division of the Panjāb.

†This saint was known as Qutb al aqṭāb Hadrat Makhdūm i Jahāniyān, 'the pole-star of pole-stars, His Highness the Lord of Mortals.' As the qutb al aqṭāb, he was held to have attained that supreme stage of sanctity wherein is reflected the heart of the Prophet himself.

The death of the Sultān Muhammād bin Taghlaq was in keeping with a life marked by projects magnificent in conception but abortive, at times ludicrously abortive, in achievement. In 1351 he set off from Gujarāt in order to chastise Lower Sindh for harbouring insurgents. Though accompanied by an army "as numerous as a swarm of ants or locusts," he did not live to annihilate the refractory Sūmra Rājpūts of Thatta, but himself died on the banks of the Indus from fever induced by a surfeit of fish. The Sultān had left no son,* but Firūz, his cousin and legatee, on the third day ascended the throne, and for the next thirty-seven years swayed, and on the whole beneficially, the destinies, of the Empire. Zafar Khān and his brother Shams Khān, as nephews of the queen, were now advanced to high honours, and to them were entrusted the responsible duties pertaining to the office of Chief Butler, ēhdā i sharābdārī. On the death of Firūz Shāh in 1388, a grandson, Ghīyāth al dīn Taghlaq Shāh II, succeeding to the Saltānat, spent his brief reign of five months in an unbroken round of debauchery. Another grandson, Abū Bakr, next held the throne for some nine months, at the end of which time he was deposed by the late

* The following Genealogical Table shows the relationship of the Taghlaqid Sultāns of Dehli :—



Firūz Shāh's son, Nāṣir al dīn Muḥammad Shāh III., who for the three years 1389-1392 managed to retain the sovereign power. It was during the reign of this Sultān, Muḥammad III., that Zafar Khān was appointed to the viceroyalty of Gujarāt. Ugly rumours had reached the Court that the then viceroy, Mufarrēh Sultānī, more commonly known by his title of Farhut al Mulk Rāstī Khān, had been encouraging the Hindū religion, so as to gain the goodwill of the populace, and by their aid establish a kingdom of Gujarāt entirely independent of the paramount power at Dehli. Accordingly in 1391 the Sultān Muḥammad selected Zafar Khan, the son, it will be remembered, of Sadhāran, the zealous apostate from Hindūism, for the viceroyalty, in supersession of Mufarrēh Khān. The governor-designate had a royal send-off. Firishta records that he was given the title of Muẓaffar Khān and honoured with a dress of instalment. He was further presented with the white canopy and scarlet pavilion "such as are exclusively used by kings" — a fitting presage of Zafar's future assumption of regal power. Mufarrēh gave battle to Zafar at the village of Kāmbhū in the district of Anhilwāḍa Pattan, but the unruly ruler (Nāzim be-nizām) was slain, and Zafar, to commemorate his victory, founded on the site of the battle the town of Jitpur. Thereafter the whole of Gujarāt acknowledged his authority, and under his strong administration the country prospered.

But very different ran the course of affairs at the seat of the Empire. On the death of Muḥammad III. in 1392, his son Sikandar succeeded to the throne, but suddenly died after a reign of only five and forty days. In the resultant confusion, his brother Nāṣir al dīn Maḥmūd II. was chosen king by one faction of the nobles, and a cousin Nuṣrat Khān by a rival faction. For many years thereafter the kingdom was sore distracted by internal strife. War between the claimants was still proceeding when Timūr Lang, the lame Timūr (Tamerlane), crossing the Indus, led the hordes of Tartary on that terrible invasion which for a time converted Hindūstān into shambles. It was in 1398 that he marched rapidly upon Dehli, on his way thither slaughtering in cold blood the hundred thousand captives in his camp; and early in 1399, after defeating Maḥmūd at Firuzābād, he entered the capital. For five days the ill-fated city was given over to pillage, the conqueror feasting, while his brutal soldiery in the general and indiscriminate massacre of the inhabitants perpetrated indescribable atrocities.

The Sultān Mahmūd II., however, had effected an escape, and eventually, after many wanderings in remote parts of his dominions, arrived a fugitive before the gates of Pattan. Zafar Khān at once went out to meet him, and escorted him to the palace with every mark of honour. The Sultan had hoped to secure Zafar Khān's alliance and march immediately upon Dehlī, where Nuṣrat Khān was still a source of danger. Zafar, however, did not think this enterprise advisable, so the Sultan, aggrieved, departed for Mālwā. Here, too, he was doomed to disappointment, but, having in the meantime heard that his wazīr Iqbāl Khān had expelled the rival ruler Nuṣrat, Mahmūd returned to Dehlī in 1402—"a very shadow of a king." His authority extended to only a few districts beyond the city walls, and even that only because his wazīr amiably bestowed on him countenance and protection.

The utter anarchy that now reigned in Hindūstān naturally issued in the dismemberment of the Empire. Embracing twenty-three provinces, all held in full subjection by Muḥammad bin Taghlaq in the early part of his reign, it became from the very number of its satrapies essentially incoherent. After the catastrophe of Timūr's invasion, several independent kingdoms were carved out of the dominions of Dehlī, and the Empire was thus despoiled of its fairest provinces. How large a number became at this time independent under their several governors, all of whom styled themselves 'kings,' is shown in the following list, quoted in Thomas' "Chronicles of the Pathān Kings of Dehlī" from the Tārīkh i Mubārak Shāhi MS.

Zafar Khān ...	... Gujarāt.
Khizr Khān...	... Multān, Daibalpūr, Sindh.
Mahmūd Khān	... Mahobah, Kälpi.
Khwājah i Jahān	... Kanauj, Oudh, Karrah, Dalamau, Sun-dalah, Bahraich, Bahār, Jaunpūr.
Dilāwar Khān	... Dhār (Mālwā).
Ghālib Khān	... Samānah.
Shams Khān	... Biāna.

Strange to relate, not Zafar Khān himself but his son was the first to assume an independent authority over Gujarāt. This son, by name Tātār Khān, had, on his father's departure as viceroy-designate of Gujarāt, been detained in Dehlī, not improbably as a pledge for the father's fidelity. In the disorders that followed upon the death

of Sultan Muhammad III (A. D. 1392), Tātār Khān, as well as others of the more ambitious nobles, aspired to the imperial throne, and thus came into collision with the powerful wazīr Iqbāl Khān. Tātār was, however, worsted in this unequal struggle, and found safety only in flight to Gujarāt, where on his arrival his father accorded him a gracious reception. But Tātār harboured in his heart an ardent desire for revenge on Iqbāl Khān, and frequently sought to win his father over to his own ambitious designs. Zafar Khān, however, was not to be moved from the conviction that any attempt on Dehlī would be fraught with disaster. From the various conflicting accounts it is difficult to ascertain what precisely was the subsequent course of events, but the version favoured by several writers is that Tātār, finding his father thus intractable, basely had him seized and placed in confinement in the village of Asāwal, near the site of the future city of Almadābād. He next won over to himself the army and the chief Government officials. Thus secure, he at once assumed royal rank, and, setting up a throne, made himself king with a title variously given as Nāṣir al dunyā wa al din, Muhammad Shāh or Ghiyāth al dunyā wa al din Muhammad Shāh. This *coup d'état* would seem to have been struck in the year 1403 (A. H. 806). The imprisoned Zafar Khān, however, through one of his confidants, and afterwards by a letter secretly conveyed, prevailed upon his brother, Shams Khān, whom Tātār had appointed wazīr, to devise measures for his release. Accordingly one night, when Tātār with his army, in furtherance of his long-cherished design, was already on the march towards Dehlī, Shams Khān administered poison to his nephew, who thus, little more than two months after his accession to the throne, "drank the draught of death, and went to the city of non-existence." Liberated from his prison, Zafar Khān, with the cordial concurrence of the nobles, now resumed the governorship. He did not, however, affect a royal style or dignity, but, on the contrary, he seems to have found the cares of office so burdensome that he desired to demit them to his brother and himself retire into private life. Shams Khān, however, refused the proffered honour, and Zafar Khān was then content to nominate as his successor his grandson, Ahmad Khān, son of the late Sultan Muhammad, a youth then but fourteen years of age. Some three uneventful years passed away before Zafar was finally constrained to accept the rôle of an independent sovereign. The circumstances

under which this change was effected, a change so fraught with consequence for Gujarāt, are thus recorded in the *Mir'at-i-Sikandarī*.

"When the striking of coin and supreme authority were no longer exercised by the House of Dehlī, the nobles and officers represented to Zafar Khān, at an auspicious time and favourable moment, that the government of the country of Gujarāt could not be maintained without the signs and manifestation of kingly authority. No one was capable of wielding regal power but himself : he was, therefore, indicated by public opinion as the person who ought, for the maintenance of Muhammadan religion and tradition, to unfold the royal umbrella over his head, and to delight the eyes of those who longed for that beautiful display. In compliance with this requisition in the year H. 810 (A. D. 1407), three years and seven months after the death of Sultān Muhammād, the victorious Zafar Khān raised the umbrella of royalty, and took to himself the title of Muzaffar Shāh at Birpur" (Ba.-S. pp. 83, 84). The *laqab*, or surname, adopted on his acceptance of the throne was Shams al dunyā wa al din, 'the Sun of the World and of the Faith.'

The three years of Muzaffar's reign witnessed no events of general interest, being occupied mainly with a successful expedition against Dhār (Mālwā), and another "against the infidels of Kambh-Kot." To aid his former master, the Sultan Maḥmūd, he marched an army towards Dehlī, thus preventing the meditated attack on that city by Sultān Ibrāhīm of Jaunpūr.

"As commonly reported and believed," Muzaffar's death took place under the following tragic circumstances. Some Kolis near Asāwal having risen in rebellion, Ahmad Khān was placed in command of an army to quell the insurrection. After completing a single march from Pattan, he convened an assembly of divines, learned in the law, to whom he propounded the question, 'If one person kills the father of another unjustly, ought the son of the murdered man to exact retribution?' All replied in the affirmative, and gave in their answers in writing. Armed with this authoritative decision, Ahmad suddenly returned with the troops to Pattan, there overpowered his grandfather, and forthwith handed him a cup of poison to drink. The old King in mild remonstrance exclaimed, 'Why so hasty my boy? A little patience, and power would have come to you of itself, for all I

have is intended for you.' After words of advice to punish the evil counsellors who had plotted this nefarious scheme and to abstain from wine, "for such abstinence is proper for kings," the Sultan Muzaffar Shāh raised to his lips and drained the bitter cup of death. Remorse for this unnatural crime is said to have so embittered Ahmād's after-life that, like our own King Henry I., he was never known to smile again.

It is true that some historians state that in the fourth year of his reign Sultan Muzaffar, falling ill, abdicated in favour of his grandson Ahmād, but that the disease did not terminate fatally till five months and sixteen days later. The circumstantial and detailed narrative of Sikandar can, however, hardly be a fabrication pure and simple, whereas a Muhammadan historian, writing of a Muhammadan king eminent for orthodoxy, would be sore tempted to suppress the record of a deed so infamous. The scrupulous observance of religious ritual that marked the after-years of Ahmād's life finds perhaps its best explanation in the assumption that, profoundly penitent, he was seeking thus to expiate his terrible crime. In the Jāmē' Masjid of Ahmādābād is still shown in the Royal Gallery—the Mulūk Khāna — a low dais with its marble surface worn away by Ahmād's feet, attesting his so frequent prayer-prostrations. Tradition also tells that his home-life was severely simple, his personal expenses being restricted to the sum received from the sale of caps made by his own hands. It is further significant that his after-death title is Khudāyagān i Maghfür, 'The Great Lord forgiven,' thus betokening that "Allah the Pitiful, moved by the prayer of forty believers, had spread his forgiveness over the crime of Ahmād's youth." (W.-B. G. p. 240.)

On his grandfather's death Ahmād succeeded to the throne with the title of Nāṣir al dunyā wa al din Abu'l Fath Ahmād Shāh. Though thus the third Sultan of the dynasty, his long and brilliant reign of thirty-three years (A. H. 813-846; A.D. 1410-1443), his introduction of an admirable system of civil and military administration, his successful expeditions against Jūnāgadh, Chāmpānīr, Īdar, and Mālwā, his building of Ahmādābād as his capital, all combined in the process of years to invest him with eponymic honours, so that from him the Saltanat is known to-day by the name of Ahmād Shāhī. He may with justice be held the virtual founder of that dynasty "which was to maintain in Gujarāt for nearly two hundred years

a sway brilliant in its military enterprises and in the architecture with which it adorned its capital, but precarious, ever disputed at lavish cost in blood and treasure, and never effectually established throughout the province.” *

Having now traced in some detail the rise of the Gujarāt Saltanat, it will suffice for the purpose of this article to indicate little more than the succession of rulers till the close of the dynasty in 1573. Two events, however, in Ahmād's reign demand special notice by reason of their connexion with the coins of the period, to wit, the founding of the two cities named after the Sultān himself, Ahmādābād and Ahmādnagar (Īdar). According to the *Mir'āt i Ahmādi* it was in the year H. 813 (A. D. 1411) that Ahmād Shāh, having received “the assent and leave of that Moon of the Faithful and Sun of the Righteous, Shaikh Ahmād Ganj Bakhsh,” began to build and establish the Shahr i Mu'azzam, ‘the Great City,’ Ahmādābād, in the immediate vicinity of Asāwal. The Sultān had always professed himself partial to the air and soil of that town, but tradition assigns two further reasons for the founding of the city on its present site. Asāwal was the hold of the famous robber chieftain Asā Bhil, whose daughter's charms and beauty had won the heart of Ahmād Shāh. Then, too, at this spot, while the King was one day hunting, a hare had turned on the hounds and fiercely assailed them. To commemorate a courage so phenomenal, Ahmād desired a city should be built, and among the local peasantry the saying still is heard, “When a hare attacked a dog, the king founded the city.” It is on record that the four boundaries of the city were lined out by four Ahmads who had never missed the afternoon prayer (*zōhr*). The first was that Pole-Star of Shaikhs and Holy Men, the Shaikh Ahmād Khatū Ganj Bakhsh; the second the king himself; the third another Shaikh Ahmād; and the fourth a Mullā Ahmād; these last two being high-born connexions of the Sultān. The city walls, some six miles in circumference, formed a semicircle facing the river Sābarmati and frowning down on it in imposing ramparts, fifty feet high. Sir Theodore Hope has thus graphically pictured the wonderful development of the work then begun. “In three years the city was sufficiently advanced for habitation, but the great buildings rose only by degrees, and for upwards of a century the work of population and adoration was carried on with unremitting energy, till archi-

* Hope and Fergusson's Architecture of Ahmādābād, p. 26.

tecture could proceed no further, having satisfied the æsthetic and social wants of above two millions of souls. For materials the finest edifices of Anhilwāda, Chandrāvatī, and other cities were ruthlessly plundered; but their delicate sculptures appear with few exceptions to have been scornfully thrown into walls and foundations, where they are now constantly found, while for their own works the conquerors resorted to the sand-stone quarries of Ahmād-nagar and Dhrāngadra, or the marble hills of the Ajmīr district. As to style it was the singular fortune of the Muḥammadans to find themselves among a people their equals in conception, their superiors in execution, and whose tastes had been refined by centuries of cultivation. While moulding them, they were moulded by them, and, though insisting on the bold features of their own minaret and pointed arch, they were fain to borrow the pillared hall, the delicate traceries and rich surface ornaments of their despised and prostrate foe.”* In Ahmād’s own reign the chief buildings erected were, in addition to the triple gateway and the walls surrounding the city and the inner citadel (Bhadra), the Jāmē’ Masjid or Cathedral Mosque, the Sultān’s private chapel, and the mosques of Haibat Khān, Saiyid ‘Alam, Malik ‘Alam, and Sīdī Saiyid, the last with glorious windows of pierced stone. With so noble a city as his creation, it is not without reason that historians have delighted to link with Ahmād’s name the proud title of Bānī Ahmādābād, ‘Founder of Ahmādābād.’

The chief of Idar long proved a troublesome neighbour to Ahmād Shāh, who on more than one occasion led an army against that State, only to find that its ruler had retired to the safe covert of its hills. To overawe the Rāv Pūnjā, and permanently check his movements, Ahmād constructed, eighteen miles south-west of Idar, on the banks of the Hāthmatī River, a fort, and to the city that sprang up round it he gave the name of Ahmādnagar. So beautiful is the natural scenery of that district—maiden-hair fern still grows in rich profusion beside the river’s limpid waters—that no visitor to the spot to-day will feel surprised that Ahmād made choice of it for a residence, and thought for a time of transferring thither the headquarters of Government. The date of the founding of Ahmādnagar is given by Firishta as H. 829, but by Sikandar as H. 830. Frequently have I come across coins from the Ahmādnagar mint

* Hope and Fergusson’s Architecture of Ahmādābād, pp. 27, 28.

bearing as date of issue the later year (compare Plate I, Nos. 4, 5, 6); but it was a special pleasure to receive a few months ago from my friend Mr. Frāmjī Jāmaspī Thānawālā of Bombay the present of a copper coin of Ahmād's from this mint, dated quite clearly H. 829.

On his death in H. 846, Ahmād was succeeded on the throne by his son Muhammād Shāh (II), who, taking the title of Ghiyāth al dunyā wa al dīn, 'Aid of the World and of the Faith,' reigned during the next nine years. Some of the coins struck by this king were, as we shall afterwards see, of an unusual type (Plate I, 8a, 8b), but the events of his reign do not merit special record. The mildness of his disposition, contrasting with his father's forceful character, gained him the appellation of Karīm, 'Merciful'; while his lavish liberality procured him the epithet Zar Bakhsh, 'the Gold-giver.' Sikandar writes, "He gave himself up to pleasure and ease, and had no care for the affairs of Government, or rather the capacity of his understanding did not attain unto the lofty heights of the concerns of State" (Ba.-S. p. 129). When Mahmūd Khaljī advanced with a large army to annex Gujārāt to his own kingdom of Mālwā, Sultan Muhammād with a craven timidity took to flight, whereupon the Gujārāt officers, "feeling for their character," compassed his destruction. According to one account, at their instance the Sultān's queen herself administered poison to him (Br.-F. IV. 36); whereas, according to another, it was his son and successor Jalāl Khān who "dropped the medicine of death into the cup of the Sultān's life" (Ba.-S. p. 134).

Jalāl Khān, on his accession to the throne, assumed the title and style of Qutb al dunyā wa al dīn Ahmād Shāh II, 'the Pole-star of the world and of the Faith.' Over this reign also, extending from H. 855 to 863, we need not linger. The Mālwā Sultān was defeated near Kapadwanj, and later on in the reign tribute was exacted from the Rānā of Chitor. His personal valour gained this Ahmād the appellation of Ghāzi, or Champion of the Faith, but he was of a violent and capricious temper, and frequently abandoned himself to disgraceful debauches. When angry, or under the influence of liquor, he was absolutely reckless as to the shedding of blood. A terrible tragedy attended his sudden death. A rumour spread that his wife had poisoned him at the instance of her father, who hoped thus to clear a path for himself to the throne. The Sultān's mother,

giving credence to this story, handed the unsuspecting queen over to the vengeance of her eunuchs, who literally tore her in pieces, and the nobles of the court killed her father. Ere long, however, ample evidence was forthcoming to establish the absolute innocence of the murdered father and daughter.

The next occupant of the throne was Dā'ūd Shāh, uncle of the preceding king, and brother of *his* predecessor, Muḥammad II. He had hardly assumed the sovereign power when he ennobled one of the common sweepers of the household. This and "other acts of imbecility" led to his deposition after a reign of only seven days. He sought refuge in the friendly shelter of a monastery, and there spent the short remainder of his life.

His successor, Maḥmūd Shah, was by far the most celebrated of all the kings of this dynasty, and the prosperity of the kingdom culminated during his glorious reign of over half a century (A. H. 863-917, A. D. 1458-1511). As in the history of the Saltanat it is his figure that bulks largest, and round him most of glory gathers, so also in the numismatic record of the dynasty, it is his coins that are of all the most abundant and distinctly the most beautiful. In the Ahmādābād bāzār more silver and copper coins of his reign are met with to-day than those of all the other Gujarāt Sultāns together, and of the entire series his are almost the only Maḥmūdis that can be justly termed effective expressions of the engraver's art. The Muḥammadan historians verge on rhapsody in their high eulogies of Maḥmud and all his works. "He added glory and lustre to the Kingdom of Gujarāt, and was the best of all the Gujarāt Kings, including all who preceded and all who succeeded him, and whether for abounding justice and generosity, for success in religious war, and for the diffusion of the laws of Islām and of Musalmāns, for soundness of judgment, alike in boyhood, in manhood and in old age, for power, for valour, and victory—he was a pattern of excellence" (Ba.-S. p. 161). To this day the glory of his name lives enshrined in native tradition throughout the whole of India as a pious Musalmān and model sovereign. He was eminently successful not in military operations alone, but also in civil administration, and sought to secure to his subjects the sweets of peace. The Mir'āt i Ahmādi records that he "built several magnificent caravansarais and lodging-houses for travellers, and founded several colleges and mosques. . . . All the fruit-trees in the open country, as

well as those in the city, towns, and villages, were planted in the reign of this Sultān" (Bi.-A. p. 205). With all his many excellencies, however, Maḥmūd had at least one quality which must have rendered him as a companion disgusting—no milder adjective will do. He was a huge glutton. His daily allowance of food was one Gujarāti *man* in weight, i.e., 41 lbs. On his retiring to rest, a confection of rice would be placed on either side of his bed, so that, awaking at whatever hour, he might stretch forth his hand and eat. His "little breakfast" consisted of a hundred and fifty plantains, with a cup of honey and another of butter. Uneasy in his consciousness of an appetite transgressing all decent bounds, he often used to say, 'If God had not raised Maḥmūd to the throne of Gujarāt, who would have satisfied his hunger?' Nor, according to the stories of early European travellers, was his diet limited to rice and plantains and honey and butter. "Every day he eats poison," so wrote Ludovico di Varthema* in 1510, and then he proceeds to record how this poison had so saturated Maḥmūd's system that his spittle was fatal to any upon whom His Majesty might choose to eject it. Duarte Barbosa, who visited Gujarāt shortly after Maḥmūd's death, states that the Sultān was brought up from a child, and nourished, with poison. "This king began to eat it in such a small quantity that it could not do him any harm, and from that he went on increasing this kind of food in such manner that he could eat a great quantity of it; for which cause he became so poisonous that if a fly settled on his hand, it swelled and immediately fell dead."† From such travellers' tales as these Maḥmūd gained in Europe an unenviable notoriety as the Blue Beard of Indian History, and it is to him that Butler referred in the well-known lines from Hudibras,

"The Prince of Cambay's daily food
Is asp and basilisk and toad" (Part II., Canto I.).

This "Prince of Cambay" was but thirteen years of age when called to the throne, and even thus early he showed his mettle in the fearless suppression of a conspiracy designed to effect the downfall of the chief minister "Imād al mulk. Quiver on back and bow in

* The Travels of Ludovico di Varthema, Hakluyt Society Reprint, page 109.

† A Description of the Coasts of East India and Malabar, by Duarte Barbosa, Hakluyt Society Reprint, page 57.

hand, the young king, attended by only three hundred horsemen, marched from his palace in the Bhadra to oppose the rebel force, assembled in far superior numbers. Having first secured the various approaches to the palace, he gave orders that his elephants, some five hundred in number, should charge all at once. Panic seized the enemy. Their soldiers cast away their arms, and slunk into hiding in the neighbouring houses, while the amirs fled precipitately from the city. A detailed account of the reign of Mahmūd, or of his successes in the Deccan and Kāthiawād and Sindh would here be out of place. We need for our present purpose only narrate his founding of the two mint-towns of Muṣṭafābād and Muḥammadābād.

In H. 871 (A. D. 1466) Mahmūd made an expedition against the Maṇḍalik Rājā, or petty king, of Girnār, a district in the south-west of Kāthiawād. On this occasion the Rā'o tendered his submission, whereupon Mahmūd withdrew his troops to Gujarāt. The next year, however, information was received that the Rā'o Maṇḍalik had visited a "temple of idolatry," taking with him all the insignia of royalty. Mahmūd, accordingly, determined to humble the pride of this infidel ruler. His capital was forthwith invested, and its inhabitants were reduced to the utmost straits. In H. 874 the fort of Girnār, considered one of the strongest in all India, surrendered to this Gujarāt Sultān, and the Rājā accepted the faith of Islām. Firishta adds that Mahmūd, "being desirous that the tenets of Islām should be propagated throughout the country of Girnār, caused a city to be built, which he called Muṣṭafābād, for the purpose of establishing an honorable residence for the venerable personages of the Muhammadan religion deputed to disseminate its principles. Maḥmūd Shāh also took up his residence in that city" (Br.-F. IV. 56).

Fifteen years elapsed before the founding of the second mint-town, Muḥammadābād, in H. 889 (A. D. 1484). During a season of scarcity one of Sultān Mahmūd's captains, raiding in Chāmpānīr territory, was attacked, defeated, and slain by Rāwal Jayasingh. Thereupon Mahmūd, refusing all arbitrament except 'the sword and the dagger,' marched with a large army against Chāmpānīr by way of Baroda. The siege of the hill-fort was protracted for more than a year, but Mahmūd, in token of his fixed resolution not to leave till the fort should be taken, laid in his military lines the foundations of a beautiful mosque. At length finding resistance unavailing, the Rāwal consigned to the flames the women of his household and all

his valuables, and then sallied forth in a fierce charge. Wounded, he fell into the hands of the Sultān, but, unlike the Māndalik Rājā, he declined to embrace Islām, and bravely paid the forfeit of his life. On the fall of the fort, Maḥmūd changed the name of the city to Muḥammadābād. This name is correctly given in the *Mirāt i Sikandarī* (Ba.-S. p. 211) and in the *Mō'asir* (Blochmann's translation of the *Āin-i Akbarī*, I. 507, note). Firīghtā, however, states, "During the time the king was detained by the sick and wounded at Chāmpānīr, he laid the foundation of the city of Maḥmūdābād." (Br.-F. IV. 70); but in at least nine subsequent references to this same place Firīghtā himself calls it Muḥammadābād-Chāmpānīr.* Discussion on this point, however, is practically foreclosed by the evidence of the beautiful coin No. 34 on Plate III., the margin of which reads not Maḥmūdābād, but very clearly Muḥammadābād 'urf Chāmpānīr. Maḥmūd did found a city named after himself Maḥmūdābād, but this was situated not in the vicinity of Chāmpānīr, but on the bank of the River Wātrak, eighteen miles south-east of Ahmādābād. It is the city which in A. D. 1546 the Sultān Maḥmūd III., on removing from Ahmādābād, chose for his residence, and where he "laid out a magnificent palace, which he called the 'Deer Park,' the like of which was never seen upon the earth" (Ba.-S. p. 443). The original name Maḥmūdābād is now corrupted to Meḥmūdābād or Meḥmadābād. This city does not seem to have ever possessed a mint, and should not be confused with the mint town Muḥammadābād Chāmpānīr. In the latter "many great buildings were raised and gardens laid out, and, by the skill of a native of Khurāsān, well-fitted with fountains and waterfalls. Its fruits, especially its mangoes, were famous, and its sandal trees grew so freely that their timber was used in house-building. Mechanics and craftsmen thronged its streets, Chāmpānīr sword-blades became noted for their sharpness, and Chāmpānīr silks for their bright colours. Though he by no means deserted Ahmādābād, Maḥmūd III. continued to the close of his reign to consider Muḥammadābād Chāmpānīr his capital" (*Bombay Gazetteer*, III. 305). In 1535, however, this city was pillaged by the Emperor Humāyūn, and soon thereafter the court and capital were transferred back to Ahmādābād. The almost simultaneous loss of the Gujarāt ascendancy over Mālwā precipitated

* Br.-F. IV. 72, 73, 74, 75, 77, 80, 82, 87, 128.

the city's decay. Its subsequent decline was indeed so rapid that only some eighty years later it was held to afford a classical illustration of the truth of the verse, ' All on earth fades, and God does as He wills.'

The subjection of the "two forts" (in Gujarātī દુષ્પાત્ર, be gadh) of Girnār and Chāmpānir is held by some historians to supply the key to Mahmūd's etymologically perplexing title of Begadā (બેગદા). Another suggested derivation is that the term Bigarha (بِيْغَرْه), meaning, so it is said, 'a bullock whose horns stretch out right and left like the arms of a person about to embrace,' was applied to Sultān Mahmūd, inasmuch as the said Sultān "has mustachios under his nose so long that he ties them over his head as a woman would tie her tresses."¹

Mahmūd Shah died in 1511, just a hundred (solar) years after the founding of Ahmādābād. It had been a century of large growth and prosperity, thanks mainly to the strong administrations of Ahmad and Mahmūd, whose combined reigns covered no less than eighty-five years. But now began that period of national decline which was to issue in the final subjugation of the province by the imperial troops of Akbar (A. D. 1573). Mahmūd Begadā's son, Khalil Khān, succeeded to the throne under the name of Muzaffar II. For piety and learning, liberality and bravery, he was held unequalled in his age, and on account of his many merciful acts he was entitled Muzaffar the Clement. Notwithstanding his many admirable traits, he was as a king fatally weak, and incapable of controlling his nobles. Their influence, thus unchecked, grew into a power which was eventually to subvert the dynasty. Lacking the sternness and energy that those rough times demanded, Muzaffar's clemency often interposed to save the guilty from merited punishment, and "such conduct was, on the whole, the cause of disturbances" (Bi.-A. p. 229). Troubles in Mälwā and wars with the Idar chief occupied much of the fifteen years of his reign (A. H. 917-932, A. D. 1511-1525), but these need not detain us. In connexion with this king's last illness, Sikandar relates several anecdotes illustrating a singularly unselfish and amiable disposition. A sore famine was afflicting the land, so Muzaffar lifted up his hands in prayer to God, and said, "O Lord, if for any fault of mine my people are afflicted, take me from this world, and

¹ The Travels of Ludovico di Varthema, Hakluyt Society Reprint, page 109.

leave my people unharmed, and relieve them from this drought." For the Sultān was tender-hearted, and could not bear the sight of the poor and wretched. Moreover, since the prayers of a Sultān are entitled to acceptance, so the arrow of his prayers reached its mark, and the rain of mercy fell from the heavens. One day he was listening to the commentary of a reader of the Qōr'ān, and observed, "I read more of the Qōr'ān now, in the days of my sovereignty, than I did before I came to the throne. This morning I have heard half of the reader's commentary: I trust to hear the other half in heaven." He died on a Friday, the Muslim Sabbath. Hearing that morning the call to prayer, he said, 'I have not strength to go to the masjid myself,' but he sent one of his attendants. After a short time he performed his ablutions, and said the prayers: then he put up humble and earnest supplications for pardon. After that he stretched himself out on the couch, repeated the Confession of Faith three times, and rendered up his soul to heaven, leaving behind him a good and righteous name (Ba.-S., pp. 279-281).

Muzaffar's eldest son, Sikandar, ascended the throne on his father's death, but, slighting the older ministers of the crown, and showering honours on the companions of his youthful follies, he soon became extremely unpopular. The defeat of his troops by the Rāpā of Chitor served to intensify the general odium against him. 'Imād al mulk, a great favourite of the late king, being informed that Sikandar had designs upon his life, determined to be beforehand with him, and, forthwith entering into a conspiracy, caused the Sultān to be assassinated in his bedchamber.

After Sikandar's reign of less than seven weeks, his brother, Nasīr Khān, a child of six, was raised to the throne under the title of Mahmūd Shāh II., this being effected through the influence of 'Imād al mulk. The complete ascendancy now obtained by this minister excited the envy of the rest of the nobles, who sent secret messages to the late Sultān Muzaffar's second son, Bahādur Khān, then at Jaunpūr, apprising him of the turn events had taken, and promising him, if he would assert his claim to the throne, their hearty assistance. This prince accepted the invitation to return, and, meeting with but little opposition on the way, advanced to Ahmadābād. 'Imād al mulk was at once seized, and ignoriniously executed at

Chāmpānir, and a few months later by Bahādur's order his infant brother Maḥmūd II was poisoned.

The eleven years of Sultān Bahādur's reign (A. H. 932-943, A.D. 1526—1536) were years full of stirring incidents, for during them he entered into conflict not only with the rulers of Mālwā, Jhālāwār, and the Deccan, but also with Humāyūn, who at Delhi was already carving out for his descendants the great Mughal Empire, and with the Portuguese, then so formidable as a naval power. Humāyūn, inflicting upon Bahādur defeat after defeat, drove him from Mandāsar to Māndū, thence to Muḥammadābād-Chāmpānir, and thence to Cambay, all which towns were successively given up to plunder by the conquerors. Thus the Sultān Bahādur, who had but recently compelled obedience from the Kings of the Deccan, Khāndesh, and Birār, who had overthrown the powerful rule of Maḥmūd Khaljī of Mālwā, and had stormed the strong fortress of Chitor, found himself in the short space of six months a fugitive craving protection from the Portuguese at Diu. His overthrow had been complete and final had only the Emperor Humāyūn been able to follow up his victories and march against Sorāth. Fortunately for the Sultān, however, Shīr Shāh, the governor of Bengal, revolted at this juncture, and it thus became imperative for the Emperor to return to his own capital. After his departure from Gujarāt, Bahādur took heart again, and with the aid of allies collected a large army. In the hard-contested battle of Kanij, five miles north-west of Maḥmūdābād, the imperial troops that Humāyūn had left behind were defeated and ultimately expelled the country. Thus both Gujarāt and Mālwā were rid of the Mughals, who for some nine months had occupied these provinces, and the Sultān Bahādur Shāh regained his kingdom. The Portuguese, in return for the help they had given Bahādur, were now granted permission to build a factory at Diu. Instead of a factory, however, they erected a fort. Bahādur, accordingly, proceeded in person to the island of Diu, and in the subsequent negotiations with the Portuguese Governor, Nuno da Cunha, there can be little doubt that both sides meditated treachery. In response to an invitation, the Sultān, accompanied only by a small guard, visited the Governor in his vessel, then lying at anchor in the harbour. On his arrival every mark of honour was accorded him. Round the Sultān's head the captain waved as largesse "plates upon plates of gold and shield upon shield of jewels, and then

conducted him to a royal seat, using a great show of politeness to cover his designs. The Sultān, also, was weaving a plot, but Fate was not in accord with his plans" (Ba.-S., p. 397). At the moment of departure Bahādur was about to step into a barge to return to the shore when the boat drew off, and the King fell into the water. Faria e Souza's brief record of the final tragedy is as follows:— "Tristan de Payva de Santarem, coming up, reached out to the King an oar to bring him aboard his vessel, when a soldier struck him across the face with a halbert, and so others, till he was killed. He was a little while above water, and then sank, and neither his nor Emmanuel de Souza his body could be found, though Nuno da Cunha caused them to be diligently looked after, to give them the due funeral honours".¹

His early death, for he was but thirty-one, under such tragic circumstances, won for Bahādur a sympathy he little merited. In disposition he was rash and impetuous, cruel and vindictive, and his inglorious administration of the country was due not so much to weakness or want of ability as to his sloth and sensuality.

On Bahādur's death, his sister's son, Mīrān Muḥammad Farrukhī of Khāndesh, was, in compliance with the express wish of the late king, invited to accept the throne of Gujarāt. He, however, on learning of his uncle's murder, was overwhelmed with grief. Abandoning his wonted pleasures, he spent his days in fasting and his nights in prayer. Now and again with many a sigh he would exclaim, 'I consume! I consume!' and but six weeks after his accession he departed this life.

The next occupant of the throne of Gujarāt was a child of eleven, the Sultān Maḥmūd III, who also was a nephew of the late Sultān Bahādur, a son of his brother Latīf. The eighteen years of his reign (A. H. 943-961; A. D. 1536-1553) were altogether uneventful, being marked only by the petty intrigues of ministers, each seeking his own selfish ends. For some five years the king, being still a minor, was under the strict surveillance of a noble, named Daryā Khān, who was *de facto* ruler of the province. When Maḥmūd, impatient of further restraint, threw off his yoke, Daryā

¹ Quoted in Br.-F. IV., p. 188, from Faria e Souza's History of the Portuguese in Asia.

Khān brought forward a boy, whom he declared to be a scion of the royal house, and, seating him on the throne under the title of Sultān Muzaffar III, caused coins to be struck and the public prayers to be read in his name. This rebellion, however, was but short-lived, the popular suffrage being in favour of Maḥmūd. It will be remembered that it was this monarch who beautified with the wonderful 'Deer Park' the city of Maḥmūdābād (Mehmadābād), and who here took up his abode. Here, too, he met his death at the hand of "a certain villainous evil-doer," who bore "the ill-omened name of Burhān." Having invited some holy men for the reading of the Qōrān, the Sultān had entertained them as his guests, and distributed amongst them money and clothes, after which, wearied with this service, he retired to his chamber for rest. Thirsty, he called for some sharbat, whereupon Burhān, his cup-bearer, brought him a poisoned narcotic. After taking the draught, Maḥmūd suddenly became unwell, but in the second watch of the night dozed off to sleep. Then that villain, "accursed in this world and in the next," fearing lest the poison had failed to take effect, drew a Dārīnī dagger, and stabbed the Sultān to death.

In the hope of securing for himself the throne of Gujarāt, Burhān had hatched a deep-laid plot. The late Sultān had recruited a force of twelve hundred men, known as the Bāgh-mār, "Tiger-slayers." Burhān now sent for their leaders, with whom he had been at pains to ingratiate himself, and, concealing them in an ante-chamber, told them it was the Sultān's order that they should kill whoever might enter. He then summoned the chief minister and other nobles, on the pretext that the Sultān desired to consult them on State business of urgency. Some thirteen of the highest functionaries responded to the summons, and on their arrival were all assassinated as they passed one by one into the room. Then, rifling the Sultān's jewel-chamber, Burhān distributed lapfuls of precious gems to his vile companions, and, binding on his own neck a richly bejewelled collar, "seated himself, like a dog, on the royal chair." When at dawn rumour of the foul murders spread through the city, some of the surviving nobles on their way to the palace met a procession heralding Burhān as the new Sultān. As it was passing, Burhān himself, noticing that Shirwān Khān had, as a mark of courtesy, alighted from his horse, cried out, 'Let Shirwān Khān come near; he is on my side, and desires to pay his obeisance.'

Hearing these words, Shirwān fired with rage, did draw near, and with his sword dealing the villain a mighty blow across the loins cut him in twain. Of the ‘tiger-slayers’ accompanying him, some fled, but “some were sent after that evil one to Hell” (Ba.-S., p. 452).

Incredible as it seems, the Hindūs in their passionate hatred of Mahmūd regarded his murderer Burhān in the light of a saviour of the people, and are said to have made after Burhān’s death a stone image of him, to which they paid divine honours. This hatred on the part of the Hindūs was not without a cause, for the Sultān had visited them with bitter persecutions. Many of the Rājpūts and Kolis he had caused to be branded, and had compelled them to wear, as a token of subjection, a red rag on the right sleeve. They were forbidden to ride within the walls of the city of Ahmādābād, and the celebration of the Holi and Diwālī was proscribed.

In the confusion consequent upon the massacre of Mahmūd and so many of his nobles, the court and people turned, as though instinctively, towards one of the amirs, by name Ētimād Khān, who for the next twenty years fulfilled the rôle of “King-maker.” Originally a Hindū servant of the Sultān Mahmūd, he had embraced Islām, and his master ultimately reposed in him such absolute confidence as to place the haram under his charge. On his now being questioned whether any of the Sultān’s wives were expecting a child, he replied in the negative, but he added that a boy, a blood-relation of the murdered Sultān, was living at Ahmādābād. The messenger sent thither found the child bringing home some grain for his pet pigeons. Picking up the boy, he drove off at full speed towards Mahmūdābād, and to the expostulating nurse sententiously replied, ‘I am going to take him to a place where all the world will to-morrow crowd round his house, and where he will not find one friend.’

Enthroned in the year H. 961 (A. D. 1553) with the title of Ghiyāth al dunyā wa al dīn Ahmad Shāh (III), he was nominal ruler of Gujarāt till H. 968. Firishta, indeed, gives H. 969 as the last year of Ahmād’s reign (Br.-F. IV. 155), but the coin No. 71 on Plate VI proves that already in H. 968 Mużaffar (III) was king.

Early in Ahmād’s reign a party headed by Ikhtiyār al mulk espoused the cause of another aspirant to the throne, “a person

named Shāhū, the Sultān's paternal uncle" (Bi.-A., p. 275); but at a battle fought near Mahmūdābād this Shāhū and his supporters were defeated. Mutual strife and discord prevailed amongst the nobles and served to hasten on the disintegration of the kingdom. Ē'timād Khān on some slight pretext fled to Mubārak Shāh of Khāndesh, who, championing his cause, gladly led an army against Gujarāt. The invader was, however, content to return on the cession to him of Sultānpūr and Nandarbār, which districts thus became permanently alienated from the Saltanat. On a later occasion one of the nobles, in order to gain possession of the city of Sūrat, called in the assistance of the Portuguese, to whom, in recognition of the services then rendered, Daman and Sanjān were granted. Thus two more provinces were lost to the kingdom.

After remaining for five years in tutelage, Ahmad sought to take the reins of power into his own hands, but Ē'timāl was too powerful a minister to be superseded, and Ahmād, who had meanwhile left for Mahmūdābād to consult with one of his principal courtiers, was brought back to the capital. Outwardly he was reconciled to Ē'timād, but his animosity against the masterful wazīr could not be long concealed. Once in his impatience he cut down a plantain tree, and then exclaimed, 'Would God it had been Ē'timād Khān!' Shortly thereafter the king's dead body was found, lying exposed on the sands of the Sābarmati River, close by the houses of the Bhadra. One account has it that he met his death in a love-intrigue at night, but the more probable story is that of the Mir'āt i Ahmādi, which records in detail how the Sultān was assassinated at the instigation of his designing minister.

At this crisis it was to him that the nobles again looked to nominate a successor to the throne, and Ē'timād, again equal to the occasion, produced a child named Nathū (or, according to Firishta, Habib or Hābū, Br.-F. IV. 155), who, he now swore, was a son of Sultān Mahmūd. The mother, when pregnant, had, so he asserted, been handed over to him for the purpose of procuring an abortion, but, the child being five months old, he had not carried out the order. The nobles accepting, if not believing, this new version of the story, raised the boy of twelve to the throne under the title of Shams al-dunyā wa al-din Muzaaffar Shāh (III).

The Tārikh i Sorāth mentions that during this reign—it was probably in the year H. 978 (A. D. 1570)—Satrasāl bin Vibhājī, the Jām of Navānagar in the west of Kāthiāwād, received permission from the Gujarāt Sultān to issue coined money. It was, however, stipulated that Muẓaffar's name should appear on these new coins, and that they should be called Mahmūdis after Muẓaffar's father, the late Sultān Mahmūd. “The permission was obtained in the following way. On a certain occasion the Jām presented a rupee to the Sultān with a ‘Korī (the newly-struck silver coin) as nazrānah, and said, ‘In the same way as the dignity of rājās is augmented by giving their daughters to His Majesty the Sultān, so I wed my Kuñvarī (Gujarāti, કુન્વરી a maiden) to this rupee, in the hope that her honour will increase.’ The Sultān, pleased with the conceit, issued the permission for coining this money, and ordered it to be called ‘Kuñvarī in the Hindū language. And by the mispronunciation of ‘the vulgar it is now called Korī’”¹

The latter name, as being in homely vernacular, has at the present day quite superseded the Persian name of Mahmūdi. The Korīs issued by the Navānagar State are known as Jāmshāis, those of the Jūnāgadh State as Diwānshāis, and those of the Porbandar State as Rānāshāis. All three kinds have continued to be minted till within the last few years.²

During his minority Muẓaffar was but a puppet-king, the kingdom being definitely partitioned out amongst some half dozen of his nobles. Incessant feuds resulted. At this juncture another disturbing element appeared upon the scene. Certain Mirzās, five in number, sons of Sultān Husain of Khurāsān, having escaped from the fort in which by the order of the Emperor Akbar they had been confined, sought an asylum with the powerful amir Changīz Khān of Broach. On the complicated intrigues that ensued it is unnecessary here to dwell. Suffice it to say, confusion now became worse confounded, and every man's hand was raised against his neighbour. Party

¹ Burgess' translation of the Tārikh i Sorāth, pp. 246, 247.

² 100 Jāmshāi Korīs equal 28-4-4 Imperial rupees;

100 Diwānshāi Korīs equal 27-2-2 Imperial rupees,

and 100 Rānāshāi Korīs equal 31-7-11 Imperial rupees (Kāthiāwād Gazetteer, pp. 201, 202).

fought against party, and new parties were ever forming. In the midst of all this anarchy Ē'timād Khān resolved once again to be 'King-maker.' Accordingly through one of his agents he sent a message to the Emperor Akbar, representing the state of affairs, and entreating him to invade Gujarāt and annex it to his dominions. Akbar, glad of any pretext for driving the Mirzās from their place of refuge, readily responded to Ē'timād Khān's proposal. If '*Divide et impera*' be the secret of imperial extension, Akbar's work was practically accomplished for him even before the July of 1572 (A. H. 980) when with his army he set out for Ahmādābād. The Kingdom of Gujarāt was already broken up into many incoherent fragments, and Akbar had but to step in and assume supreme control. On the invading army's arrival at Disā, intelligence was received that the road to Ahmādābād was clear, the siege of that city by Shīr Khān Fūlādī, one of the chief insurgents, having been abandoned. Officers sent ahead to secure the person of Sultān Muzaffar found him hiding in a field of grain, and brought him to their camp a prisoner. Thereupon the Gujarātī nobles one after another tendered their submission to the Emperor, and orders were forthwith issued that coins should be struck and the Khutba read in the name of Akbar Pādshāh. Not six months had elapsed since his departure from Ajmīr, nor had he in the meantime risked the issue of a single battle, yet now the fair province of Gujarāt — the Garden of India — lay at his feet, acknowledging him as Lord Paramount. True, the country had not yet been definitely conquered, much less finally pacified. Akbar, who had early returned to Agra, was in the following year to make his wonderful march from Fathpūr back to Ahmādābād — six hundred miles in nine days — and within the following eleven days was to inflict a crushing defeat on the enemy, relieve the beleaguered garrison, settle the future government of the province, and leave again for Agra. Still later on, severe fighting was to take place in different parts of the country, at Nāndod and Idar and Sirohi and Nandarbār, also in the Sorāth district at Navānagar and Mangrol and Kōdinār; but at no time did the imperial troops suffer more than temporary checks. From the annexation of the province in 1573 right on till 1758, the year of the final capture of Ahmādābād by the Marātlās, Gujarāt remained under the government of officers appointed by the Mughal Emperors of Dehli. The days of the Gujarāt Saltanat had ended.

One episode, the last bright flicker of the dying flame, remains to be recorded. The Emperor Akbar, having in H. 980 taken Muẓaffar Shāh with him to Agra, granted him in jāgīr the sarkārs of Sārangpūr and Ujjain in Mālwā, districts producing a handsome revenue. On Mun'im Khān Khānān's departure for Bengal, he was accompanied by Muẓaffar, who soon thereafter received his daughter in marriage. Ere long, however, Muẓaffar, falling under suspicion, was imprisoned by his father-in-law, but eventually in H. 991 he managed to escape and fled direct to Gujarāt. While in retirement with his mother's relatives at the village of Khīri in the Sardhār district of Sorāth, he received an invitation from certain disaffected officers of the but recently recalled viceroy, Shihāb al dīn, urging that he should strike for the throne. Shihāb al dīn himself repudiated these conspirators, and ultimately with his remaining troops joined the army of Ī'timād Khān, the new viceroy. Meanwhile, however, Muẓaffar marched at the head of some four thousand horse on Ahmādābād. A friendly faction in that city gave him access, and, as part of the city wall was broken down, he effected an immediate entrance. The united imperial forces now advanced against him, but Muẓaffar, engaging them without delay, inflicted a total defeat and captured all their baggage. Thus once again, after an interval of eleven years, Muẓaffar seated himself on the throne of Gujarāt, and in token of his new-found sovereignty issued from the Ahmādābād mint coins struck in his own name. But this resumption of regal power was not of long duration. When the news of Muẓaffar's successes reached the Emperor at the end of H. 991 (A. D. 1583), he at once conferred the government of Gujarāt on Mirzā Abd al Raḥīm Khān, who some six years before had held the viceroyalty of that province. Hearing of the advance of this new viceroy, Muẓaffar, who had gone to Broach to take over its surrendered fort, at once returned to Ahmādābād, and encamped his army close to the suburb of 'Othmānpūr, on the right bank of the Sābarmatī. Mirzā Khān halted his troops near Sarkhej, awaiting hourly expected reinforcements from Mālwā. Obviously it was to Sultan Muẓaffar's advantage not to allow of delay, and accordingly advancing he engaged Mirzā Khān's army in a pitched battle on the 26th of January, 1584. At first fortune seemed to favour Muẓaffar, but later in the day the imperial elephants threw the enemy's ranks into confusion, and the Sultan, giving up all as lost, fled to Mahmūdābād and thence to Cambay. In honour of this decisive victory, Mirzā

Khān, now ennobled with the title of Khān Khānān, built on the battle-site near Sarkhej a palace and in a garden summer-houses. A few traces of these buildings are still to be seen at the village known to-day as Fath Wādī, or Victory Garden.

For eight more years Muzaffar bravely strove to maintain the unequal contest, wandering from place to place and seeking the aid of friendly nobles. His cause was espoused for a time by the chiefs of Rājpipla, Morvī, and Jūnāgadh. In H. 1000 (A. D. 1581) he had taken refuge with the pirate chieftain Sewā Wādhel of Ret, who gallantly gave his life in the defence of his guest Muzaffar. The royal fugitive forthwith crossed over into Cutch, and accordingly the Gujarāt viceroy, Mirzā 'Aziz Kokaltash, struck across country towards Morvī. Here the Jādejā Bhārmal I, the then Rā'o, on coming to pay his respects to the viceroy, was base enough to barter the person of his suppliant sovereign for the district of Morvi, proffered him as a bribe.¹ In fulfilment of his atrocious stipulation, the Rā'o led a small detachment of the imperial troops to the spot where Muzaffar lay in concealment, and the ex-king thus fell into the enemy's hands. That whole night he was marched under strict guard towards the viceroy's camp, but at daybreak, on reaching Dhrol, a town some twenty-five miles east of Jāmnagar, he alighted from his horse, and, withdrawing behind a tree, cut his throat with a razor. Thus miserably perished the unfortunate Muzaffar, last but not least of the Sultāns of Gujarāt.

II.—Chronological List of the Kings of the Gujarāt Salṭanat.

No.	Name.	Year of Birth.	Reign.	Length of Reign.
1	Muhammad I. ...		A. H. 806 A. D. 1403	2 months.
2	Muzaffar I. ...	A. H. 743 A. D. 1342	A. H. 810—813 A.D.1407—1410	3 years 8 months.

¹ "To mark his sense of the infamy of the Jādejā and the honour of the pirate Wādhel, the Emperor erected two *pāliyās* at the gates of Dehli, issuing an edict that whoever passed that of the Wādhel should crown it with chaplets of flowers, while on that of the Jādejā the passer should bestow a blow with his slipper." Tod's "Western India," p. 438.

No.	Name.	Year of Birth.	Reign.	Length of Reign.
3	Aḥmad I. ...	A. H. 793 A. D. 1390	A. H. 813—846 A.D.1410—1442	32 years 6 months.
4	Muhammad II. ...		A. H. 846—855 A.D.1442—1451	8 years 9 months.
5	Qutb aldin Aḥmad II. cir.	A. H. 835 A.D.1431	A. H. 855—863 A.D.1451—1468	8 years 6 months.
6	Dā'ūd ...		A. H. 863 A. D. 1458	7 days.
7	Mahmūd I. ...	A. H. 849 A. D. 1445	A. H. 863—917 A.D.1458—1511	54 years 1 month.
8	Muzaffar II. ...	A. H. 880 A. D. 1475	A. H. 917—932 A.D.1511—1525	14 years 9 months.
9	Sikandar ...		A. H. 932 A.D. 1525	1 month 16 days.
10	Mahmūd II ...	cir. A.H. 926 A.D.1519	A. H. 932 A. D. 1525	4 months.
11	Bahādur ...	A. H. 912 A. D. 1506	A. H. 932—943 A.D.1526—1536	11 years 3 months.
12	Muhammad III. ...		A. H. 943 A. D. 1536	1 month 12 days.
13	Mahmūd III... ...	A. H. 932 A. D. 1525	A. H. 943—961 A.D.1536—1553	18 years 3 months.
14	Aḥmad III. ...	cir. A.H. 949 A.D.1542	A. H. 961—968 A.D.1553—1560	7 years 5 months.
15	Muzaffar III... ...	cir. A. H. 955 A.D.1548	A. H. 968—980 A.D.1560—1573 and A. H. 991—992 A.D.1583—1584	12 years 2 months. 5 months.

Notes on the Chronological List of the Kings of the Gujarat Saltanat.

1. The dates entered in the "List" have been determined after weighing the available evidence, but absolute correctness is difficult of attainment, as the authorities themselves are frequently at variance. The following are the chief discrepancies:—

(a) According to the *Tārikh-i Alfī*, Muẓaffar I. died not in H. 813 but in H. 814. It states that in the former year Muẓaffar

abdicated his throne in favour of his grandson Ahmād I., but that his death did not take place till five months and sixteen days after his abdication. During this interval the Khuṭba was read and coins were struck in Ahmād's name (Ba.-S. page 87 note*).

- (b) According to Firishta, Ahmād I. was born not in H. 793 but in H. 794 (Br.-F. IV. 3).
 - (c) According to the Mir'at i Sikandarī, Ahmād I. died not in H. 846 but in H. 845. Copper coins of this Sultān are, however, in my possession bearing the date H. 846, which year tallies with the statement in the Tabaqāt i Akbarī that Ahmād's successor, Muḥammad I., ascended the throne on "3rd Rabī' al ḥāhir, 846."
 - (d) According to the Mir'at i Ahmādī, Dā'ud reigned not for seven days only but for one month and seven days (Bi.-A. p. 202).
 - (e) According to Firishta, Muẓaffar II. was born not in H. 880 but in H. 875.
 - (f) According to the Mir'at i Ahmādī, Sikandar reigned for two months and sixteen days (Bi.-A. p. 232), and according to Firishta for three months and seventeen days (Br.-F. IV. 100).
 - (g) According to Firishta and the Tabaqāt i Akbarī, Maḥmūd III. ascended the throne not in H. 943 but in H. 944. The correct date is probably the end of H. 943.
 - (h) According to Firishta, Ahmād III. died not in H. 968 but in H. 969. Silver coins, however, of Muẓaffar III., the successor of Ahmād III., are known, dated H. 968 (see Plate VI., No. 71), agreeing thus with the Mir'at i Ahmādī which assigns to that year both the death of Ahmād III. and the accession of Muẓaffar III. (Bi.-A. pp. 283, 287).
2. Of the fifteen Sultāns, the coins of nine are illustrated on the accompanying plates. Nos. 1-6 are of Ahmād I.'s reign,
 Nos. 7-10a of Muḥammad II.'s, Nos. 11-14 of Ahmād II.'s,
 Nos. 15-43 of Maḥmūd I.'s, Nos. 44-50 of Muẓaffar II.'s,
 Nos. 51-57 of Bahādur's, Nos. 58-66 of Maḥmūd III.'s,
 Nos. 67-70a of Ahmād III.'s, Nos. 71-78 of Muẓaffar III.'s first reign, and Nos. 79 and 80 of his second reign.

I have never come across a single coin of any of the remaining six kings. Of these six Muzaffar I. reigned for three years and eight months, but the aggregate length of the reigns of the other five (Muhammad I., Dā'ūd, Sikandar, Maḥmūd II., and Muhammad III.) was less than one year. The histories are silent as to any coin having been struck by Dā'ūd or Sikandar, or Maḥmūd II.; but distinct evidence is to hand that Muhammad I., Muzaffar I., and Muhammad III. did, all three, issue coins in their own names.

- (a) Of Tātār Khān, Firīshṭa records : "He dignified his uncle Shams Khān with the title of Nuṣrat Khān, and causing "himself to be proclaimed king, coined money under the "name of Muhammad Shāh Gujarātī" (Br.-F. IV. 9).
- (b) The Mir'āt-i Ahmādi states : "Zafar Khān, having assumed "the title of Muzaffar Shāh, struck coins in his own "name, and appointed his grandson Aḥmad Shāh to "succeed him as his heir" (Bi.-A. pp. 183, 184).
- (c) The following is Firīshṭa's reference to a currency issued in the name of Muhammad III. : "The Gujārāt officers, "convening a meeting, resolved on inviting Mirān "Muhammad Khān of Khāndesh, nephew of Bahādur "Shāh, who was then in Málwā, to ascend the throne; "and, without any further hesitation, coins were struck "and public prayers read in his name" (Br.-F. IV. 142).

3. It is worthy of special note that the Mir'āt-i Ahmādi has an express statement to the effect that during a rebellion in the reign of Maḥmūd III., coins were issued in the name of a Sultan Muzaffar. The passage reads as follows :—"One day had elapsed before Daryā "Khān became acquainted with the Sultān's flight, and he was now "at a loss how to proceed. As he was in possession of the treasure "he elevated to the throne a grandson of Sultān Aḥmad II., and "having entitled him Sultān Muẓaffar (III.), caused the currency to be "struck, and the oration at the mosque to be pronounced in his "name" (Bi.-A. pp. 258, 259).

No specimen of these coins is now known.

4. Was there a Pretender "Muhammad" Sultān who caused coin to be struck in his own name in H. 963 (A. D. 1555—1556)?

- (a) Mr. E. E. Oliver in his article on "the Coins of the Muham- "madan Kings of Gujārāt" in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal (1889), assigns, though doubtfully No. 28 of his collection to this 'Muhammad Shah (?)

Pretender." If, however, that coin be, as seems almost certain, identical with the billon coins Nos. 15α and 15β given on the accompanying Plate II., its legends read as follow:—

Obverse: Nāṣir al dunyā wa al dīn Abu'l Fathī Maḥmūd Shāh;

Reverse: Al kh Qutb Shāh bin Muḥammad Shāh al Sultān ۸۶۳
Maḥmūd Shāh, Helper of the World and of the Faith, Father of Victory, Brother of Qutb Shāh, son of Muḥammad Shāh, the Sultān, 863.

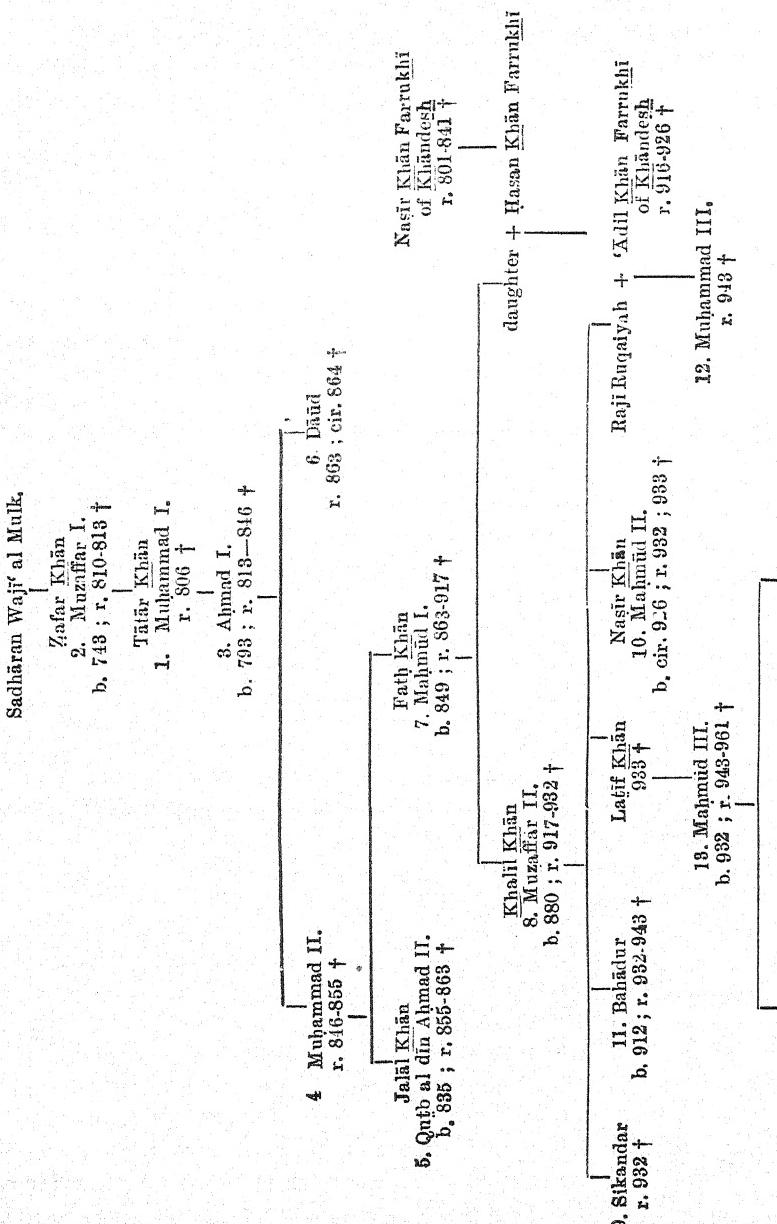
This coin was thus struck by Maḥmūd I (Begadā) in the first year of his reign, H. 863 (A. D. 1458-1459), and has no connexion whatsoever with a Pretender, later by exactly a century (H. 963).

(b) In the British Museum Catalogue, three copper coins, Nos. 437, 438 and 439, are doubtfully assigned to a "Muḥammad Shāh, Pretender (?)."

1. Of these, No. 439 is a square coin, the *only* square coin of the Gujarāt series in the British Museum Collection. Thomas, on page 353 of his "Chronicles of the Pathān Kings," refers to "square coins, A. H. 856 ?" struck by Muḥammad II. But that Sultān died in H. 855, thus in the year preceding the issue of this coin. I have myself never seen a square coin of the Gujarāt Sultānat.
2. The reverse of all the three coins is very unlike that of any of the Gujarāt coins of the Sultānat period. Save these three, I know of none with a double parallel line as diameter, none with "several ornaments," and none with the Hijrī year entered quite in the *upper* portion of the reverse field. The "type" is foreign to Gujarāt.

For these reasons I am of opinion that Nos. 437, 438 and 439 of the British Museum Catalogue are not coins of the Gujarāt Sultānat at all. Further, none of the extant histories makes reference to a Pretender Muḥammad Shāh asserting claim to the throne of Gujarāt in H. 963: and, apart from the above three doubtful coins, there is, so far as I can learn, no evidence whatsoever in proof of the existence of the hypothetical Pretender. It is true that in the early part of the reign of Ahmād III—thus about H. 963—the "person named Shāhū" did head a rebellion: but no evidence is to hand that he assumed the name of Sultān Muḥammad, or that in this name he caused coins to be struck. Thus to identify him with the Pretender Muḥammad is certainly unsafe.

III.—Genealogical Table of the Kings of the Gujorāt Saltanat.



Notes on the Genealogical Table of the Kings of the Gujarāt
Saltanat.

1. Grave doubt attaches to the pedigree as given in this "Table" of Ahmād III. and Muẓaffar III.

(a) According to the *Mir'āt i Ahmādi*, Ahmād III. was "son of Latīf Khān, who was grandson of Shukār Khān, the son of Sultān Ahmād I." (Bi.-A. p. 273).

The *Mir'āt i Sikandarī* calls this Ahmād (III) merely "a relative of the Sultān Mahmūd III." (Ba.-S. p. 454); and Colonel Watson in his History styles him vaguely "a descendant of the stock of Ahmād Shāh" (W.-B. G. p. 259).

(b) The following are the terms of the reference in the *Mir'āt i Ahmādi* to the parentage of Muẓaffar III:—"According to the faith of most historians, Ī'timād Khān, who had all the power of government in his hands, seeing that there were none of the late Sultān's relations fit for government, produced a young boy named Nathū; and, having in open assembly taken an oath that such was the son of Sultān Mahmūd III., he explained that his mother, when pregnant, had been delivered over to him for the purpose of procuring an abortion; but that this child had been brought forth, as, five months of her pregnancy having passed, no abortion could take place. He said, moreover, that he had brought him up in secret, and that there was no heir to the Government excepting him. Every one, assenting to this, and supporting his claim to the throne, entitled him Muẓaffar Shāh." (Bi.-A. pp. 287-288).

Abu'l Fazl states that the child Nathū "did not belong to the line of kings," but that the Amirs "had to believe" Ī'timād's story (Blochmann's *Ain-i-Akbarī* I. 385, 386).

Firishta gives the birth-name of this Muẓaffar (III) as "Hubboo, a familiar contraction of Hubeeb," meaning "affectionate" (Br.-F. IV. 155).

2. On many of the coins struck in their several reigns, Maḥmūd (I) is called bin Muḥammad, Muẓaffar (II) bin Maḥmūd, Bahādur bin Muẓaffar, Maḥmūd (III) bin Laṭīf, Ahmad (III) bin Maḥmūd, and Muẓaffar (III) bin Maḥmūd. On the other hand it would seem that, with the sole exception of a silver piece of H. 828, on none of the coins issued by Alīmad (I), or Muḥammad (II), or Qutb al dīn Alīmad (II) was the name of the father of the reigning Sultān indicated.

3. (a) Of coins bearing inscriptions of a genealogical character, far and away the most remarkable and interesting in my collection is the silver piece presented to me last year (1901) by my kind friend, H. Nelson Wright, Esq., I.C.S., of Allahābād. It is pictured on Plate IV., No. 51. Struck in H. 933 by the Sultān Bahādur, its obverse and reverse, read consecutively, trace his pedigree back to Muẓaffar (I), the founder of the dynasty. Bahādur Shāh is thus termed “bin Muẓaffar Shāh bin Maḥmūd Shāh bin Muḥammad Shāh bin Alīmad Shāh bin Muḥammad Shāh, bin Muẓaffar Shāh.”

(b) On the silver coin of H. 828 represented on page 352 of Thomas's “Chronicles,” Alīmad (I)'s much shorter pedigree back to Muẓaffar (I) is thus given:—Alīmad Shāh bin Muḥammad Shāh bin Muẓaffar Shāh.

(c) On the billon coin of Maḥmūd (I), struck in H. 863 (Plate II., Nos. 15a, 15b), his relationship to the two preceding Sultāns is indicated as follows:—

Akh Qutb Shāh bin Muḥammad Shāh,

Brother of Qutb Shāh, son of Muḥammad Shāh.

IV. *Literature on the Coinage of the Gujarāt Saltānat.*

But little has hitherto been published on the coins of the Gujarāt Saltānat. The chief modern contributions to the literature on this subject are the following five:—

1. “The Chronicles of the Pāṭhān kings of Dehlī” by Edward Thomas (1871), in which pages 350-353 are devoted to “the Muḥammadan kings of Gujarāt.” A chronological list of the Sultāns is given, in which, strange to say, the name of Muḥammad I. (Tātār Khān) does not appear. In all forty-eight coins are briefly specified. Two of

these are illustrated by beautifully clear woodcuts, namely, a silver coin of Ahmad Shāh, dated H. 828, and a gold coin of Mahmud bin Latif of H. 960. One could wish that pictures had also been given of the "square coins, A. H. 856 ?" and especially of the "Mahmūd II. Silver," inasmuch as, in the absence of further evidence, the specification of these coins is open to grave doubt.

2. The chapters on the Coins of Gujarāt, pages lvii-lxi and 131-143, in the "Catalogue of Indian Coins in the British Museum," Vol. II., Muhammadan States, by Stanley Lane-Poole (1885). The introductory portion is helpful for the information given regarding the legends on the Gujarāt coins. Especially noteworthy is Dr. Rieu's decipherment of the distich on the obverse and reverse of the large copper coins struck during the reign of Muhammad II. See Plate I., Nos. 8a, 8b. Forty-one coins are catalogued, ten of them being also photographed. The two undated coins, numbered 435 and 436, are incorrectly assigned to the Ahmad Shāh who reigned from H. 961 till H. 968. Their legends are clearly identical with those of coin No. 11 in this article, and the coins themselves were thus doubtless struck during the reign of the earlier Ahmad (Qutb al din), A. H. 855-863. The three coins, Nos. 437, 438, 439, which Lane-Poole assigns with some hesitation to "Muhammad Shāh Pretender (?)" are probably foreign to Gujarāt.
3. An admirable article entitled "Coins of the Muhammadan kings of Gujarāt," contributed by E. E. Oliver to the "Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal," Vol. lviii., Part I., No. 1—1889. The four pages of historical introduction are followed by "a genealogical tree of the "Gujarāt Kings, and a table showing the contemporary "rulers in Mālwā, Jaunpūr, Khāndesh, the Deccan, and "Dehlī, taken from Lane-Poole's very handy graphic "scheme of the Muhammadan dynasties of India." Three plates supply rather roughly executed woodcuts of thirty-four coins, each of which is fully described, though not

without occasional mislections. The coins numbered 6 and 7 are not of the Alḥmadābād but of the Muḥammadābād ‘urf Chāmpānir Mint. Nos. 11, 12, and 13 are Bahmanī coins, and Nos. 16 and 17 are almost certainly not of Gujarāt. No. 27, which is of precisely the same type as No. 13 of Plate I. of the present article, is a coin of Quṭb al dīn Alḥmad Shāh, not of the later Alḥmad (III.). No. 28, whose true date is H. 863, not H. 963, was struck not by “Muhammad Shāh (?) Pretender,” but by Maḥmūd Shāh I. Cf. Nos. 15a and 15b on Plate II. of this article. Nos. 29 and 30, being Jāmshāī Koris of Navānagar, are incorrectly assigned to Muẓaffar, the last Sultān of Gujarāt.

4. The “Catalogue of the Coins of the Indian Museum,” Part I., by Chas. J. Rodgers (1894). This portion of the Calcutta Museum Catalogue contains on pages 130—134 a chronological list of the kings of Gujarāt, and a description of twenty-two coins, three of which are represented by photo-etching. Here again two of Quṭb al dīn Alḥmad Shāh’s coins are assigned to the later Alḥmad Shāh. The three undated coins, 7214-7216, I am inclined to attribute to Maḥmūd bin Laṭīf rather than to Maḥmud II., and No. 8684 to Muẓaffar III. rather than to “Muhammad Shāh (Interloper).”
5. “The Catalogue of the Coins collected by Chas. J. Rodgers and purchased by the Government of the Punjāb,” Part II. (1894). Of this catalogue pages 132-134 contain a description of sixteen copper coins of the Gujarāt Saltānat. No. 15, the same as No. 437 of the British Museum Catalogue, assigned to Muḥammad Shāh Pretender, should probably be relegated to some non-Gujarātī series, perhaps to that of Mālwā.

V. Cabinets of the Coins of the Gujarāt Saltānat.

In writing the present article, I have depended not only upon my own cabinet of coins, but upon the aggregate resulting from combining all the collections of which catalogues have been published. Of

the different cabinets thus laid under contribution, the following table indicates the contents :—

Cabinet.	Gold.	Silver.	Billon.	Copper.	Total.
Thomas	6	12	1	29	48
British Museum	8	6	0	27	41
Oliver	0	14	0	20	34
Calcutta Museum	2	1	0	19	22
Lāhor Museum	0	0	0	16	16
Taylor	0	113	11	299	423
Resultant Aggregate	9	116	12	303	440

The resultant collection contains no coin of the following years :— H. 860, 866, 871, 875, 876, 877, 878, 953, and 975 : thus in all between H. 828 (seemingly the first year when dated coins were issued in Gujarāt) and H. 980, nine years are unrepresented by any coin in any of the metals.

The sixteen gold coins in the above Cabinets are as follow :—

	Muzaffar II.	Mahmūd III.	Muzaffar III.
British Museum ...	H. 920, 929, 946, 947, 949, 950, 956, 960		
Thomas	929, 946, 947,	950,	960
Calcutta Museum ...		947,	960
Resultant Aggregate ...	H. 920, 929, 946, 947, 949, 950, 956, 960		977

The twelve billon coins are five of the reign of Qutb al dīn Ahmad II (85x, 861, 862, and two undated) and seven of the reign of Mahmūd I. (863, 863, 864, 865, 867, 869, and 870).

In the aggregate collection the first dated coin in gold is of the year H. 920, in silver of H. 828 (followed, *longo intervallo*, by one of H. 884), in billon of H. 85x, and in copper of H. 829.

VI. *Mint-towns.*

Of the coins struck in Gujaraṭ during the reign of Alḥmad I., a large number have in the obverse margins an inscription recording Alḥmadnagar (Īdar) as their place of mintage. Subsequent to Alḥmad's death, comparatively few coins bear any mint-name, and of those in which it is present nearly all are of the reign of Maḥmūd I. There are only four cities in Gujaraṭ, of which we can confidently affirm that during the period of the Saltanat mints were established in them, and were for at least a few years in active operation. These four are the two cities founded by Alḥmad—Alḥmadābād and Alḥmadnagar—and the two founded by Maḥmūd—Muṣṭafābād and Muḥammadābād (Chāmpānīr). It is doubtful whether a fifth mint was opened at Khānpūr, a small town on the River Mahi. We proceed to treat of each of these five :—

1. Alḥmadābād: احمد آباد, founded A. H. 813; A. D. 1411.

Epithets: a. شہر ممتاز Shahr mu'azzam, the great city.

b. دارالدرب Dār al Ḥarb, the seat of the mint.

So far as I am aware, no silver coin of the Gujaraṭ Saltanat struck during the period of its independence bears Alḥmadābād as the name of its mint-town. Nos. 4, 6, and 7 in Oliver's article are, indeed, assigned by him to that city, but the representations of those coins given in his Plate I. show that certainly two of the three, and in all probability the third also, issued not from the Alḥmadābād mint, but from that at Muḥammadābād.

The only copper coins that seem to bear the mint-name Shahr mu'azzam Alḥmadābād are a few struck by Muẓaffar III. in the years H. 977, 978. One of these is shown as No. 75 of Plate VI. of the present article. After comparing six, all of the same type, in my collection I incline to accept their marginal legend as reading احمد آباد ممتاز.

Just possibly also the name Alḥmadābād may occupy the upper margin of the obverse of the copper coin struck in H. 970 and shown on Plate VI., No. 73.

The second epithet of Alḥmadābād, Dār al Ḥarb, is present on several of the coins that Akbar caused to be struck at the Alḥmadābād

mint after his conquest of Gujarāt in H. 980.* Muzaffar III., during the few months of his second reign in H. 991, evidently followed the example thus set by the Mughal Emperor, so that the few surviving coins of H. 991, whether in silver or in copper, bearing the Sultān Muzaffar's name, all specify their place of mintage under its full designation of دارالصوب احمداباد. See Plate VI., Nos. 79 and 80.

It is extremely improbable that during the entire period of the Gujarāt Saltanat, the activity of the mint at its capital city should have been confined to the years 970, 977, 978, and 991—so improbable, indeed, is this supposition that one may safely hazard the conjecture that the Gujarāt coins bearing no mint name (and these are the large majority) were all struck at the Ahmādābād mint. This being known as the first mint in Gujarāt, first both in time and in importance, it was not deemed necessary to record the name of the city on the coins that issued from it. On the other hand, the comparatively very few coins struck at any minor mint in Gujarāt would naturally bear, if only for purposes of differentiation, the distinctive name of the mint-town.

2. Ahmādnagar (Īdar): احمدنگر, founded A.H. 829; A.D. 1425.

Epithet (doubtful): شہر مہانور Shahr Mahānūr, the city of great light.

What precisely was the honorific epithet assigned to the city of Ahmādnagar is difficult of determination from its coins. They clearly bear on their obverse margins the words احمدنگر شہر, followed by a term which on some of the specimens to hand resembles مہانور. But the combination شہر مہانور is certainly a strange one to be adopted as the title for a mint-town. I confess I am not satisfied as to the correctness of this reading, more especially as on several of the coins it seems doubtful whether the letters as there given admit of being read as Mahānūr. Compare Plate I., Nos. 4, 5, and 6.

From the founding of Ahmādnagar in H. 829 right on till Ahmād Shāh's death in H. 846, each year witnessed an abundant issue of copper coins from the Ahmādnagar mint. Indeed it would seem that every dated copper coin of Ahmād I. was struck at that mint, whereas not a single copper coin, dated or otherwise, appears

* On other coins of Akbar, Ahmādābād is styled دارالخلافة, the Seat of the Caliphate, or دارالسلطنت, the Seat of the Empire, and on a rupee of Rafī' al Darajāt زینت البلاد, the Beauty of Towns.

to have issued from it subsequent to Alīmad's death. Thus the period of activity of the mint at Alīmadnagar coincides with the last seventeen years of the reign of Alīmad I.

3. Muṣṭafābād : مصطفی باد, founded A. H. 874; A. D. 1469.

Epithet : شہر اعظم Shahr a'zam, the very great city.

My collection contains only one silver coin certainly bearing the mint-name Muṣṭafābād—an excellent specimen, dated H. 884. Unfortunately it came into my possession too late to admit of its being photographed for Plate II. of this article. It is a small coin, .6 inch in diameter, and weighing only 63 grains. Its obverse closely resembles that of No. 25, and its reverse (save for the date) is identical with that of No. 22.

The pretty little silver piece of the year H. 894, No. 29 on Plate III., I assign, but with some hesitancy, to Muṣṭafābād. Two of the margins contain the words شہر اعظم, but whether the remaining two give the reading مصطفی باد is not equally clear.

No. 36 on Plate III. is also a somewhat puzzling silver coin, but this too I assign provisionally to the Muṣṭafābād mint. Its date, given on the reverse, is H. 905.

The copper coins that issued from this mint during the last quarter of the ninth century (Hijrī) must have been fairly numerous, every year (except 881) from 879 till 892 being represented in my cabinet. The latest of the series is dated seemingly H. 906. Five of these are shown on Plate II., Nos. 21-25, though No. 22 is open to question, the upper margin (obverse) not being decipherable with absolute certainty. The variety of designs in these Muṣṭafābād coins of Maḥmūd I. is noteworthy. In No. 21 the mint with its epithet Shahr a'zam occupies the margin circumscribing a circular area: in Nos. 22 (?) and 25 the mint-name is still relegated to the margin, but now we have the four margins that bound a square area: while lastly in Nos. 23 and 24, which exhibit no margin at all, the place of mintage is recorded in full as an integral part of the obverse legend. The two coins of H. 971, numbered 447 and 448, in the British Museum Catalogue, Muḥammadan States, doubtfully assigned to Muṣṭafābād, are, it seems, of the same type as that shown on Plate VI. as No. 78.

4. Muḥammadābād : مختار باد, founded A. H. 889; A. D. 1484.

Epithet : شہر مختار Shahr mukarram, the illustrious city.

This name, it will be remembered, was given to the city of Chāmpānīr on its capitulation to Mahmūd I. in 1484 at the close of a protracted siege. Chāmpānīr—Chāmpā's city—is supposed to have derived its name from Chāmpā, the Hindū founder of the town, which dates as far back as the eighth century of the Christian era. And it is by this name of Chāmpānīr alone that the city, now a desolate ruin, "except for a few Bhil and Nāikda squatters," is known today. The coins struck at its mint record the name generally in its doubled form مُحَمَّدَابَادْ عَرْفٌ چانپانیور Muhammadābād 'urf Chāmpānīr, but occasionally, it would seem, the "*alias* Chāmpānīr" was dropped and the new name Muhammadābād alone retained. Compare Plate III., Nos. 34 and 39, and contrast with No. 33. Whether the full, or the shortened, designation was on the die from which the imperfect coins Nos. 31 and 41 were struck is difficult to say, but, from the general resemblance between these and No. 34, it seems probable that the lost margins did contain the words عَرْفٌ چانپانیور نیو. The city's remarkable prosperity was reflected on its coins, for these are quite the most florid and the most elaborately designed of all in the series of the Gujarāt Saltanat. In silver the issue must have been considerable—my cabinet contains some thirteen specimens—but I have never found a single copper coin bearing the name of this mint. If the exquisite workmanship of the silver coins is suggestive of the phenomenal prosperity that early attended the new Muhammadābād, so also its short-lived glory is betokened in the fact that the activity of the mint was restricted to but a few years, all comprised within the reign of Mahmūd I. The earliest of its coins in my collection is dated H. 895, the latest H. 904, and we shall probably not be far wrong in assuming that the whole period during which the mint was working does not cover more than five and twenty years, say H. 890—915.

In one year subsequent to this period coins were again struck at the Chāmpānīr mint, but these can scarcely be classed among the coins of the Gujarāt Saltanat. In H. 942 the Mughal Emperor Humāyūn swooped down upon the province, and gained possession of this important frontier-city. In commemoration of his victory, he forthwith caused coins to be struck both in silver and in copper. The silver ones bear Humāyūn's name, which is wanting on the copper: also on the silver the mint-town is given as simply Chāmpānīr (with the first vowel short), while in the copper is added the

epithet Shahr mukarram. On neither the silver nor the copper, however, do we find the name Muḥammadābād, which even thus early would seem to have passed into desuetude. A unique copper coin in the Lāhor Museum is of especial interest as briefly recording the conquest of Champānīr. Its obverse reads ٩٤٢ ققع چنپانیر بتاریخ and the reverse simply صوبہ شہر مکرم

In another coin of the same year, H. 942, Champānīr is styled ایشان، the City of the Age. See British Museum Catalogue of coins of the Mughal Emperors of India, No. 1232.

5. Regarding the existence of mints at Ahmādābād, Ahmādnagar, Muṣṭafābād and Muḥammadābād-Champānīr, no manner of doubt can be entertained, but whether there was at any time a fifth mint at Khānpūr, خانپور, is a debatable question. On the Coin No. 44, Plate IV., the upper part of the obverse inscription clearly reads Al Sultān Muẓaffar Shāh: but what of the lower part? The date is certainly 921, and on two other coins of the same type now in my possession is also certainly 922. The decipherment of the words immediately above the date has proved very baffling to me: but quite the best of various suggested readings is the one submitted by my friend, Mr. Nelson Wright, I. C. S. He reads the words as صوبت خانپور, Darbat Khānpūr, 'Strut at Khānpūr', and unquestionably the coins of H. 922, even better than the H. 921 coin shown on Plate IV., bear out this reading. Accepting it, we should on the evidence of these three coins add Khānpūr to the list of the mint-towns in Gujarāt, and should assign as the minimum period of the mint's activity the years H. 921 and 922. Khānpūr, or, to give it its full name, Khānpūr Wānkānīr, is a town on the left bank of the River Mahi, and about midway between Baroda to the south and Dūkor to the north. Here it was that in H. 855 Mahmūd (I.) Khaljī, Sultān of Mālwā, encamped his army of invasion after plundering the city of Baroda. Subsequently, however, he marched northwards to Kapadwanj, where Qutb-al-dīn, the newly-chosen Sultān of Gujarāt, inflicted on him a severe defeat. Khānpūr again figures, though not prominently, in the intrigues that attended the accession of Bahādur Shāh in H. 932: and, late in the same reign, the Sultān, while at this place, appointed two of his most trusted officers to lead a strong army against the country of Bāgar, East of Idar. I have failed, however, to discover a single reference to this Khānpūr in the histories of the reign of Muzaffar II.

(A.H. 917-932), and am unable to suggest any reason for his having caused coins to be struck in his name at that mint.

Lane-Poole has assigned, though doubtfully, a Gujarātī copper coin of H. 971 to the mint-town Shādiābād.* This reading must, I feel sure, be abandoned. Shādiābād is not in Gujarāt at all : but the name does occur on several of the coins of the neighbouring kingdom of Mālwā. Firishtā explicitly records as follows the origin of this epithet :—“Two days after the death of Sooltan Hooshung, ‘Ghizny Khan was crowned at Mando, and, assuming the title of ‘Sooltan Mahomed Ghoory, ordered that his capital might ‘henceforth be called Shadiabad Mando, or ‘the City of Joy’; and ‘public prayers were read and coin struck in his name.”†

The following table gives the years of the *dated* coins in my collection that record their mints :—

Mint.	Silver.	Copper.
Ahmadnagar	None.	Each year from 829 till 846.
Mustafābād	884, 894 ?, 905 ?	879, 880, each year from 882 till 892, 906 ?
Muhammadābād (with or without the ‘urf Chāmpānīr).	895, 896, 897, 898, 900, 902, 903, 904.	None.
Khānpūr ??	921, 922	None.
Ahmadābād	991...	970 ? 977 ? 978 ? and one coin undated but doubtless struck in 991.

Of the first four mints in this table, not one seems to have been active for more than a very limited period, and I feel sure that all coins that do not themselves record their place of mintage may safely be assigned to the mint at Ahmadābād. In this connexion it is instructive to note that in Akbar's time at least this city, the erewhile capital of the Gujarat Saltanat, bore the title of Dār al Darb, ‘the Seat of the Mint’.

* British Museum Catalogue of Indian coins, Muhammadan States, No. 446. This coin is not improbably the same as No. 78 on Plate VI. of the present article.

† Br.-F. IV., 191.

VII.—Weights and Standards.

As to the existence of any square coins of the Gujarāt Saltanat I am very sceptical. If any such were issued, their number was extremely small. Certainly the typical coins of the period were, with more or less precision, round in shape. The following lists, based upon measurements and weighments of copper coins, all of the reign of Ahmād I, demonstrate the futility of the attempt to classify them according to the length of their diameters. These lists show not only that coins of the same diameter may vary widely in their weights, but also that comparatively light coins may have a large, and comparatively heavy coins a small, diameter.

Diameter of .8 inch: weight in grains 146, 143.

„	.75	,	,	,	„	146, 142, 140, 138.
„	.7	,	,	,	„	145, 70, 69, 68, 67, 56.
„	.65	,	,	,	„	142, 140, 138, 73, 72, 71,
						69, 67, 66, 64, 61.
„	.6	,	,	,	„	70, 61, 57, 55.
„	.55	,	,	,	„	70, 69, 34, 26.
„	.5	,	,	,	„	35, 33, 31, 30.
„	.45	,	,	,	„	34.
„	.4	,	,	,	„	32.

Diameter of .55 inch: weight in grains 26.

„	.5	,	,	,	„	30.
„	.45	,	,	,	„	34.
„	.4	,	,	,	„	32.

Diameter of .7 inch: weight in grains 56.

„	.65	,	,	,	„	61.
„	.6	,	,	,	„	70.
„	.55	,	,	,	„	70.

Diameter of .75 inch: weight in grains 138.

„	.7	,	,	,	„	145.
„	.65	,	,	,	„	142.

The fact is the "make" of these coins is quite too rough, and their thickness too arbitrary, to admit of their classification by size. It is, I am convinced, only by a comparison of the *weights* of the coins that we may hope to arrive at an approximately correct classification.

Regarding the gold coins, indeed, no difficulty presents itself. In all only nine varieties have hitherto been catalogued, and of these seven weigh 185 grains each, one 179, and one 177. Clearly all the nine are thus of one and the same denomination.

But when we pass on to the consideration of the silver and copper coins of Gujarāt, it becomes no easy matter to determine the different denominations current at one period or another, and the standard weight of each. So far as I am aware, no mint-records have survived to the present day, and of the coins themselves that have come down to us many are such poor specimens, so worn and battered through the vicissitudes of four hundred years, that one can at times do no more than hazard a guess as to their original weight. Certainly a large margin must be allowed for loss, but no data are available for determining the percentage of the total weight that may fairly be deducted over against such loss. Some proportion, however, must be postulated, and it has seemed to me that for the lighter copper coins we shall be within the mark if we assume that the loss through wear may equal one-seventh of the original full weight. The proportionate loss in the heavier copper coins and in all the silver, which were certainly in less circulation than the copper, would probably be not quite so large, and I have accordingly assumed that for these coins the loss by wear would not exceed one-tenth. Accepting these assumptions, a copper coin of originally, say, 49 grains in weight may be supposed to weigh now anything between 49 and 42 grains, and a copper, or silver, coin of originally, say, 150 grains may weigh anything between 150 and 135 grains.

Further, it is every way probable that some unit of weight was adopted such that the original weights of the coins of different denominations, when issuing from the mint, should be certain integral multiples of that unit. A careful study of the weights of the different coins in my collection inclines me to the opinion that both for silver and for copper this unit was 7·4 grains, or precisely four *ratis*, on the basis of Mr. Maskelyne's estimate of the weight of a *rati*. Of

this unit the following multiples are represented in the silver coins of the Gujarāt Saltanat : —

5, 10, 15, 20; 6, 12, 24; 8, 16, 32;

and in copper the multiples are

4, 8; 5, 10, 20, 30, 45; 6, 12, 24;

thus evidencing ten different denominations both in silver and in copper. It does not seem, however, that coins of all these denominations were current simultaneously. The long reign of Maḥmūd I supplies us seven denominations of silver coins and the same number of copper; but in no other reign were coins struck of so many denominations. In the two following tables the silver and the copper coins of the Gujarāt Saltanat are classified by weight. In these tables any two numbers connected by a hyphen indicate the superior and inferior limits of weight expressed in grains, and a subscribed number in brackets represents the number of coins known to me between these limits. Thus ¹¹¹⁻¹⁰⁷ (13) means 13 coins ranging in weight from 111 to 107 grains. For the rest, the tables are self-explanatory.

Unit = 74 grains	5 units.	6 units.	8 units.	10 units.	12 units.	15 units.	16 units.	20 units.	24 units.	32 units.	Multiples of units.	No. of denominations
SILVER ...	{ 37 to 31.7 grains.	44 to 38.1 grains.	59.2 to 56.7 grains.	74 to 63.4 grains.	88.8 to 76.1 grains.	111 to 100 grains.	118.4 to 106.6 grains.	148 to 133 grains.	177.6 to 160 grains.	236.8 to 213.2 grains.	8, 16, 32, 5, 10, 15, 20, 6, 12, 24,	10
Ahmad I ...									176.172 (2)		24.	1
Muhammad II ...												NiL
Qutb al dīn Ahmad II.									146.137 (5)*			
Mahmud I ...	33 (1)	44-43 (3)	57 (1)	66-63 (11)	88-80 (31)				146.138 (8)			20.
Muzaffar II ...						81 (1)	111-110 ⁴ (16)		176.160 (6)		8, 6, 10, 1, 20, 6, 1	7
Bahadur ...	34 (1)					111 (1)					12.	2
Mahmud III ...				57-54 (3)	65 (1)	108-101 (3)	117-110 (7)	137 (1)			15.	2
Ahmad III ...							110-107 (4)		168-164 (2)	222 (1)	5, 15.	2
Muzaffar III ...	86 (1)				74-67 (12)	104 (1)	114-110 (4)	174-170 (2)			8, 16, 24.	5
											16, 5, 10, 15, 24.	

* These five coins are of billion.

Unit = 7.4 grains	4 units.	5 units.	6 units.	8 units.	10 units.	12 units.	20 units.	24 units.	30 units.	45 units.	Multiples of units.	No. of denominations.	
COPPER ...	{ 29.6 to 25.4 grains.	{ 37 to 31.7 grains.	{ 44.4 to 38.1 grains.	{ 59.2 to 50.7 grains.	{ 74 to 63.4 grains.	{ 88.8 to 76.1 grains.	{ 148 to 133 grains.	{ 177.6 to 160 grains.	{ 222 to 200 grains.	{ 333 to 300 grains.	{ 4, 8, 10, 20, 30, 45, 6, 12, 24.	10	
Ahmad I ...	26 (1)	35.3 (7)	57.56 (3)	73.64 (18)	146.135 (15)						4, 8, 5, 10, 20.	5	
Muhammad II ...	32 (1)		72.64 (9)		143.136 (3)		215.210 (15)				5, 10, 20, 30.	4	
Qutb al dîn Ahmad II ...				70.67 (3)	145.137 (11)			210 (1)			10, 20, 30.	3	
Mahmûd I ...				70.65 (6)	147.135 (16)	176.162 (16)	220.205 (10)	318 (1)	10, 20, 30, 45, 6, 12, 24.	7			
Muzaffar II ...				72.67 (4)	85.80 (8)	189 (1)	218.215 (11)		10, 20, 30, 45, 6, 12, 24.	6			
Bahâdur ...					85.77 (3)	146.135 (5)	172.165 (5)	215.205 (14)		8, 20, 30, 12, 24.	5		
Mahmûd III ...					62 (1)	73.65 (7)	147.141 (10)	216.200 (4)		8, 10, 20, 30, 12.	5		
Ahmad III ...						87 (1)					10, 20, 30, 12, 24.	5	
Muzaffar III ...							145.136 (7)	176.163 (13)	219.214 (6)				5
							146.135 (8)	177.162 (19)	214 (2)				5

That there should be so many as ten different denominations of silver coins, and the same number of copper is of itself a sufficiently formidable objection to the classification here tabulated; but what more than all else imparts to me in this connexion a certain sense of defeat is the fact that there still remain over a few coins that cannot be assigned a place in any of the above classes. Some indeed of the much worn copper specimens would find admission if the proportions of one-seventh and one-tenth, which we conjectured might perhaps represent the loss by wear, were slightly increased; but even after subtracting these we have a small irreducible residuum of coins that are, with only one exception, in good condition, yet all of eccentric weight. Three such are of silver. One undated, but of Muzaffar II's reign, is but slightly worn, and weighs 92 grains: so that its proper place would be in a 13-unit class. The second is the unique, and every way extraordinary coin of Bahādur, dated H. 933, and shown on Plate IV, No. 51. In fairly good condition, it now weighs 130 grains, and is thus suggestive of an 18-unit class. The third, also in good condition, would fall into the same class, as its weight is 131 grains. This coin was struck by Mahmūd III in H. 960.

The "irreducibles" in copper are the following four:—

Bahādur, H. 943, much worn, yet weighing 257 grains.

Mahmūd III, H. 944, a good specimen, 237 grains in weight
(Plate V, No. 58).

Mahmūd III, H. 947, weighing in its present fair condition
151 grains.

Mahmūd III, H. 948, a coin not of pure copper, but of mixed
metal, weighing 132 grains (Plate V, No. 61).

These four coins suggest classes of 40 (or 38), 33, 22 and 18 units respectively.

From the above discussion it would seem safe to draw the following as approximately correct general conclusions—any more precise statement being as yet unwarranted:

- (a) Of silver coins there are at least six different classes, the weights ranging between 60-30, 90-60, 120-100, 150-130, 180-160, and 240-220 grains.
- (b) In copper also the denominations were at least six, represented by the weights 60-25, 90-60, 150-130, 180-160, 220-200 and 330-300 grains.

VIII.—“Cumulative” Legends.

The legends on the different coins issued during the reign of any one Sultān are not all identical. Occasionally, indeed, one lights upon coins bearing distinctly exceptional legends, and each such coin naturally calls for special notice and detailed description. Leaving these, however, for the time being out of consideration, it will be found that on some of the coins of a given king, certain wonted phrases or titles are shown, and others on others. Now it has seemed to me that by merely massing, or combining, all this more or less normal legend-material, we shall obtain what we may call the ‘resultant’ or ‘cumulative’ coin-legend for each Sultān, which, as presenting a fairly complete register of the more usual coin-terms, may prove of service for purposes of reference. Accordingly, working on these lines, I have built up the following “cumulative” legends, distinctive of each of the nine Sultāns of Gujarāt whose coins have survived to the present day.

1. Alīmad I., A. H. 813—846.

Obverse: احمد شاه السلطان

Reverse: السلطان الاعظم ناصر الدنیا والدین ابو الفتح

2. Muḥammad II., 846—855.

Obverse: السلطان محمد شاه ابو الحماد

Reverse: السلطان غوث الدنیا والدین

3. Qutb al dīn Alīmad II., A. H. 855—863.

Obverse: احمد شاه السلطان

Reverse: قطب الدنیا والدین ابو المظفر

Also Obverse: قطب الدنیا والدین احمد شاه السلطان

Reverse: الخليفة امير المؤمنین خلادت خلاقته

4. Mahmūd I., A. H. 863—917.

Obverse: ناصر الدنیا والدین ابو الفتح محمود شاه السلطان

Reverse: الخليفة امير المؤمنین خلادت خلاقته

Also Obverse: محمود شاه بن محمد شاه السلطان

Reverse: السلطان الاعظم ناصر الدنیا والدین ابو الفتح

Compare the reverse of the coins of Alīmad I.

5. Muzaffar II., A. H. 917—932.

Obverse: مظفر شاه بن محمود شاه السلطان خلد الله ملوكه

شمس الدنيا والدين ابوالنصر المؤيد بتائيد الرحمن *.

6. Bahadur, A. H. 932—943.

Obverse: بهادر شاه بن مظفر شاه السلطان

Reverse: قطب الدنيا والدين ابوالفضل

7. Mahmud III., A. H. 943—961.

Obverse: محمود شاه بن طيف شاه السلطان

Reverse: ناصر الدنيا والدين ابوالفتح الوازن بالله المنان †

8. Ahmad III., A. H. 961—968

Obverse: احمد شاه بن محمود شاه السلطان عمه [year]

Reverse: فياض الدنيا والدين ابوالمحاميه المعتصم

بالله الرحمن ‡

9. Muzaaffar III., A. H. 968—980.

Obverse: مظفر شاه بن محمود شاه السلطان

Reverse: شمس الدنيا والدين ابوالنصر المؤيد بتائيد الرحمن *

Compare the reverse of the coins of Muzaffar II.

IX.—Catalogue of Coins on Plates I—VI.

Ahmad I., A. H. 813—846;

No. 1. Copper : 142 grains : Mint ? Date ?

Obverse: احمد شاه السلطان

with quatrefoil and circle over ح of

Reverse: ناصر الدنيا والدين

No. 2. Copper : 34 grains : Mint ? : Date ?

Obverse: احمد شاه

(with neither quatrefoil nor circle).

Reverse: السلطان (on Plate upside down).

No. 3. Copper : 138 grains : Mint ? : Date ?

Obverse: احمد شاه السلطان

Reverse: ناصر الدنيا والدين ابوالفتح

* = المؤيد بتائيد الرحمن = The strengthened by the strengthening of the Merciful

† = الواثق بالله المنان = The truster in Allah the Gracious.

‡ = المعتصم بالله الرحمن = The attendant on Allah the Merciful.

- | | | | |
|----------|------------------------------|--|---------------------------------------|
| No. 4. | Copper : | 69 grains : [Ahmadnagar] : | H. 830. |
| | Obverse : | Square area | محمد شاه السلطان |
| | | upper margin | شهر |
| | | left margin | مهانور (?) |
| | Reverse : | | ناصر الدنيا والدين ٨٣٠ |
| No. 5. | Copper : | 135 grains : Ahmadnagar : | H. 835. |
| | Obverse : | As 4, also lower margin | ادھم |
| | | right margin | نگر |
| | Reverse : | As 4, but year ٨٣٥ | |
| No. 6. | Copper : | 142 grains : Ahmadnagar : | H. 837. |
| | Obverse : | Square area as 4, lower and right margins as 5. | |
| | Reverse : | | السلطان الاعظم ناصر الدنيا والدين ٨٣٧ |
| | * | * | * |
| | Muhammad II., A. H. 846—855. | | |
| No. 7. | Copper : | 143 grains : Mint? : H. [8] 46. | |
| | Obverse: | —٤٦ | السلطان محمد شاه ابو المحماد |
| | Reverse: | | السلطان غياث الدنيا والدين |
| No. 8a. | Copper : | 210 grains : Mint? : H. 850. | |
| | Obverse : | | سکہ سلطان غیاث الدین محمد شاہ باد ٨٥٠ |
| No. 8b. | Copper : | 217 grains : Mint? : Date? | |
| | Reverse : | تی بدار الضرب گردون قرس مهر و ماه باد | |
| | | The legend on the obverse and reverse of No. 8 (a
and b) forms the couplet, | |
| | | May the coin of Muhammad Shāh the Sultān, the
Aid of the Faith, remain,
So long as in the sphere of the Seat of the Mint the
orb of the sun and moon remains. | |
| No. 9. | Copper : | 69 grains : Mint : H. [8] 52. | |
| | Obverse : | —٥٢ | محمد شاه السلطان |
| | Reverse : | | غياث الدنيا والدين |
| No. 10a. | Copper : | 69 grains : Mint? : H. 853. | |
| | Obverse : | | السلطان محمد شاه ٨٥٣ |

Qutb al dīn Alīmād Shāh II., A. H. 855—863.

No. 11. Copper : 140 grains : Mint? : H. 856.

Obverse :

أحمد شاه السلطان

٨٥٦

Reverse :

قطب الدنيا والدين أبوالمظفر

No. 12. Copper : 140 grains : Mint? : H. 858.

Obverse :

قطب الدنيا والدين احمد شاه السلطان

Reverse :

الخليفة امير المؤمنين خلادت خلاقدة ٨٥٨

No. 13. Billon : 144 grains : Mint? : H. 861.

Obverse : As 12.

Reverse : As 12, but year 861.

No. 14. Copper : 70 grains : Mint : H. 85 x or 86 x.

Obverse :

احمد شاه السلطان ٨٥٠

Reverse :

قطب الدنيا والدين

*

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*

Mahmūd I., A. H. 863—917.

No. 15a. Billon : 145 grains : Mint? : H. 863.

Obverse : ذا صر الدنيا والدين ابوالفتح محمود شاه

٨٦٣

Reverse : اخ قطب شاه بن محمد شاه ارسلان

Mahmūd Shāh, Defender of the World and of the

Faith, Father of Victory,

Brother of Qutb Shāh, son of Muhammād Shāh, the

Sultān.

No. 15b. Billon : 147 grains : Mint? : H. [8] 63.

Reverse : As 15a, but with top line clearer, and year—٩٣.

No. 16. Billon : 139 grains : Mint? : H. 863.

Obverse : ناصر الدنيا والدين ابوالفتح محمود شاه السلطان

Reverse : As 12, but year ٨٦٣

No. 17. Copper : 145 grains : Mint: H. [8] 64.

Obverse : محمود شاه بن محمد شاه السلطان

Reverse : السلطان الاعظم ناصر الدنيا والدين ٩٤٧

No. 18. Billon : 140 grains : Mint? : H. 867.

Obverse : As 17, with addition of year ٩٤٧

Reverse : ناصر الدنيا والدين ابوالفتح

No. 19. Copper : 140 grains : Mint? : H. 827 (for 867).

Obverse : As 18, but year ٨٢٧ (sic), doubtless for ٩٤٧

Reverse : As 18.

- No. 20a. Copper : 135 grains : Mint ? : H. 868.
Obverse : السلطان محمود شاه ابوالفتح ٨٦٨
- No. 21. Copper : 175 grains : Muṣṭafābād : H. 870 or 879.
Obverse : Circular area محمود شاه السلطان
 Margin شهر اعظم مصطفی باد (?)
Reverse : As 18, with addition of year ٨٧٠ or ٨٧٩.
- No. 22. Copper : 215 grains : perhaps Muṣṭafābād : H. 880.
Obverse : Square area محمود شاه السلطان
 left margin شهر
 other margins illegible.
Reverse : As 18, with addition of year ٨٨٠.
- No. 23. Copper : 171 grains : Muṣṭafābād : H. 882.
Obverse : السلطان محمود شاه شهر اعظم مصطفی باد
Reverse : As 18, with addition of year ٨٨٢
- No. 24. Copper : 172 grains : Muṣṭafābād : H. 883.
Obverse : As 23.
Reverse : As 18, with addition of year ٨٨٣
- No. 25. Copper : 217 grains : Muṣṭafābād : H. 886.
Obverse : Square area محمود شاه السلطان
 upper margin مصطفی
 other margins illegible.
Reverse : As 17, but year ٨٨٤.
- No. 26. Silver : 88 grains : Mint ? : H. 890 or 900.
Obverse : square area having peaked sides محمود شاه السلطان
 lower margin ٩٠٠ or ٩٠٠
 other margins illegible.
Reverse : السلطان الاعظم ناصر الدین ابوالفتح
- No. 27. Silver : 80 grains : Mint ? : H. 891.
Obverse : Circular area محمود شاه السلطان (compare 21)
 margin illegible.
Reverse : As 26, with addition of year ٩١
- No. 28a. Copper : 65 grains : Mint ? : Date ?
Obverse : محمود شاه بن محمد شاه السلطان
- No. 29. Silver : 65 grains : Muṣṭafābād ? : H. 894.
Obverse : Square area محمود شاه السلطان
 upper margin شهر
 left margin اعظم
 lower and left margins (doubtfully) مصطفی باد

- No. 36. Silver : 89 grains : Mustafābād ? : H. 905.
Obverse: Square area محمود شاه السلطان
 upper margin شهر
 left margin اعظم
 lower and right margins (doubtfully) مصطفی باد
Reverse: As 26, with addition of year ٩٠٥
 and outer linear and dotted circles.
 This coin is evidently closely related to No. 29.

No. 37. Copper: 318 grains : Mint ? : H. 905.
Obverse: Curved diamond area محمود شاه السلطان
 margin lower and to right ٩٠٥
 other margins illegible.

Reverse: As 26.

No. 38. Silver: 88 grains : Mint ?: H. 912.
Obverse: Square area having peaked sides محمود شاه السلطان
 margins illegible.

Reverse: As 26, with addition of year ٩١٢

No. 39. Silver: 176 grains : Muhammādābād 'urf Chāmpānīr : Date ?
Obverse: Scalloped circular area محمود شاه السلطان
 upper and left margins [نیز] نیز
 lower and right margins illegible.

Reverse: As 26.

No. 40. Silver: 160 grains : Mint ?: Date ?
Obverse: Square area محمود شاه بن دهون
 margins illegible.

Reverse: As 26.

No. 41. Silver: 85 grains : Muhammādābād : Date ?
Obverse: Square area having peaked sides محمود شاه السلطان
 right margin شهر مکرم
 upper margin محمد باد
 other margins illegible.

Reverse: As 26.

No. 42. Copper: 141 grains : Mint ?: Date
Obverse: Square area محمود شاه السلطان
 margins illegible.

Reverse: As 18.

- No. 43. Copper : 168 grains : Mint ? : Date ?
Obverse : Circular area مُحَمَّد شَاهُ السُّلْطَان
margin illegible.

Reverse : As 18. *

Muzaffar II, A. H. 917-932.

No. 44. Silver : 110 grains : Khanpur ? : H. 921.
[On the Plate the obverse and reverse of this coin
occupy each the other's position.]

Obverse : * In wavy circle مُظْفَرْ شَاهُ ضَرِيْتْ خَابِيْرُ
والدين ابوالنصر ٩٢١

Reverse : In plain circle المُؤْمِن بِقَوْيَادِ الرَّحْمَنِ شَمْسُ الدُّنْيَا

No. 45. Copper : 173 grains : Mint ? : H. 925.
Obverse : In square having doubled sides, each peaked : مُظْفَرْ شَاهُ بْنُ مُحَمَّد شَاهُ السُّلْطَان ٩٢٥

Reverse : As 44 (doubtful).

No. 46. Silver : 110 grains : Mint ? : Date 927.
مُظْفَرْ شَاهُ بْنُ مُحَمَّد شَاهُ السُّلْطَان ٩٢٧

Obverse : In circle ٩٢٧

Reverse : As 44.

No. 47. Silver : 104 grains : Mint ? : H. 929.
Obverse : In circle circumscribing a square whose sides are peaked : خَلَدُ اللَّهِ (؟) مُظْفَرْ شَاهُ بْنُ مُحَمَّد شَاهُ السُّلْطَان ٩٢٩

Reverse : As 44, with outer linear and dotted circles.

No. 48. Silver : 106 grains : Mint ? : H. 930.
Obverse : As 45, but year ٩٣٠

Reverse : As 44.

No. 49. Copper : 159 grains : Mint ? : H. 932.
Obverse : In circle مُظْفَرْ شَاهُ بْنُ مُحَمَّد شَاهُ السُّلْطَان

Reverse : شَمْسُ الدُّنْيَا وَ.....ابوالنصر ٩٣٢

No. 50. Silver : 107 grains : Mint ? : Date ?
Obverse : In square having peaked sides : السُّلْطَان مُظْفَرْ شَاهُ خَلَدُ اللَّهِ عَلَيْكَ

* The legend in the lower half of the obverse of this coin is doubtful. For the provisional reading here given I am indebted to my friend Mr. H. Nelson Wright.

Reverse : As 44.

This coin may be of Muzaffar III., to whom it is assigned in the 'Brit. Mus. Catal., Muhammadan States, No. 440.)

* * * * *

Bahādur, A. H. 932—943.

No. 51.* Silver : 130 grains : Mint ? : H. 933.

قطب الدنيا والدين أبوالفضل بهادر شاه بن مظفر شاه :

بن محمود شاه بن محمد شاه بن احمد شاه بن محمد :

شاه بن مظفر شاه ٩٣٣

No. 52. Copper : 172 grains : Mint ? : H. 934.

Obverse : In circle بهادر شاه بن مظفر شاه السلطان

margin illegible.

Reverse : ٩٣٤ ابوالفضل []

No. 53. Copper : 217 grains : Mint ? : H. 938.

Obverse : (?) بهادر بن مظفر شاه السلطان

Reverse : As 52, but year ٩٣٨ near the middle.

No. 54. Copper : 207 grains : Mint ? : H. 938.

Obverse : As 53.

Reverse : As 52, but year ٩٣٨ at bottom.

No. 55. Silver : 34 grains : Mint ? : H. 941.

Obverse : In double circle, each scalloped, بهادر شاه

Reverse : In double circle, each scalloped, ٩٤١ السلطان سنة

No. 56. Copper : 82 grains : Mint ? : H. 943.

Obverse : بهادر شاه بن مظفر السلطان

Reverse : As 52, but year ٩٤٣

No. 57. Silver : 111 grains : Mint : H. [9]41 ?

Obverse : In circle بهادر شاه بن مظفر شاه السلطان

Reverse : As 52, but date illegible — perhaps [٩]٤١

* * * * *

Mahmūd III, A. H. 943—961.

No. 58. Copper : 237 grains : Mint ? : H. 944.

Obverse : Square area محمود شاه السلطان

lower margin ٩٤٥

other margins illegible.

* This most interesting coin merits especial notice. Both it and No. 55 were presented to me by Mr. H. Nelson Wright of Allahābāl.

- | | | ناصر الدنيا والدين | شهر (٤) |
|--|--|--------------------|---------|
| | Reverse : Square area
lower margin
other margins illegible. | | |
| No. 59. Copper : 154 grains : Mint ? : H. 945. | محمد شاه بن طيف شاه السلطان
ناصر الدنيا والدين ابوالفتح ٩٤٥ | | |
| | Obverse : | | |
| | Reverse : | | |
| No. 60. Mixed coppery metal : 147 grains : Mint ? : H. 945. | محمد بن طيف شاه السلطان
ناصر الدنيا والدين ٩٤٥ | | |
| | Obverse : In circular area
lower margin
remainder of margin illegible. | | |
| | Reverse : | | |
| No. 61. Mixed coppery metal : 132 grains : Mint ? : Date ٩٤٨. | ناصر الدنيا والدين ابوالفتح ٩٤٨ | | |
| | Obverse : In circular area, as 60.
margin illegible. | | |
| | Reverse : As 59, but year ٩٤٨ | | |
| No. 62. Copper : 144 grains : Mint ? : H. [9] 55. | محمد شاه
شهر | | |
| | Obverse : Square area
right margin
other margins illegible. | | |
| | Reverse : | | |
| No. 63. Silver : 113 grains : Mint ٩ : H. 957. | ناصر الدنيا والدين —٥٥ | | |
| | Obverse : In square having peaked sides,
محمود شاه بن طيف شاه السلطان ٩٥٧ | | |
| | Reverse : ناصر الدنيا والدين ابوالفتح الواثق بالله المذان | | |
| No. 64. Silver : 54 grains : Mint ? : H. 961. | محمود شاه بن طيف شاه السلطان | | |
| | Obverse : In circle
margin illegible. | | |
| | Reverse : الواثق بالله المذان [ابوال] فتح ناصر الدنيا
والدين ٩٦١ | | |
| No. 65. Silver : 111 grains : Mint ? : H. [95] 9? | | | |
| | Obverse : As 64. | | |
| | Reverse : As 64, but year—9 (doubtful). | | |
| No. 66. Mixed bronze-like metal : 141 grains : Mint ? : Date ? | | | |
| | Obverse : In circle, as 60.
margin blank. | | |
| | Reverse : | | |

Ahmad III., A.H. 961—968.

No. 67. Copper : 168 grains : Mint ? : H. 961 or 964.

Obverse : Square area احمد شاه السلطان
margins illegible.

Reverse : ٩٦٥ or ٩٦١ (٤) غیاث الدین ابوالحکامہ سنه

No. 68. Silver : 222 grains : Mint ? : H. 963.

Obverse : In square having double sides, each peaked,
احمد شاه بن محمود شاه السلطان عہد

Reverse : عیاث الدین والدین ابوالحکامہ المعتصم
بالله الرحمن

No. 69a. Copper : 71 grains : Mint ? : H. 963.

Obverse : احمد شاه ٩٦٣

No. 70a. Copper : 217 grains : Mint ? : Date ?

Obverse : Square area احمد شاه
margins illegible.

* * * *

Muzaffar III., A.H. 968—980, and 991—992.

No. 71. Silver : 110 grains : Mint ? : H. 968.

Obverse : In square ٩٦٨ مظفر شاه بن محمود شاه السلطان

Reverse : شمس الدین والدین ابوالنصر المؤبد بدستیه [الرحمن]
[الرحمن]

No. 72. Silver : 114 grains : Mint ? : H. 969.

Obverse : In scalloped circle, as 71, but year ٩٦٩

Reverse : As 71.

No. 73. Copper : 144 grains : Ahmadābād ? : H. 970.

Obverse : Square area مظفر شاه ٩٧٠

margins illegible—perhaps traces of
شهر معظم احمد اباد

شمس الدین [والدین] ابوالنصر

No. 74a. Copper : 214 grains : Mint ? : H. 971.

Obverse : In circle مظفر شاه ٩٧١

No. 75. Copper : 175 grains : Ahmadābād : H. 977.

Obverse : Circular area مظفر شاه ٩٧٧
margins illegible, but, from comparison with other
specimens of this type, would seem to read

شهر معظم احمد اباد

Reverse:

شمس الہنیا والہبین

Some unusual symbols are present in both the upper and the lower portions of the reverse.

No. 76. Silver : 67 grains : Mint ? : H. 978.

Obverse: Square area, peaked sides, ۹۷۸ مظفر شاه اسٹھان margins illegible.*Reverse:* As 71.

No. 77. Copper : 138 grains : Mint ? : Date ?

Obverse

السلطان مظفر شاه

Reverse:

شمس الہنیا والہبین

No. 78. Copper : 148 grains : Mint ? : H. 971.

Obverse: In circle

مظفر شاه ۹۷۱ گردوں ضرب باد نا قرص صہر و ماه

Reverse:

This reading of the difficult inscription on the reverse has been supplied by Mr. Nelson Wright, I.C.S. If we may take گردوں ضرب as a periphrasis for "coin," the legend reads, 'May the coin remain as long as the orb of the sun and moon.' There seems to be some connexion between this inscription and that on 86.

No. 79.* Silver : 174 grains : Ahmedabad : H. 991.

Obverse: In double linear square with dots between the lines,السلطان مظفر شاه ابن محمد شاه ۹۹۱
احمد آباد
lower margin
other margins illegible.*Reverse:* In double linear square with dots between the lines;لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا اللَّهُ مُحَمَّدٌ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ
the kalimah
بِصَدْقِ أَبِي بَكْرٍ upper margin (probably)
right margin (probably) بَعْدَ عَمْرٍ
other margins illegible.

No. 80.* Copper : 85 grains : Ahmedabad : [H. 991].

Obverse: مظفر شاه ابن محمد [شاه]*Reverse:* دارالضرب احمد آباد

* * * * *

* Coins Nos. 79 and 80 were struck during Muzaffar III's second reign, A. H. 991-992.

No. 81. Silver: 72 grains : Mint? : Date?

Obverse: श्रीरायधान मूँग १७८ or १८ (for १८)

Reverse: As 72, but the legend is very degenerate.

A Katār, or Rājpūt dagger, is represented in the lower part of the field of the reverse.

This coin is a Kacch Kori, struck during the reign of Rāyadhan—probably Rāyadhan I. (A.D. 166–1697). The Rā's of Kacch retained on their coins, along with their own names written in Devanāgarī, the name of Mużaffar (III.) of Gujarāt and the year 978 both in Persian characters. This type of coin continued to be struck until recent times, but, as the years passed, the figures of the date and the letters of the Persian legend on the reverse became ever more and more degenerate.

No. 82. Copper: 189 grains : [Navānagar] : Date?

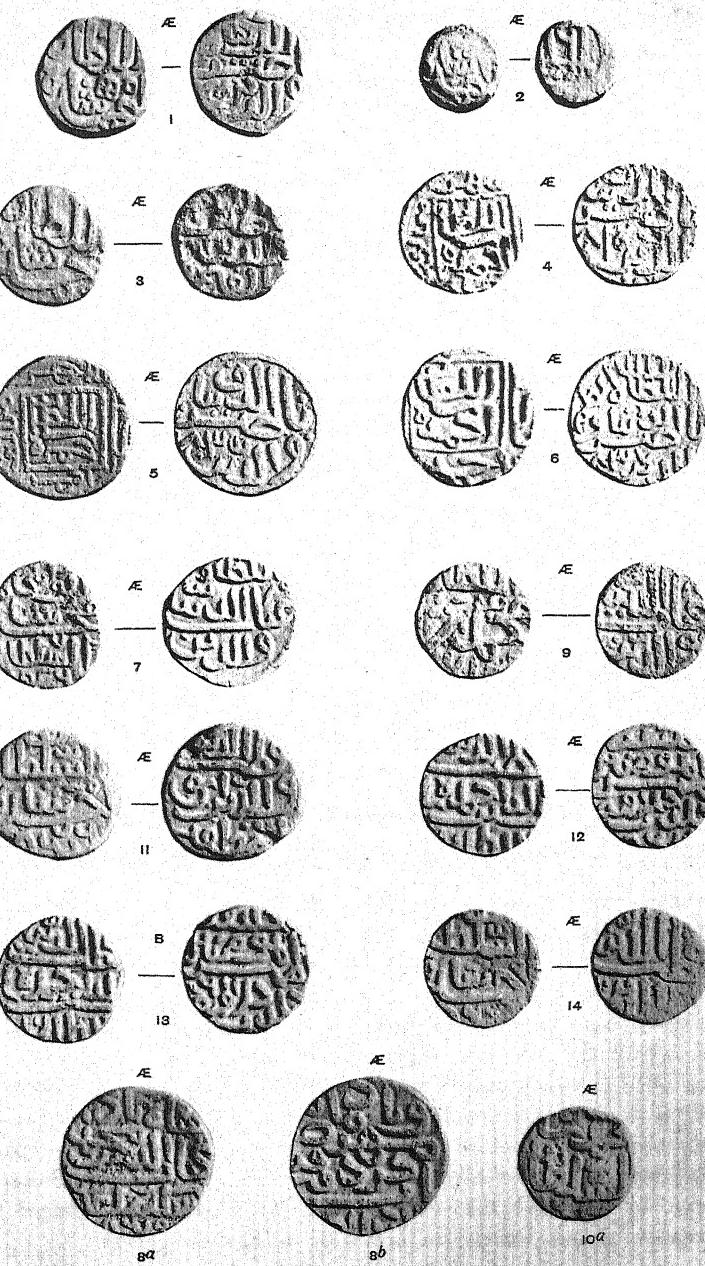
Obverse: श्रीज्ञास ल मूँग १७८ (for १८).

Reverse: A very degenerate form of the legend on the reverse of Coin No. 72.

This is copper coin of the Navānagar State, a rough imitation of the coins struck by Mużaffar III., before Akbar's conquest of Gujarāt.

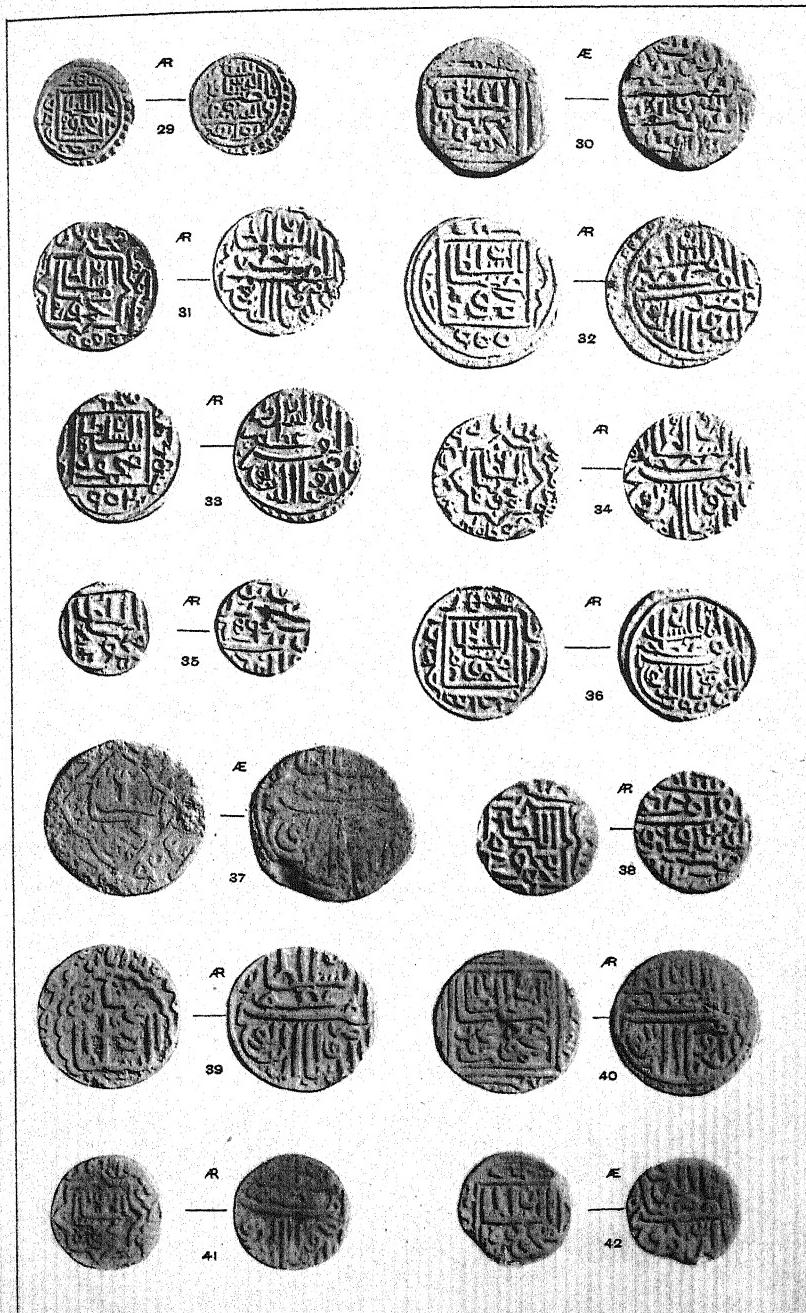
For the admirable plates that accompany this article I am indebted to my esteemed and learned friend Mr. Henry Cousens, M.R.A.S., Superintendent of the Archaeological Survey, Western India. With his unfailing kindness he offered to take casts in plaster, and from them photographs, of all coins that I might select for the purpose; and it was this most generous offer of his—an offer entailing much tedious labour on his part—that more than all else encouraged me to undertake the writing of the present article. Never before have photographic plates been prepared representing so complete a set of the coins of the Gujarāt Saltanat, and by this valuable contribution Mr. Cousens has placed the readers of this Journal under a deep debt of obligation.

G. P. T



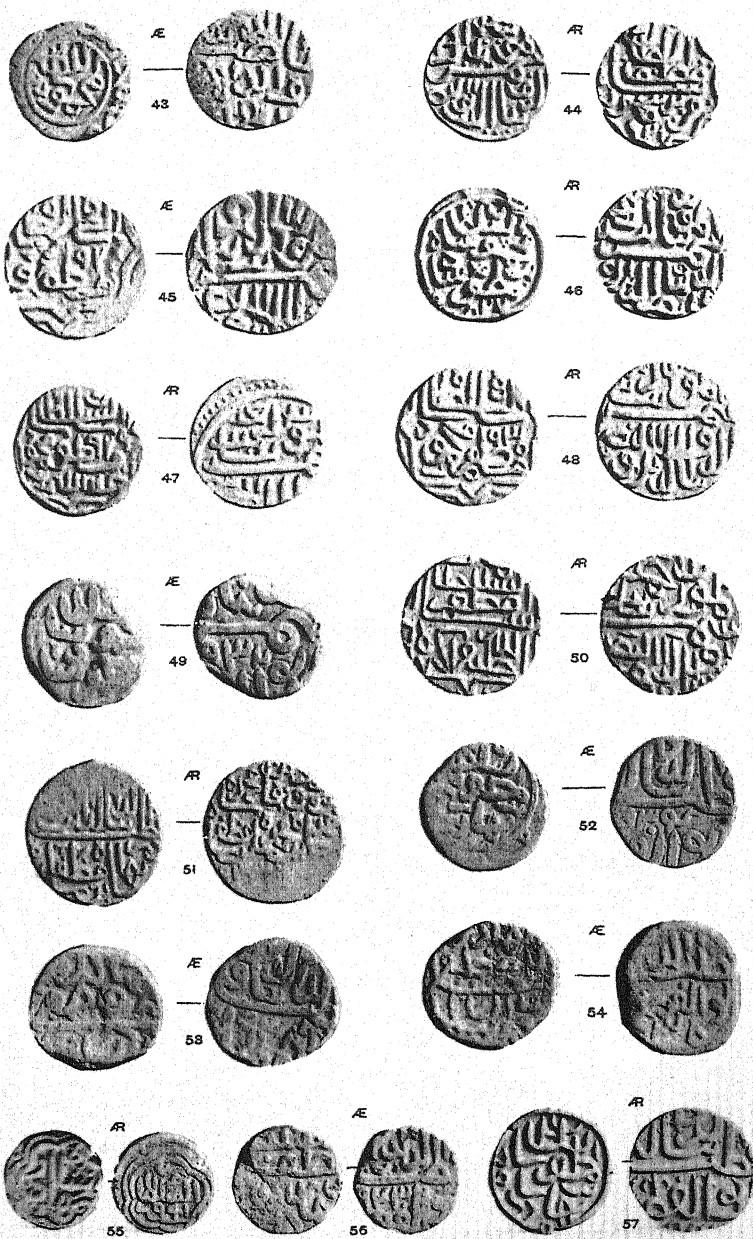
COINS OF THE GUJARAT SULTANAT.

PLATE III.

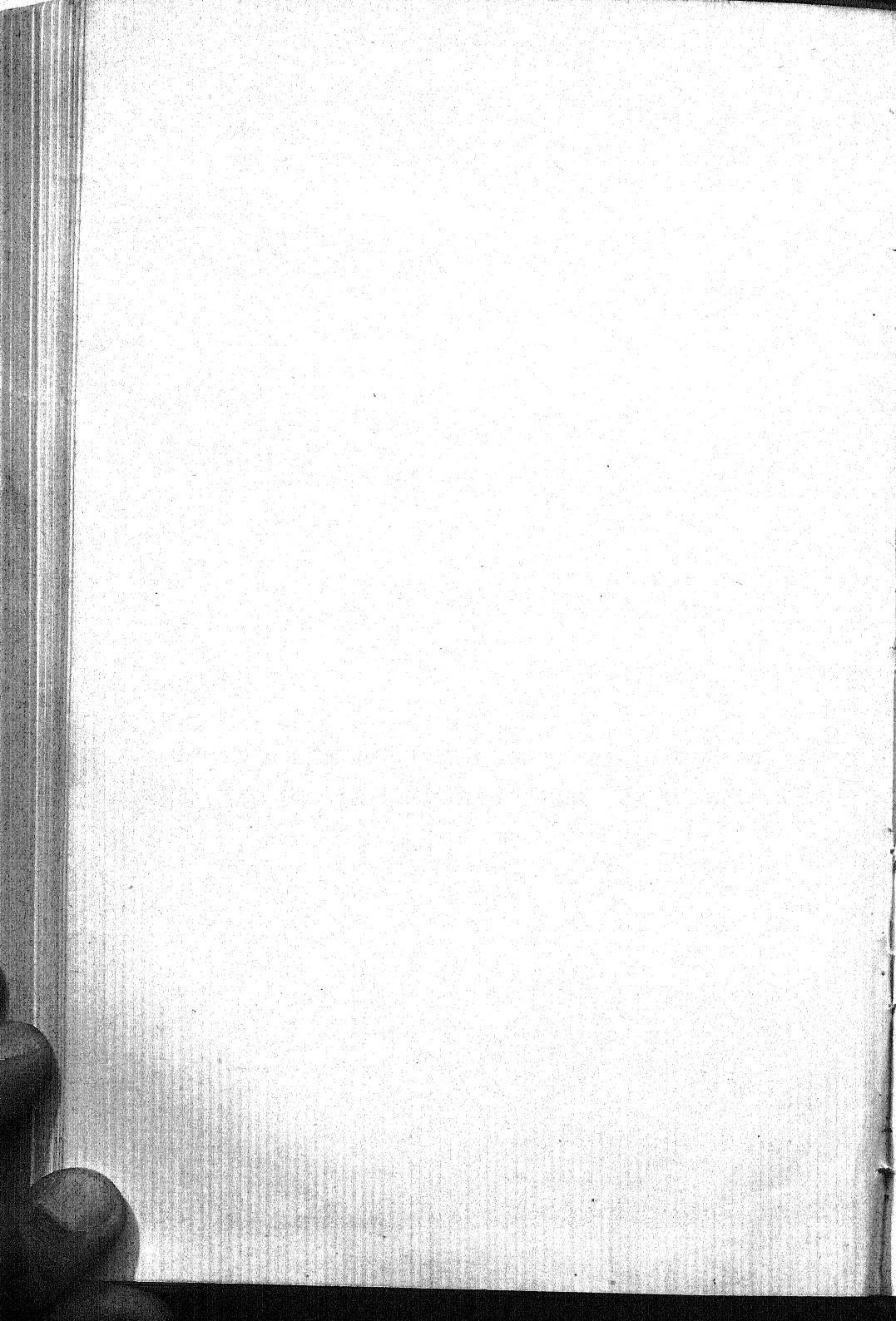


COINS OF THE GUJARAT SULTANAT.





COINS OF THE GUJARAT SULTANAT.



 \AA

58

 \AA

59

 \AA

60

 \AA

61

 \AA

62



63

 \AA

64



65

 \AA

66



67

 \AA

68

 \AA 69 α 70 α

COINS OF THE GUJARAT SULTANAT.





71



AR



72



AR



73



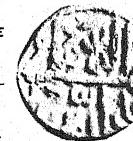
AE



74a



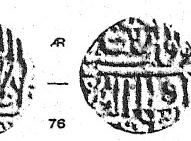
75



AE



76



AR



77



AE



78



AE



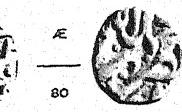
79



AR



80



AE



81



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82



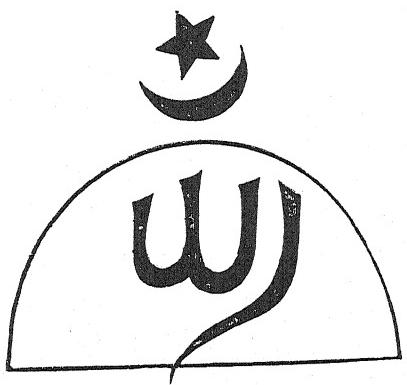
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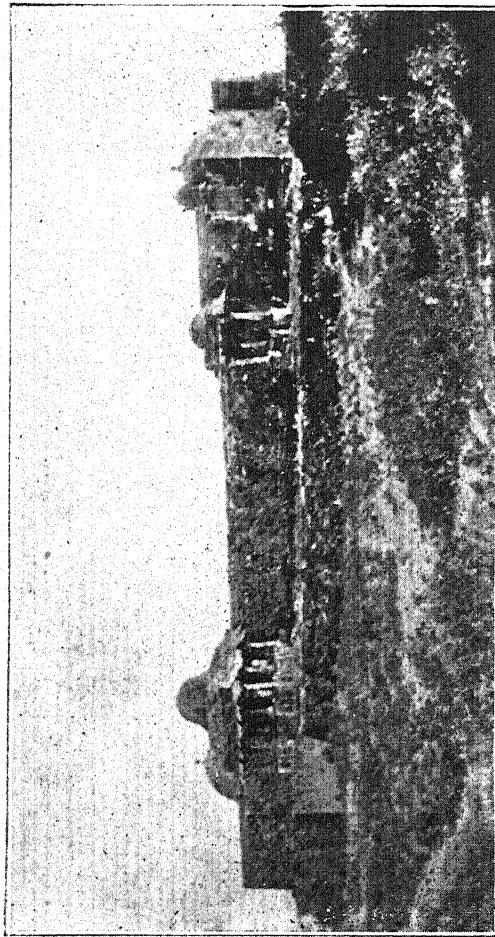
Article XI.

DHAR AND MANDU.





THE LAT MOSJID, DHAR.



ART. XI.—*Dhar and Mandu.* By ERNEST BARNES, Capt., I.S.C.

(Communicated, June 1902.)

Preface.

An effort has here been made to collect in one paper such information as is obtainable regarding these places.

For the historical portion of the work I have relied principally on Brigg's Translation of Farishta's History, the Ain-i-Akbari of Abul Fuzl, and on Sir John Malcolm's History of Central India. A "History of Mandu" published by "a Bombay Subaltern" in 1844, and "Mandu" an article by Mr. (now Sir) J. M. Campbell, published in the Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society in 1896, have been of invaluable assistance to me.

Much of the information regarding the buildings of Dhar has not, to the best of my belief, appeared in print before, and I am much indebted to Mr. Lele, Superintendent of Education in the Dhar State, and to his Assistant Babaji Nalchekar, in the matter of the Sanskrit inscriptions, also to Moulvie Syed Ahmed and Munshi Abdur Rahman who have rendered me similar help in dealing with the Persian inscriptions given in the text. For the photographs of inscriptions my thanks are due to Mr. Bodas of the Dhar High School, while the sketches have been lent by one who wishes to remain *incognito*.

The Sanskrit inscriptions in Dhar which have recently come to light open up a field of research far beyond the scope of this work. The history of Dhar and Mandu prior to the Mahommedan conquest is shrouded in tradition, but there would seem to be some probability that scattered over the country and indeed in Dhar itself, inscriptions do exist from which it might be possible to elucidate facts connected with this period. To decipher and co-ordinate these inscriptions is obviously a work which requires special knowledge and time; but local officials have now been interested in this matter, and it may be hoped that with assistance from the Durbar, some arrangements will be possible under which such work might be carried on, in a systematic way.

Though now fallen from their high estate the countries of the Bhopawar Agency have had a great past, and not only in Dhar and Mandu, but in Nimar along the Narbada Valley to Bagh and

Barwani many striking evidences of former greatness are to be found. Few things would be more agreeable than to have an active share in bringing to light those forgotten times, but if that should not be possible, I would fain content myself with the hope that the present work, however imperfect, will serve to further stimulate inquiry, and that in the future progress may not depend solely on the chance interest displayed by European officials, but that native gentlemen, many of whom are well-fitted to take up the work, will recognise that it is part of their duty to their country to endeavour to preserve from oblivion the records of the past.

ERNEST BARNES.

DHAR, C. I., 6th October 1902.

DHAR.

CHAPTER I.

Historical Sketch.

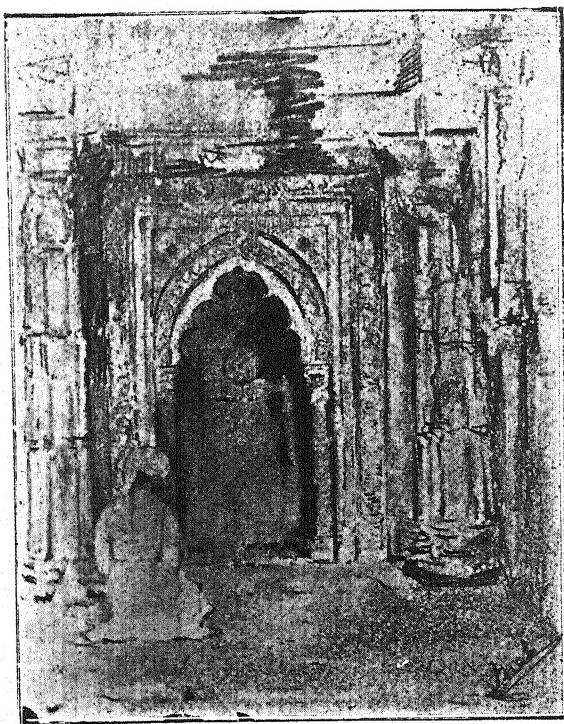
The Emperor Jehangir writes in his diary : " Dhar is one of the
 A. D. 567. oldest cities of India. Raja Bhoj lived in this city one thousand
 years ago. Dhar was also the capital of the Mahomedan rulers
 A. D. 1325. of Malwa. When Sultan Mohammed Tugluk was on his way to the
 A. H. 743. conquest of the Deccan, he built a cutstone fort on a raised site.
 Its outline is very elegant and beautiful, but the space inside is
 empty of buildings."

The ancient name of the city was " Dhárá Nagari " (Sanskrit,
 "the town of blades of swords"), as it appears that this place was
 originally a school for military training; but it is now known
 among Mahomedans as " Piran Dhar " owing to the number of
 tombs of Mahomedan saints that are to be found in its vicinity.

There seems to be little doubt that in the ancient Hindu kingdom of Ujjain, Dhar held the second place. Farishta, in the introductory chapter of his history, says that Vikramajit built the fort of Dhar. By this is evidently meant the earthen ramparts of which traces still remain and which are locally attributed to Raja Bhoj. As to Raja Bhoj, Farishta adds :— " After the death of Vikramajit, Malwa long remained in a state of anarchy, till at length Raja Bhoj setting up pretensions to the throne assumed the reins of Government. Raja Bhoj, also of the tribe of Puar, followed the steps of his predecessor."

A. D. 44.





THE "MEHRAB" IN "RAJA BHOJ'S SCHOOL."

Considerable confusion exists as to this famous character, owing probably to the fact that there were certainly two Rajas of that name and probably more. Dr. Buhler, in his Introduction to the *Vikramâṅka devacharita*, puts the probable date of his death at A.D. 1065. In this poem, Bilhana, the author, states that Dhârā was taken by storm during Bhoja's reign by Somesvara I. the Chalukya king (1040—1069), and that Bhoja had to flee. Bhoja is also mentioned by Kalhana in the *Raja tarangini* as a great patron of poets (A.D. 1062). With the assistance of inscriptions available, it is hoped that it will be possible to increase our knowledge on these points, but as things stand at present, concerning the long period of time from *Vikramajit* and *Bhoj*, up to the first Mahomedan invasion, we have no historical record. Farishta speaks of this invasion as having occurred in 1304; he says :

"About this time, *Ain-ul-mulk* Multhani was sent with an army A. D. 1304. to effect the conquest of Malwa. He was opposed by Koka, Raja of A. H. 714. Malwa, with 40,000 Rajput horse and 100,000 foot; in the engagement which ensued *Ain-ul-mulk* proved victorious and reduced the cities of Ujjain, Mandu, Dhara Nagari (Dhar), and Chanderi." Alla-ud-din Khilji was then King of Delhi.

It would appear that from this time Malwa acknowledged allegiance to the Delhi kings, until the reign of Mahomed II, son of Feroz Tughluk, when *Dilawar Khan Gheri*, a descendant on A. D. 1387. his mother's side of Sultan Shahab-ud-din Gheri of Damascus, was A. H. 789. appointed governor. This prince subsequently established his independence, and at the suggestion of his son Alp Khan (afterwards Sultan Hoshang) assumed "the white canopy and scarlet A. D. 1401. pavilion of royalty." A. H. 804.

Dhar, not Mandu, was the capital both of the Mahomedan province and of the independent kingdom founded by Dilawar Khan, and it was not till after his death and the succession of A. D. 1405. his son Alp Khan that the pride of place passed to Mandu. A. H. 808.

From this time, until the Mahratta invasions, the city of Dhar loses its importance except as a theatre of the continued struggles between the kings of Malwa and Gujarat. It was also, as its many tombs attest, a favourite ground for the Mahomedan propaganda.

A. D. 1690. The first Mahratta invasion of Central India occurred in the year 1690, and for seven years their incursions into this part of Malwa continued. Malcolm in his history notes that in 1696 the Mahrattas ascended the Nalcha Ghât and took Mandu. They also engaged the Mahomedan troops at Dhar, the fort of which they are said to have reduced after a siege of three months. These incursions only ceased on the advance of the celebrated Jai Singh of Jeypur, who according to Mahomedan writers, while acting on behalf of the emperor, maintained a secret understanding with the enemies of Aurangzeb. At the commencement of the 18th century the invaders returned, and Udaji Puar¹ planted his standards at Mandu. This occupation also was but short lived, and it was not till the succession of Bajerao, the 2nd Peishwa, that permanent occupation was thought of.

In that year² Bajerao marched with a large army from Poona and occupied Nimar. Dia Bahadur, who was at this time governor of Malwa, foreseeing the danger which threatened, sent continued appeals to Delhi for assistance, but no notice was taken of his requests, and he was left to make head as best he could against the storm. Expecting that the enemy would move by the Bagh-Tanda route, he blocked the passes in the neighbourhood of Bhopawar and marched thither with his army to await them. Meantime Bajerao's army, led by Malhar Rao Holkar and favoured by the Thakurs and Zemindars, crossed the Nerbada at Akbarpur (close to the present ford of Khalghat) and ascending the ghâts by the Bahru Pass through which the Gujri-Dhar road now passes, marched to Dhar. Dia Bahadur hastened back to meet the invaders and a battle was fought at Tirla (6 miles west of Dhar) in which the Mahomedan troops were completely defeated and Dia Bahadur was slain.

A. D. 1732. From this time the Mahomedan supremacy in Malwa ends.
 A. H. 1150.
 A. D. 1734.
 A. H. 1152. Two years later, Anand Rao Puar, the younger brother of Udaji (who had previously been deprived of all power by the Peishwa), was vested with authority to collect the Mahratta share of the revenue of Malwa and Guzerat. He shortly afterwards settled at Dhar, which province with some of the adjoining districts were assigned to him for the support of himself and his adherents. As

¹ The real founder of the present family.

Malcolm writes :— “ It is a strange coincidence that the success of the Mahrattas should by making Dhar the capital of Anand Rao and his descendants, restore the sovereignty to a race which had seven centuries before been expelled from the Government of that city and territory.”

Anand Rao Puar died in 1749, and was succeeded by his son A. D. 1749.
Yeswant Rao, who accompanied the Peishwa to Hindoostan, and A. H. 1167.
was one of the many distinguished leaders who fell at the battle of A. D. 1761.
Paniput. He was succeeded by his son Kundi Rao, then only two A. H. 1179.
and a half years old, and the management of the family possessions
was carried on by the Diwan Madho Rao Urekar. From this time
the power of the State declined, and its total ruin seemed inevit-
able when Raghuba Dada, being compelled to withdraw from
Poona, sent his family to take refuge in Dhar. It was while in
the fort that Anandi Bai, his principal wife, gave birth to Baji
Rao, the last of the Peishwas. Dhar was immediately attacked by
the combined force of Raghuba’s enemies, and as Kundi Rao had
openly espoused his cause, the Puar territory in Malwa was resumed,
and was only restored on the surrender of Anandi Bai and her
child. Kundi Rao married a daughter of Govind Rao Gaekwar,
by whom he had a son Anand Rao, who was born six months A. D. 1780.
after his father’s death. Anand Rao remained at Baroda until A. H. 1198.
he was seventeen years old, when he proceeded to Dhar, and
although opposed by the Diwan Rung Rao Urekar, he succeeded
in establishing himself in power. For the next twenty years the A. D. 1797.
State was subjected to continued raids by the forces of Holkar and A. H. 1215.
Scindhia. The former, Yeswant Rao Holkar, received the rebellious
Diwan and, urged on by him, ravaged the country. Finding,
however, he could not obtain all he wanted, the Diwan went on to
Daulat Rao Scindhia and succeeded in instigating that chief to A. D. 1807.
attack Dhar. In this year Anand Rao died, leaving his distracted A. H. 1225.
territory to his widow Maina Bai. This courageous lady who was
pregnant at the time of her husband’s death, took up her residence
in Mandu, where she gave birth to a son Ramchander Rao Puar.
Her cause being strengthened by this event, she continued her A. D. 1810.
struggle, in spite of all difficulties, to maintain the independence A. H. 1228.
of the State. Her son died when he was three years old, but Maina
Bai immediately had recourse to adoption, and with the concur-
rence of both Scindhia and Holkar nominated her sister’s son, who

was about the same age as her own child, and seated him on the *gaddi* under the name of Ramchander Puar. The next seven years were a mere struggle for existence, and when the British forces entered Malwa, Dhar itself was the only possession¹ that remained to Ramchander Puar, while the entire revenue of the State did not exceed Rs.35,000. With the advent of the British, however, a rapid change took place. By opportune policy, Scindhia was induced to return the Badnawar pergana and his aid was invoked to recover Bersia which had been occupied by the Pindari Leader Karim Khan. Finally, on the 10th of July 1819, a treaty was concluded with the British, and Dhar was saved from the annihilation which undoubtedly awaited it. Prosperity rapidly returned, and Maina Bai and her Minister Bapu Raghunath, both of whom outlived Ramchander Rao, continued to carry on the administration.

A. D. 1833.
A. H. 1251.

A. D. 1836.
A. H. 1254.

A. D. 1857.
A. H. 1275.

1st Nov. 1857.

A. D. 1860.

Ramchander, who had married a granddaughter of Daulat Rao Scindhia, died childless in 1833. His widow adopted as his successor Yeswant Rao Puar of Malthan (Deccan), then about twelve years of age, and the administration was continued by Bapu Raghunath till his death in 1836. Nothing of importance marks the rule of this chief, but he introduced an organised system of government, and left a reputation for great generosity among the people. The fine temple of Kalka Devi to the north-west of the town, which was entirely repaired by him, shows his religious tendencies. He died suddenly in May 1857, having nominated on his death-bed Anand Rao Puar, his half-brother, as his successor. Anand Rao, then a boy of thirteen, was unable to stem in his territory the torrent of mutiny and disaffection which at that time spread over the whole country. His army, mostly composed of Makranis and Pathans, having looted the Agency at Bhopawar, occupied the fort at Dhar until it was captured by the British. In consequence the State was confiscated, but was subsequently restored to Anand Rao, with the exception of the Bairisia Perganna.²

British management was maintained, however, till 1864, when ruling powers were given to the chief. During his long rule, the

¹ The Nimar perganas of Dharampuri and Tikri were still nominally in possession of the family, but no revenue was derived from these perganas.

² This pergana was transferred to Bhopal as a reward for the services during the mutiny rendered by Sekunder Begum.





THE DOORWAY KAMAL MAULA'S SHRINE.

prosperity of Dhar continued to increase, and the revenue rose from about 5 lakhs in 1857 to 9 lakhs in 1896. Anand Rao A. D. 1877. received several marks of favour at the hands of the Imperial Government. On the occasion of the Delhi assemblage in 1877, he was granted the title of Maharaja as a personal distinction, and was also appointed a Knight Commander of the Most Exalted Order of the Star of India. In 1883, the decoration of Companion of the Order of the Indian Empire was also conferred upon him. He died A. D. 1898. childless in July 1898, having previously adopted his nephew Udaji Rao Puar of Malthan. Of Anand Rao the people say : "He was short of stature, but large of heart"; and indeed no truer thing could be said of him; but with all his unlimited hospitality towards Europeans as well as natives, he left his treasury full, and thus enabled the State to tide over with comparative ease the disastrous years which followed his death.

Udaji Rao Puar, whose succession was immediately recognised by the Government of India, is now sixteen years of age, and is A. D. 1902. being educated at the Daly College at Indore, the management of the State being in the hands of a Superintendent under the direct control of the Political Agent.

CHAPTER II.

Buildings.

The Fort is a rectangular construction of red sandstone, A. D. 1325-15 attributed to Sultan Mahmud Tughluk of Delhi. On the third gate A. H. 725-752 there is an inscription to the effect that "in the reign of Aurangzeb this gate was constructed during the administration of Ashur Beg.¹ A. D. 1690. A. H. 1108.

During the Mahratta invasion the fort played an important part, and it was here that Anandi Bai took refuge and gave birth to Baji Rao, the third Peishwa. A toy well and miniature throne with slide are shown as having been his playthings. Later, at the commencement of the nineteenth century, the forts of Dhar and Mandu were practically the only pieces of territory remaining to the present family, and it was from here that Maina Bai, the courageous Rani of the time, directed her eventually successful struggles to preserve the State for her infant son, Ramchander Rao. A. D. 1857. A. H. 1275.

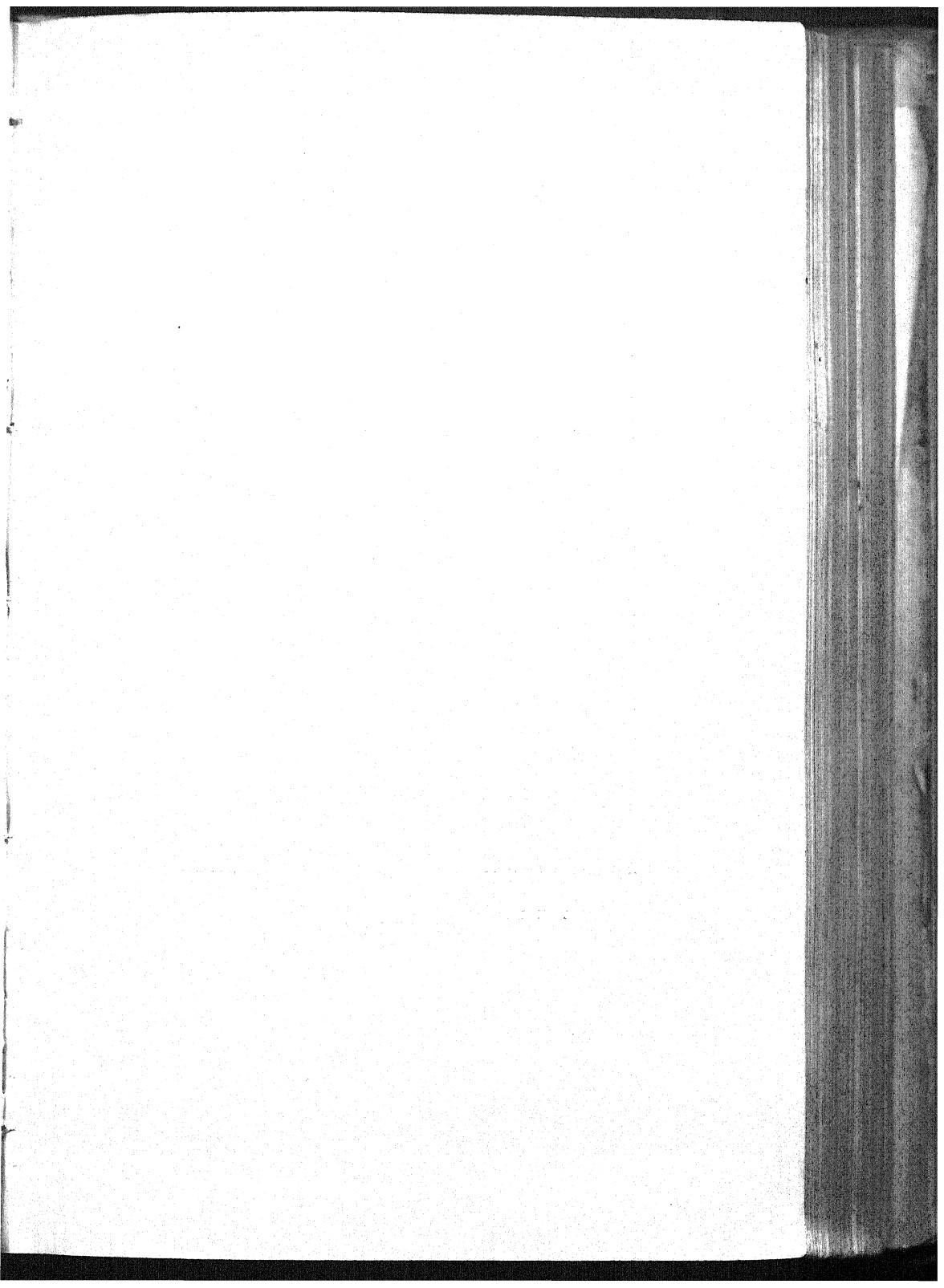
In 1857 the Arabs, Makranis, and Pathans, then in the service of

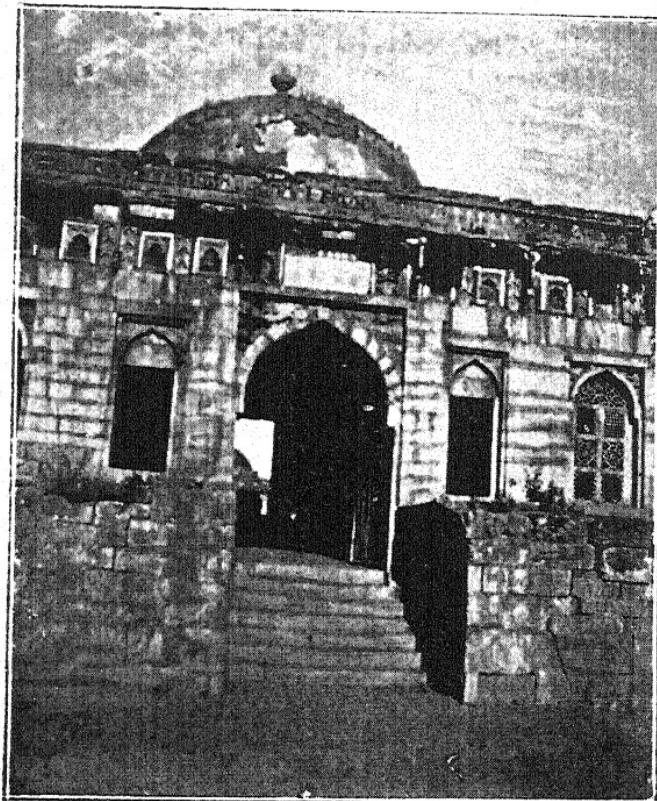
¹ Foster brother of Shah Jehan.

A.D 1875.

the State, joined the Amjhera mutineers and looted the Agency at Bhopawar. They then returned to Dhar, and having completely overawed the administration, took possession of the fort, which they held for about three months. An eye-witness describes what happened as follows : "The Diwan, Ramchand Rao (son of Bapuji Rughunath, the able minister of Maina Bai), the Raja being then a minor, informed the British authorities of what had occurred, and although frightened to openly ask for assistance, maintained secret correspondence with them. A force under the command of General Stewart eventually marched from Mhow, and the mutineers, hearing of its advance, took up positions on the high ground to the east covering the approaches to the city. On being attacked, they immediately retired to the fort. The British were without siege guns, and had to wait the arrival of two heavy pieces from Mhow. These guns were placed at the distance of about 300 yards from the south-west corner of the fort, and after battering the wall for thirteen days (using, as rumour goes, 40,000 projectiles), the breach was effected, which is still to be seen. That night the mutineers fled without the knowledge of the British, and the following day the bombardment was renewed. The prisoners who had remained in the fort began to wave their 'dhotis' in sign of surrender, and the British then took possession." It was only at the personal request of the late Maharaja, made to H. E. Lord Northbrook when he visited Dhar as Viceroy, that permission was given to rebuild the gap in the rampart. It has been found necessary to postpone the completion of this work owing to existing financial difficulties. The fort, at present, contains the jail and sepoy lines and a gigantic "baori." The palace known as the Karbuza Mahal, on the north-west bastion now in disrepair, apparently dates from the Mandu period.

At the upper entrance gate is a tomb known as that of Data Bandhi Chor. Very briefly the tradition is as follows :— The saint, by name Hazrat Mahbud, said to have been a servant in the fort, at the command of his mother, released all the prisoners. In struggling with the guards his head was severed from his body and fell at the place where this tomb now stands. The headless body continued the fight until it reached a spot about 200 yards to the north, where it fell and was buried. At this spot also a much-frequented shrine exists.





THE LAT MUSJID EASTERN ENTRANCE.

Among the guns stored in the Arsenal, at the entrance of the fort, there are some old pieces of the Mandu period of most primitive character; also a few camel guns. These were brought from Mandu for safe custody at the suggestion of the Political Agent¹ about 1878.

The Lat Musjid.

This mosque owes its erection to Dilawar Khan, first king of Malwa, the material used evidently having been taken from Hindu temples. The northern gateway is of particularly Jain-like style, and is in good preservation. The eastern gate is of a later epoch, and shows much more the influence of Mahomedan architecture. There are two inscriptions; that on the northern doorway is in prose, and to the effect that Ahmed Shah, known as Dilawar Khan, laid the foundation stone in the year A.D. 1405. The second inscription on the eastern entrance is in verse, and may be thus transcribed:—

- “ Lord of the earth and mighty source of lofty heaven
- “ The support of the people of this world
- “ And sun of the zenith of perfection
- “ In Him all good qualities are entered—
- “ Of descent noble as the heavens
- “ Powerful as the angels, and equal to Jesus
- “ In justice, charity, gravity, war, assembly and magnificence
- “ The eye of heaven hath not seen
- “ A person of such lofty thoughts
- “ The great supporter of Islam
- “ Ahmed Shah Dawad
- “ A hero of such noble qualities
- “ As Ghor may well be proud of.
- “ The helper and supporter of the religion of the Prophet
- “ Dilawar Khan, the chosen one of the Great God
- “ Disciple of Nazir-ud-din Mahammed
- “ This Asylum and place of protection for all great men
- “ In the city of Dhar constructed this assembly mosque
- “ At a happy moment and on an auspicious day
- “ A mosque like the second Kába of the world
- “ The praise of which is beyond description
- “ A mosque which resembles one built by angels
- “ Or the Kába by which the great world has received pleasure and beauty.

¹ Colonel Lester.

"It was the year 808 Hijri that the construction of the mosque was completed with all splendour."

Eighty feet from the northern gateway lies the square beam of iron by which the mosque is known. Jehangir in his diary speaks of it as follows: —

"Outside this fort (Dhar), there is an assembly mosque which has in front of it fixed in the ground a four-cornered iron pillar about four feet round. When Sultan Bahadur of Gujerat took Malwa, he wished to carry this column to Gujerat. In digging it up, the pillar fell and broke in two, one piece measuring 22 feet and the other 13 feet. As it was lying here uncared for, I (Jehangir) ordered the big piece to be carried to Agra, to be put up in the courtyard of the shrine of Him, whose abode is the heavenly throne (Akbar) to be used as a lamp-post."

Evidently Jehangir's orders were never carried out. The piece fallen *in situ* actually measuring 24 feet is where Jehangir saw it; the second piece, 12 feet long, was removed to the Agency Garden some years ago. The end of this piece is octagonal and suggestive of its having been made for a lamp-post.

On the piece lying near the mosque is a short inscription in Persian as follows: —

A.D. 1591. "In the reign of the most exalted emperor, the reflection of the Almighty, while on his way to the Deccan in the eighth year of Asfandia, 42 Julusi, corresponding to 1000 of the Hijra, the Emperor Akbar passed here with great pomp, and his order for engraving this inscription was carried into effect by Sharif Mahomed."

The "Kamal Maula."

This enclosure comprises the tomb of: —

- (a) Shaikh Kamal-ud-din Sahib Malvi;
- (b) The alleged tomb of Mahmud Khilji, third king of Mandu;
- (c) A mosque; and
- (d) Several other ruined tombs of no historic importance.

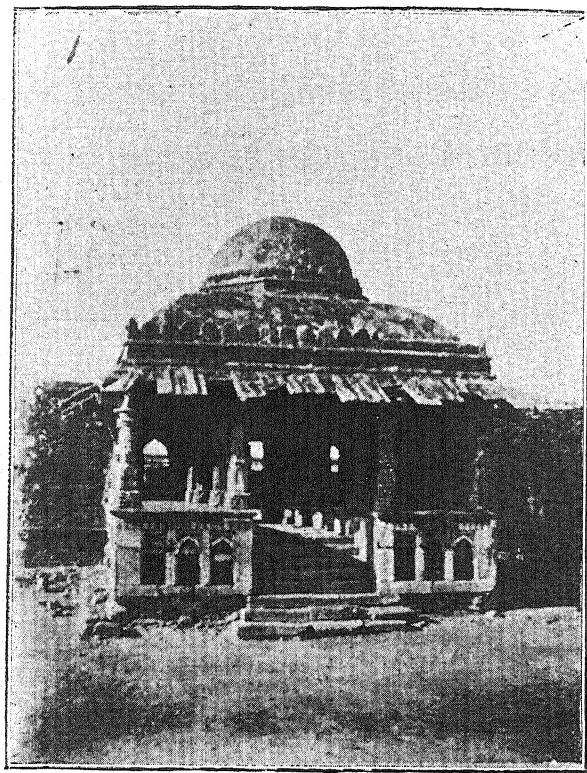
As regards the tomb of Kamal-ud-din, the inscription over the doorway reads thus: —

"This lofty tomb of beauty, this dome which reflects light,

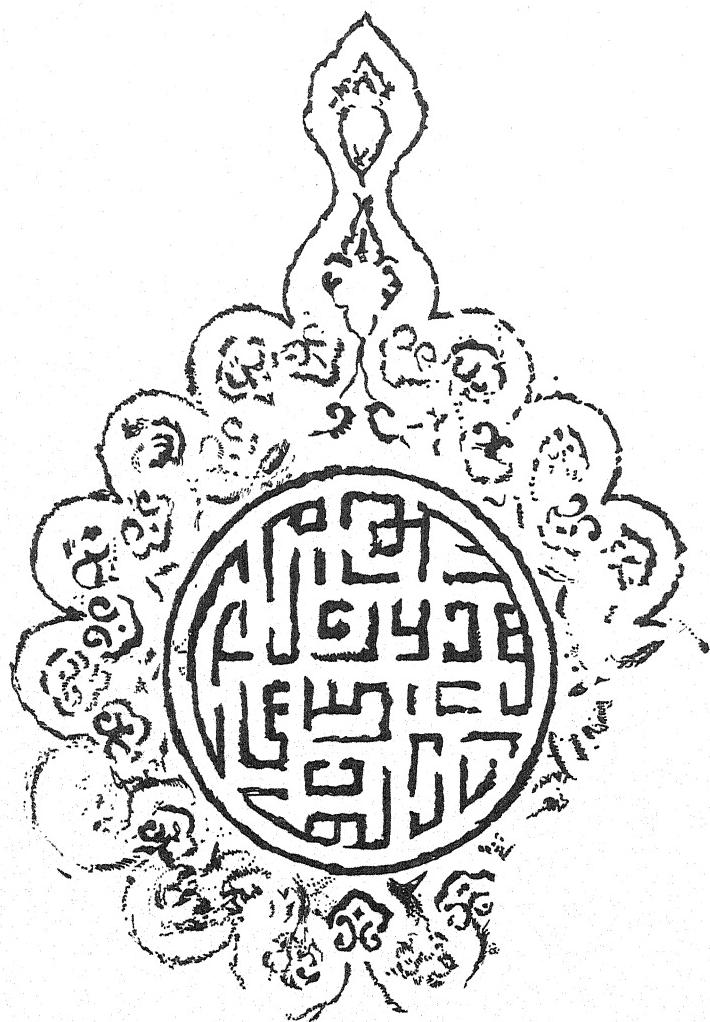
"This is the shrine of the saint

"And people coming from distant places

"Should here prostrate themselves.



THE LAT MUSJID, NORTHERN ENTRANCE.



THE BLUE TILE ON THE WALL, KAMAL MAULA'S TOMB.

"Though the space was small, still the gateway was constructed
 with beauty
 "The small arches over the platform, the threshold and this gateway
 "Resemble the new moon.
 "For the repose of all great persons
 "And for the support of all
 "In the happy reign of the emperor of the world
 "Mahmūd Shah Khilji
 "In the year 861 Hajri this was constructed.
 "May the place of his life be everlasting.
 "On the threshold of the Lord of this world and of Religion
 "Mahmūd lay prostrate.
 "May his kindness continue upon me
 "In the same way as it is extended to all who bow before him."

A. D. 1457,

The origin of the quaint blue tile, with cufic characters, let into the wall above the Mulvi's tomb is a puzzle. There is nothing similar to it to be found in the neighbourhood, and up to the present it has not been possible to trace whence it came. The only mention of it is to be found in a Persian work called "Guljar Abrar," where a translation is given in Persian verse, which we may thus transcribe :

"On this tomb upon a green stone with golden letters it is written
 that, in this world nothing remains of good men, except their goodness."

Kamāl-ud-din, known as "Malwi," because of his long residence in Malwa, was one of the many disciples of the famous Nizam-ud-din Auliya, who flourished in Delhi at the beginning of the fourteenth century. Sent by his spiritual guide to Malwa, Kamāl became famous as a preacher and "attained the heights of sanctity." The date of his death is unknown, but it must have occurred many years prior to the erection by Mahmūd Khilji of the buildings which adorn his grave. His teacher, Nizam-ud-din, died in A.D. 1325; it is thus hardly possible that Kamāl can have lived beyond A.D. 1400, and he cannot, therefore, have met Mahmūd in the flesh. It would seem probable that these buildings were erected as a thanks-offering to the local saint after Mahmūd's return from his successful campaign against the Rana Kumbhu of Chitor.¹

¹ Since this was written an inscription has been exhumed from the small graveyard in this enclosure. It is dated, 795 A.H. (1395 A.D.), i.e., prior to the assumption of sovereignty by Dilawar Khan, 1st king of Malwa, and states that in that year in the reign of Mahmud Shah, son of Sultan Firoz Tughlak, the small and ancient mosques of Dhar which had fallen into ruin through the ravages of time were repaired in a beautiful fashion by Khan Falik Dilawar Khan (then Subah of Malwa).

Opposite that of Kamāl-ud-din stands a tomb which, local tradition insists, is that of Mahmūd Khilji himself. Again to quote tradition, the great warrior is said to have expressed the wish that he "should be buried in the place where people removed their shoes in going to visit the tomb of his patron saint Kamāl-ud-din."

Raja Bhoja's School.

The mosque, contiguous to Kamāl-ud-din's tomb, is known among the Hindoo population as "Raja Bhoja ka Madrassa," i.e., Raja Bhoja's School. In its present form, it is contemporaneous with the buildings round it, but, as in the case of the Lāt Musjid, all the materials used seem to have been taken from Hindoo buildings. The decoration of the "Mehrab" and the dome are more elaborate than in the Lāt Musjid.

As confirming the local tradition of the existence of Raja Bhoja's school in this neighbourhood, the two *Serpobandhi* pillar inscriptions, photographs of which are given below, are extremely interesting.

The following explanation of them, has kindly been given me by Mr. K. K. Lele, Superintendent of Education in the Dhar State.

"Inscription No. I is made up by the windings of one serpent only. It contains the Sanskrit alphabet in the Nagari characters of the 11th or 12th century A. D., and the chief inflectional terminations of nouns and verbs. The former are given in the body of the serpent, and the latter in the tail. The consonants do not differ very much from those in common use now; but the vowels have quite a different shape. The whole inscription is 2 ft. 3 in. in height and 1 ft. in breadth. There are altogether 53 letters and symbols, and 21 nominal and 18 verbal inflectional terminations. As the alphabet plays the chief part in this inscription, it may be called alphabetical."

"Inscription No. II is bigger in size, 2½ ft. in height and 1½ ft. in breadth, with greater contents. It is made up by the intertwining of two serpents, probably male and female. It contains chiefly the personal terminations of the ten tenses and moods of Sanskrit grammar. There are three numbers in Sanskrit, and two sets of terminations (*Parasmaipada* and *Atmanepada*, transitive and intransitive) for each of the tenses and moods: so for the three persons in each there



SERPOBANDHA PILLAR INSCRIPTION NO. I.



SERPOBANDHA PILLAR INSCRIPTION NO. II.

are altogether 18 terminations, 9 of each set, as shown below:—

Parasmai.			Atmame.		
Sing.	du.	pl.	Sing.	du.	pl.
3rd person	3rd person	...	...
2nd „	2nd „	...	...
1st „	1st „	...	...

Inscription Serpobandha No. II.

Thus there are altogether $18 \times 10 = 180$ verbal terminations, 90 of each set, given in the table and numbered on the right-hand side. They are given in slanting columns from the left to the right in the spaces left between the zigzag turnings of the serpents. On the left-hand side are marked the names of the two sets of terminations, the three persons: the third or prathama, the second or madhyama, and the first or uttama; and the three numbers by the figures 1, 2 and 3. The names of the tenses are marked on the top of each column by the initial letter of each. In Sanskrit, besides primitive verbal bases, there are several (not fewer than a dozen) derivative bases of verbs, which show causation, desire, intensity, etc. These and other details are indicated in the round knots below the principal table. The inscription is based on the *Ka-tantra* grammar of Sanskrit.

Above the table there are two Sanskrit stanzas of the Anustubha metre of 32 letters divided into 4 feet of 8 letters each. In the first verse occur the names of Udayaditya and Naravarman, and in the second that of Udayaditya alone. Now these Udayaditya and Naravarman were the almost immeditate successors of the Raja Bhoja who ruled at Dhar during the first half of the eleventh century of the Christian era.

The probable meaning of the stanzas is as follows:—

"The swords of the king Udayaditya and Naravarman were equally ready for the protection of the varnas (*i.e.*, the four castes) and the letters of the alphabet. This pillar inscription has been put here by king Udayaditya for the gratification of poets and princes."

In addition to these evidences, a considerable portion of the floor of the mosque is paved¹ with black stone slabs, on which can be distinctly seen traces of the inscriptions which once covered them, but which unfortunately have been almost totally defaced by the Mahomedan conquerors. Finally, a recent close inspection has brought to light the fact that the reverse side of two of the great black stone slabs which form the lining of the "Mehrab" are covered with similar inscriptions, which happily by their position have escaped destruction, but of which,

¹ For about 1,200 sq. ft.

owing to that same position, it has only been possible up to the present to take fragmental impressions. These impressions seem to show that the inscriptions are a dramatic composition probably on an historical subject, written in the reign of a successor of Bhoja.¹

Mausoleum of Abdulla Shah Changal.

This mausoleum lies south-west of the city on the ancient ramparts of the town. The tomb itself is insignificant, but the history connected with it, as detailed in the Persian inscription over the gateway leading up to the tomb, is of interest. It runs as follows :—

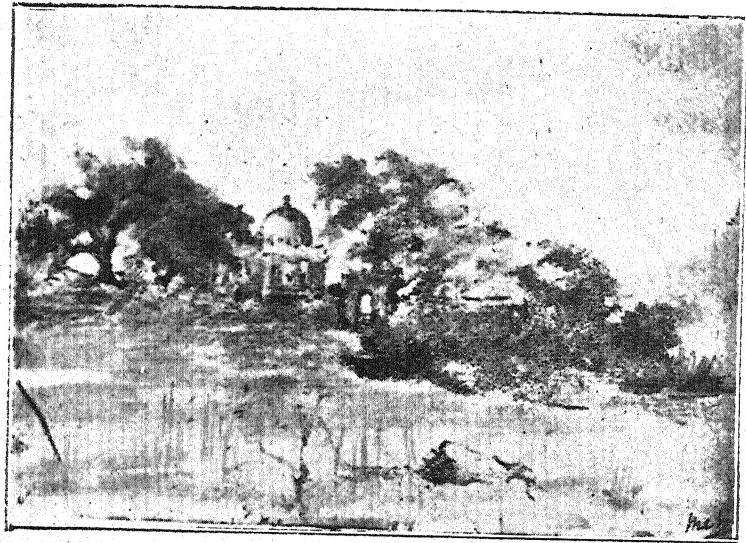
- “ His tomb appears to be wholly a reflection of light
- “ And the Saint who is buried here was the true lover of God,
- “ His voice possessed a power as marvellous as that of David
- “ And by it men and even animals were charmed ;
- “ But what of men, even Angels do homage to his tomb.
- “ It was in the palmy days of the Hindus that he came to this city
- “ And Raja Bhoj,² then king, was so affected by his marvellous power
- “ That he embraced the Faith.
- A. D. 1295-
1310. “ Mahmud Shah Khilji repaired the dome over his tomb, which Allah-ud-din Ghori had constructed before him.
- A. D. 1454. “ He is the first and foremost of the saints, and his tomb was constructed here in 857 A. H.
- “ He is termed Changal, because all who once visited him remained for ever fascinated by his marvellous power.

¹ The dimensions of the stone from which impressions have been taken are 5' 8" x 5', and the whole inscription consists on a rough calculation of about 80 lines of 116 syllables each. Owing to the position and then only with great difficulty 40 half-lines have been copied. The inscription is in classical Sanskrit poetry and was written by the Royal Tutor Madan to be reproduced at Dhar at the spring festival. It is written in honor of Arjuna Varma Deo (A.D. 1209-1217) and mention is made of the wars between the Pramanas and the Chalukyas now happily ended by marriage. A glimpse is given of the high states of civilisation and refinement then prevailing in Dhar, which is described as a city of palaces having beautiful pleasure gardens on the hills surrounding the town. The people prided themselves in the glories of Bhoja who had made Dhar the Queen of Malwa. The excellence of the Dhar musicians as well as of its scholars is also mentioned. It appears that some of the facts mentioned in this inscription are confirmed by a copper-plate grant of Arjuna Varma, dated Samvat 1272 (A.D. 1215) which was written by the same author Madan, and a copy of which has been published in the American Oriental Society's Journal (Part VII.).

² According to Tod, the dates of the three Bhojas were: A.D. 567, A.D. 665, A.D. 1305. The last was the predecessor of Udayaditya.



SANSKRIT INSCRIPTION ABOVE SERPOBANDHA NO. II.



THE TOMB OF SHAH CHANGAL.

"He has attained the highest degree of piety and virtue known to the Dervishes."

The Hindus naturally scoff at the idea that a Raja Bhoj should have been converted to Mahomedanism, but the inscription given above shows how ancient is the tradition, while the Mahomedan story, which is fully detailed in the "Annals of Malwa," goes on to say that Raja Bhoja on his conversion took the name of Abdullah and was buried on the same spot as his teacher. A series of small tombs in the same enclosure are said to be those of forty missionaries who were massacred at the instance of Raja Bhoj himself, evidently prior to the arrival of Shah Changil! The latter was a native of Medina and, in Malwa, one of the earliest apostles of the new creed.¹

Besides the above there are some twelve other tombs of known "Pirs" scattered in and about the city, dating from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. One of the most prominent, and whose tomb is visible at a distance of about a mile south from the Shah Changal is that of Hazrat Pir Parahan. It is said of him that one of the elements, namely air, was under his control ; the seat on which he used to sit floated in the æther, and on it he moved at will from place to place. Hence his name, Pir Parahan—the flying Saint. Another of historical interest is the shrine of Maulana Ghiyas, who is mentioned by Abul Fazl in conjunction with Shaikh Kamal and others as having been one of the saintly followers of Nizamuddin Auliya.² His tomb lies on the Khande Rao hill. He is more specially a patron of learning, and to this day the youth of Dhar frequent his shrine when troubled with the prospect of an examination.

It may here be noted that these Mahomedan shrines of Dhar are equally sacred both to Hindus and Mahomedans.

The only Hindu building of general interest is the temple of Kali, *Kalka Devi*. beautifully situated on a hillock overlooking the lotus-covered tank to the north-west of the city.

The building as it now stands is due to Jaswant Rao Puar, grandfather of the present chief, but the shrine itself is of a far remoter period, and is alleged to date from the early Hindu kings. When the Mahomedans invaded Malwa, the image, to avoid its destruction, was removed and hidden in the city, where it is still to be seen in a miserable hut. It is held by the devotees of Kali that with the exception of the famous Durga of Bengal, this is the only image of the goddess which escaped destruction and survived those iconoclastic times.

¹ I have not succeeded in finding any mention of this saint in the *Ain-i-Akbari*.

² *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol. III., p. 365, Jarrett's translation.

The modern city.

But little comment is necessary on the modern city. It dates from the commencement of last century when Maina Bai built the palace and the Utawad gate as well as the fine temple of Mahadeo in the centre of the town. Of public buildings there are practically none, with the exception of the High School and the hospital founded by Anand Rao Puar, the late Maharaja.

CHAPTER III.

Nalcha.

Nalcha, sixteen miles from Dhar, is now a small village, the headquarters of a tahsil of the same name.

A. D. 1617. It has lost much of its importance since 1820 when it was the headquarters of Sir John Malcolm and still more, since the time when Jehangir visited it, and in his diary describes it as follows :— “ What can be written worthy of the beauty and pleasantness of Nalcha ? The neighbourhood is full of mango trees, the whole of the country is one unbroken and restful evergreen. Owing to its beauty, I remained there three days.

“ Nalcha is one of the best places in Malwa. It has an extensive growth of vines, and among its mango groves and vineyards wander streamlets of water. I arrived at a time (February) when, contrary to the Northern clime, the vines were in blossom and fruit, and so great was the vintage that the meanest boor could eat grapes to his fill. The poppy was also in flowers, and its fields delighted the eye with their many coloured beauty.”

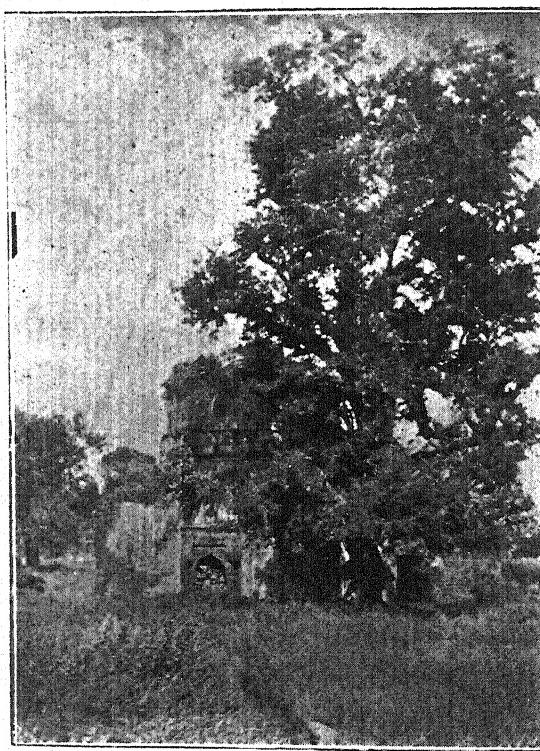
The vines have disappeared, and nothing is sadder than to see the ruin which the recent drought has caused to the mango-groves of which Jehangir speaks. Still much of the natural beauty of the place remains, and one can well understand how Sir John Malcolm chose it as a residence. The house where he lived lies a few hundred yards west of the village, and as he himself records is one of the palaces built by Mahmud Khilji during the reign of the latter in Mandu.

A. D. 1840. Until about 1840, it was used as a travellers' bungalow, but has since fallen into total disrepair.

A. D. 1441. The picturesque ruins surrounding the tank close to which the road passes, date from the time of Mahmud Khilji who, it is recorded, built here some beautiful palaces and mosques. From Nalcha to Mandu the road becomes a sort of *Via Appia*. On the rising ground at a short distance from the village the ruins commence which extend without intermission to the hill of Mandu. On the right is a chain of



THE UTAWAD GATE, DHAE.



NALCHA.

hills, nearly every one of which is topped by crumbling relics of the past. Most of the buildings are quadrangular and surmounted by cupolas below which are ruins of ornamental carving with traces of the original blue enamelled ground. Some of the buildings are large with walled enclosures and porticos. As a "Bombay Subaltern" writing in 1844 says : "They form a dreary picture of the mutability of earthly pomp; a cutting satire on the vanities and nothingness of human endeavour; the hardy pipal tree has clung to the walls with destructive and unrelenting embrace, and the wild denizens of the jungle have usurped the halls of kings, the luxurious retreats of indolent Mahomedans, and of the fair inmates of their harem."

On the left, about half way to Mandu, is the "Kakra Koh," a magnificent ravine of great depth, which extending far into the distance breaks through the Vindhian chain into the Nimar plain. Two marks on the rock near where the two sides meet are pointed out as the veritable footprints of Murtaza Ali, the son-in-law of Mahomed. Just opposite, on the other side of the road, and strongly contrasting in its quiet beauty with the grandeur of the ravine, is a small lake surrounded on three sides by hills, its embankments covered with a rich belt of mangos and jamun trees.

The strange bulky tree, which cannot fail to have attracted notice, is the *Adansonia digitata*, the Baobab tree of Senegal known in Malwa as the Khorasani Imli. It abounds in Nalcha and Mandu, but is not to be found in any other part of Malwa,¹ and is exotic in India. Its trunk attains enormous dimensions, and was supposed by its discoverer, the French botanist Adanson, to exceed any other tree in longevity; he found one 30 feet in diameter, and calculated its age at 5,150 years! The wood is extremely light, its specific gravity being only 262, water being 1,000, and is thus but little heavier than cork. The tree is in full leaf only during the rains, the pods ripening about March; the juice is used by the natives as a febrifuge and a basis for sherbet. It seems probable that this tree was introduced into Malwa from Abyssinia during the reign of Mahmud Khilji, when Mandu was at its zenith and close trade relations with that country existed.

CHAPTER IV.

Mandu—its History.

Before attempting to describe the ruins, it seems desirable to take up the thread of history which connects this place with

¹ Except an occasional stray specimen.

Dhar, and to note as briefly as a period of five hundred years will allow, the events of which Mandu has been the scene.

From time immemorial Mandu must have been a fortress, but, as is the case with Dhar, of its history prior to the Mahomedan conquest very little is known.

Farishta mentions that one Anand Deo Rajput of the tribe of Bais who rose to power after the death of Pertab Chand, constructed the fort of Mandu in Malwa. This Anand Deo lived in the reign of A. D. 591-621. Khusru Parvis, King of Persia, and died after a reign of sixteen years.

In connection with the foundation of Mandu, Colonel Tod writes as follows :

" Maheswar . . . appears to have been the first seat of Government of the Pramaras.¹ They subsequently founded Dhara Nagar (Dhar) and Mandu on the crest of the Vindhian hills . . . the inscription in the nail-headed character fixes the date of the last prince of the Pramaras of Chitore at A. D. 714."

A. H. 714.

A. D. 1305.

A. D. 1398.

In A. D. 1304-05 Mandu suffered the same fate as Dhar at the hands of Ain-ul-Mulk Multani, and one century later, on the succession of Alp Khan, known as Sultan Hoshang, became the capital of the independent kingdom of Malwa. It was seven years previous to this date that Alp Khan withdrew to Mandu, annoyed with his father Dilawar Khan for entertaining as his overlord at Dhar, Mahmud Tagluk, the refugee Monarch of Delhi. According to Farishta he stayed there for three years and laid the foundation of the famous fortress, the remains of which still exist. Although Dilawar Khan took up his residence at Dhar, and considered that place as the seat of his government, he frequently visited Mandu and, as available inscriptions show, built the Assembly Mosque near the Jahaz Mahal and the southern gateway of the fort now known as the Tarapur Gate.

2nd King of
the Ghori
dynasty, A. D.
1405-1432.

On the death of Dilawar Khan, Alp Khan assumed the title of King of Malwa under the name of *Sultan Hoshang Ghori*.

A rumour prevalent at the time that he had poisoned his father (although according to Farishta not generally accepted) was evidently believed by Musaffar Shah of Gujerat, the sworn brother-in-

¹ Modern Puar.

arms of the late king, who immediately collected an army and marched against Hoshang.¹ He reached Dhar without resistance and a battle ensued on the plain in front of the town. The Gujarat chief was wounded and Hoshang was unhorsed, but the troops continued to fight desperately until the scale turned in favour of Gujarat. Hoshang threw himself into the fort of Dhar, wherein he A. D. 1407, was closely besieged, and was finally forced to surrender at discretion. He was taken prisoner to Gujarat, and Nasrat Khan, brother of Muzaffar Shah with a strong detachment, was left in charge of the Government of Malwa. Nasrat, however, failed to gain the goodwill either of the army or of the people and was forced to retire to Gujarat. On his departure, the Malwites appointed Musi Khan, nephew of the late Dilawar Khan, their leader. Hearing this, Hoshang wrote to Muzaffar Shah, pointing out that the unfavourable reports circulated against him were false, and requesting that he might be permitted to recover his usurped dominions. Muzaffar Shah acceded to his request, and deputed his grandson Ahmed to accompany Hoshang to Malwa and reinstate him on his throne.

On arrival at Dhar, which place they soon reduced, Ahmed re- A. D. 1408. turned to Gujarat, and Hoshang continued his advance on Mandu, but failed to make any impression on it until joined by his cousin, *Malik Moghis*. The desertion of this powerful noble so disconcerted Musi Khan, that he abandoned Mandu and fled without further resistance. Two years later, Hoshang, forgetful of all he owed to Muzaffar Shah, and personally to the prince Ahmed, who had now succeeded to the Gujarat throne, marched on Broach for the purpose of aiding Feroz Khan and Haibat Khan² in opposing Ahmed's succession. Ahmed Shah, however, prevented the junction of the three armies, and Hoshang returned incontinently to Dhar, but so restless was his disposition, and so inveterate his enmity to the rulers of Gujarat, that he soon afterwards involved himself in a new war. Hearing that Ahmed Shah had marched against the Raja of Jalwara, Hoshang again led his army into Gujarat and laid it waste. Ahmed Shah accordingly returned to meet him, on which occasion again Hoshang fled to Malwa. A third time Hoshang A. D. 1418,

¹ This attack marks the commencement of the series of wars between Malwa and Gujarat, which finally culminated, in A. D. 1526, with the overthrow of the Malwa Kingdom.

² Younger sons of Muzaffar Shah.

invaded Gujerat during the absence of Ahmed Shah, but retreated on the prince's approach. On this occasion Ahmed Shah followed him up into Malwa and a battle was fought near Ujjain. Hoshang was defeated and fled to Mandu pursued by the Gujerat cavalry, while Ahmed Shah followed as far as Nalcha.

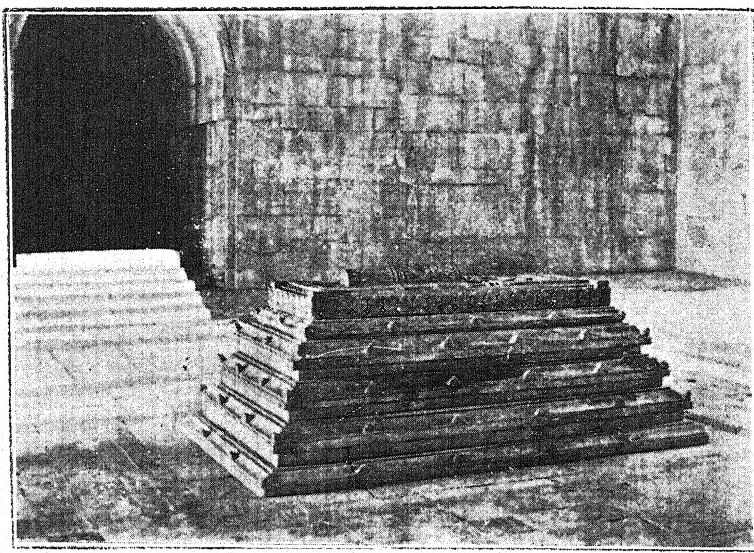
To punish Hoshang, Ahmed twice besieged Mandu, and though he failed each time to take the fort, his retirement had to be purchased, and both as regards success and fair dealing the honours of the campaign remained with the Gujerat chief.

A. D. 1420. In 1420, Hoshang marched on Kherla, a fortress of the Ghondwara kingdom, and having compelled the Raja by treaty to pay a yearly tribute to the king of Malwa, returned laden with booty to Mandu.

A. D. 1421. In 1421, assuming the character of a horse-dealer, and accompanied by a thousand cavalry, he went to Jajnagar, now Jajpur in Orissa. He took with him a number of bay, chestnut and grey horses, such as that Raja was known to admire with the object of bartering these animals and other goods for the famous war elephants of Jajnagar. The pretended merchants having arrived, the Raja intimated his intention first of all to inspect the linen-goods, and then, either to purchase them with money, or barter elephants for them. The goods were accordingly spread on the ground, but owing to the threatening appearance of the weather Hoshang remonstrated, pointing out that the articles would be damaged if rain came on. The Raja's servants, however, insisted, and the goods remained spread out in the open. At length the Raja arrived, and a thunderstorm coming on, the elephants of his cavalcade trampled over the merchandise, which was much damaged. Hoshang, irritated at his loss, without further ado ordered his followers to mount and attack the Raja's escort, many of whom were slain, the Raja himself being taken prisoner. Hoshang then informed him of his rank, and the Raja purchased his liberty with seventy-five elephants; he was also required to escort the warlike merchant to the confines of his country, whence he was permitted to return but not without having handed over a few more of his famous elephants.

On his way back to Malwa, Hoshang heard that Ahmed Shah had invaded the country and was besieging Mandu. He, therefore, seized the fort of Kherla so as to have a position to fall back on





THE SARCOPHAGUS OF HOSHANG AT MANDU.

in case Mandu fell, and thence continuing his march he succeeded in entering the fort by the Tarapur Gate. On this Ahmed Shah raised the siege and retired to Sarangpur. Hoshang having followed by a shorter route, reached there before him, and sent the following hypocritical message to delay his advance :—“The blood of the faithful depends on us ; let us restrain then our hands from the mutual destruction of true Believers. I beseech you to desist from warfare and to return to Gujarat. Meanwhile, let hostilities cease, and receive my ambassador, who has power to conclude an eternal peace between us.” Ahmed Shah was deceived by these protestations, and Hoshang availed himself of his credulity by making a night attack on the Gujarat camp. His army penetrated to the Royal Tent, and it was only through the gallantry of the Rajput guard that Ahmed Shah made his escape. The latter hovered about the skirts of the camp until day-break, and having rallied a small but resolute band of his followers, led them against the hitherto victorious Malwites. Hoshang fought bravely, and both chiefs were wounded, but the King of Malwa, “on whom the face of victory never smiled,” was defeated, and took refuge in the fort of Sarangpur. Ahmed not only recovered all his property, but in addition captured twenty-seven of Hoshang’s elephants ; he then retired towards Gujarat only to be followed by Hoshang. An action took place, in which Ahmed was again victorious and Hoshang fled a second time to Sarangpur.

Thence he repaired to Mandu to recruit his defeated army, and shortly afterwards besieged the fort of Gagrone, which fell into his hands. He also invested Gwalior, but was compelled to raise the siege and return to Mandu. In 1428 he again suffered defeat, on this occasion at the hands of the Deccanis under Ahmed Shah Bhāmani, when his baggage, followers and the ladies of his family remained in the hands of the enemy. His last expedition was against the fort of Kalpi, which he took. From here he returned to Mandu and thence to Hoshungabad, where he died in the month of September. He was in the first instance buried here, but his body was afterwards removed to Mandu in state and entombed in the splendid mausoleum which still exists. By the help of his minister, Malik Mughis Khilji and of his son Mahmud, Malwa during the last ten years of his reign prospered, and the limits of the Kingdom were much extended.

A. D. 1423.

A. D. 1428.

A. D. 1431.

Death of

Hoshang,

A. D. 1432.

Third King of
the Ghori Dy-
nasty, A. D.
1432-35.

On Hoshang's death, his son Ghazni Khan, with the title of *Sultan Mahammed Ghori*, succeeded to the throne. It was this prince that ordered his capital to be called "Shadiabad,"¹ or the "City of Joy." Malik Mughis, Hoshang's minister, and his son, Mahmûd, were maintained in power. The Sultan, finding that the Nandod Rajputs were raiding a part of Malwa, despatched his chief minister with an army to chastise them, and leaving all public business in the hands of Mahmûd, abandoned himself to drunkenness and dissipation. After a reign of three years, during which the power of Mahmûd continually increased, he was poisoned by one of the private servants at the instance of his minister. The Ghori Dynasty thus came to an end.

A. D. 1435.

With the reins of power entirely in his hands Mahmûd asked his father to accept the succession, but the latter declined saying that he alone was best able to conduct the affairs of the State.

4th King of
Malwa and
1st of the
Khilji dyn-
asty. A.D.
1435-69.

Accordingly on the 16th of May 1435, Sultan Mahmûd Khilji ascended the throne in the thirty-fourth year of his age, and was crowned in Mandu with the tiara of Sultan Hoshang. He raised his father to royal dignity, and delivered over exclusively to him the seals of office of prime minister. Shortly after his accession, a revolt among the nobles was quelled, but Ahmed Shah of Gujerat, taking advantage of the discontent, marched to attack Mandu in support of Massaoud Ghori, son of the late King. This attack was repulsed by Mahmûd and his father, and a fatal disease breaking out in Ahmûd's camp he was compelled to retreat to Gujerat. Meantime Mahmûd, after a siege of eight months, took Chanderi, and marching into Gwalior ravaged that territory.

A. D. 1439.

On his return to Mandu he commenced the repairs of the palace of the late Hoshang and completed the mosque and tomb which that chief had begun. In the following year Mahmud received petitions from the chiefs of Mewat and Delhi stating that Syed Mahomed, King of Delhi, was totally incapable of carrying on the government of the Empire, and inviting him to march to Delhi and ascend the throne. With this invitation, Mahmûd willingly complied, and at once marched towards the capital. Syed Mahomed,

A. D. 1440.

¹ *Vide* Farishta's History of Malwa. But on the Tarapur Gate, which was completed in A. D. 1406, the name ("Shadiabad" and not Mandu is used. *Vide infra.* Chapter V., Translation of inscription on Tarapur Gate.

in alarm, wished to quit Delhi and fly to the Punjab. He was, however, dissuaded from this purpose, and sent his son to repel the invaders. Mahmûd, hearing the King was not with the Delhi forces, deemed it derogatory to proceed in person; so, keeping an escort of cavalry with him, he ordered the rest of his army under his two sons, Ghias-ud-din and Fidwi Khan, to oppose the enemy. In the engagement which ensued, both armies fought with great valour until sunset, when the retreat was sounded on both sides. On that night Sultan Mahmûd dreamed that he saw an unknown person placed on the throne at Mandu, and being much disturbed on this account was deliberating how to act, when a messenger unexpectedly arrived from Syed Mahomed ordering his son to make peace on any terms. An agreement was immediately come to, and Mahmûd with his army retreated to Mandu.

It is stated as a remarkable fact that on that very night an insurrection took place in the city of Mandu, which was put a stop to only by the resolute and timely exertions of Mahmûd's father. It is also stated, and Farishta says this version appears most probable, that "Mahmûd's return was caused by the rumour of an expected attack from Gujerat." He reached Mandu in 1441, and distributed alms among the poor as a thanks-offering for his safe return. It was in this year that he took up his residence in Nalcha and beautified that place with buildings.

He could not, however, remain long at peace, and during the A.D. 1442-
following two years, devoted himself to the conquest of the 43.
Rajput Kingdom of Chitore. In this campaign he was partially successful. It was on the occasion of the capture and destruction of one of the forts¹ in the Chambal District that the defeated Rajputs were compelled to eat the calcined parts of their idols mixed with "pan" in order that Mahmûd might say: "They have eaten their own gods." This fort had frequently and successfully withstood the attacks of the kings of Gujerat, and on its capture, Mahmûd caused public thanksgiving to be made, which every person in the camp was required to attend. In the next year, he completely defeated the Rana of Chitore himself, and compelled that chief to take shelter in his fort. He did not, however, press his advantage, but returned to Mandu, where, in celebration of his successes, he built a beauti-

¹ Kumbhalmir.

ful Tower of Victory,¹ seven stories high, in front of the college which he had founded opposite the mosque of Sultan Hoshang.

It was while supporting him in this campaign that his father² died at Mandisaur. On hearing the news, Mahmûd immediately repaired to Mandisaur alone, caused the remains of his departed parent to be embalmed and conveyed to Mandu "and became so distracted with grief that he tore his hair and raved like one bereft of his senses."

A. D. 1445. In 1445 he occupied himself with an attack on the districts of Kalpi and Jaunpur, and quartered himself in Fatehabad, "where he built a palace seven stories high." He returned to Mandu in the following year and founded a large hospital³ and appointed his own physician, Maulana Fazl Ullah, to superintend it. The establishment provided wards and attendants for all patients and "even apartments for maniacs." In 1446 he reduced the strongholds of Mandelgarh and Anandpur, and compelled the Raja of Kotah and Bundi to pay tribute, and in 1450 marched to the assistance of the Raja of Champaner, who had been attacked by Mahomed Shah, son of Ahmed Shah of Gujarat. On this occasion, Mahomed Shah was compelled to retreat to Ahmedabad with the loss of all his camp equipage and military stores. It was at

A. D. 1451. this period that Mahmûd determined to conquer Gujarat. Accordingly, with an army 100,000 strong, he marched against Ahmedabad and encamped at Sirkej. The Gujarat army under Kutub Shah⁴ lay at Khampur, six miles distant. In the battle which followed, Mahmûd himself led the centre of his line, while his sons Ghiasud-din and Fidwi Khan commanded the flanks. The King with a small escort made a dash on the royal pavilion, and actually succeeded in carrying off the crown of Gujarat ; but the main body of his army was completely defeated, and he was compelled to retreat to Mandu. "It is worthy of remark," says Farishta, "that Sultan Mahmûd never experienced a defeat before or after during his reign."

¹ See Chap. V. Unfortunately this Tower, which must have formed one of Mandu's greatest monuments, is now a total ruin.

² Malik Moghis.

³ The site of this building cannot now be located.

⁴ Successor of Mahomed Shah.

In 1453 he concluded a treaty of peace with Gujerat, and entered A. D. 1453 into an alliance with that State, against the Rajputs of Mewar. In this campaign which was varied by a raid into the Deccan, he captured the fortress of Ajmere, and in a combat with the Rana Kumbu of Chitore (although Farishta does not admit it) must have suffered severe defeat, as it was in commemoration of this battle that the Column of Victory still standing in Chitore, was built.

In 1466 peace was concluded between Malwa and the Deccan, and it was agreed that Kherla should be retained by Malwa and considered the southern limit of the kingdom.

Meantime the fame of Mahmûd's successes had spread far and wide. The Kalifa of Egypt sent him an embassy with a letter in which he was styled "Defender of the Faithful." He was also visited by one Sheik Alla-ud-din, said to be one of the most holy men of the time, and other noted religious personages. In 1467 the King of Bokhara, ancestor of the Moghul Emperors, also honoured him with an embassy. Much flattered by this mark of attention, Sultan Mahmûd loaded the ambassador with honours and presents of every description, amongst these, which included elephants, horses, dancing girls, and slaves "a few mynas and parrots which had been taught the Persian language."

In 1469, after a campaign against the Kichiwara zamindars of Malwa, the great Mahmûd died at the age of sixty-eight. Farishta says of him : May 27, A. D. 1469.

"He was polite, brave, just, and learned. His tent was his home and his resting-place the field of battle. His leisure hours were devoted to hearing recitations from the histories and memoirs of the courts of different kings of the earth. He prided himself, not without reason, on his intimate knowledge of human nature. His justice was prompt and exact; if a theft was committed, a sum equal to the amount stolen was levied from the police and the injured party thus reimbursed. He ordered the destruction of tigers and other wild beasts, and proclaimed that if after a period of two years a human being was killed by a wild beast, unless in attacking it, he would hold the governor of the district responsible. The promptitude he observed in making his actions accord with his words

5th King of
Malwa and
2nd of the
Khilji dynas-
ty. A. D.
1469.

was so well understood that for many years after his death wild beasts of any description were scarce throughout the kingdom."

Sultan *Ghias-ud-din*, the eldest son of Mahmûd, ascended the throne on the death of his father. He compensated his brother, Fidwi Khan, with the gift of the government of Rintumbore in perpetuity, and appointed his own son, Abdul Khader, Prime Minister and heir-apparent with the title of Nasir-nd-din.

It was during the reign of this prince that Mandu justified its name of Shadiabad. Shortly after his accession, the king gave a grand entertainment and addressing his officers stated that as during the last thirty years he had been constantly employed in the field, fighting under the banners of his illustrious father, he now yielded up the sword to his son, that he himself might enjoy ease for the rest of his days. He accordingly established within his seraglio all the separate offices of a court, and it is said had at one time 15,000 women within his palace. Amongst these were school-mistresses, musicians, dancers, embroiderers; women to read prayers, and persons of all trades and professions. Five hundred beautiful young Turki girls in men's clothes, uniformly clad and armed with bows and quivers, stood on his right hand. On his left were five hundred Abyssinian females, also uniformly dressed and armed with fire-arms. Each dweller in the city of women received her daily dole of grain and coppers, and besides them were many pensioners, such as mice, parrots and pigeons, which similarly received their daily allowance.

With all these extraordinary fancies, the lord of the city of pleasure was extremely religious. None of the five daily prayers passed unprayed. If he was asleep, the attendants were authorized to use every exertion to prevent his missing the hour of prayer. And Farishta writes : "It is well known that they have even sprinkled water on his face and pulled him out of bed before he would rise, but that on these occasions he was never known to lose his temper."

The following extract from Mr. J. Campbell's paper on Mandu fittingly describes the time :—

"The king's spirit of peace steeped the land, which like its ruler after thirty years of fighting yearned for rest. For fourteen

years neither inward malcontent nor foreign foe broke the calm. When in 1482 Bahlo Lodi advanced from Delhi against Malwa, the talk of Mandu was of Bahlo's approach; but no whisper of it passed into the charmed city of women. At last the son-minister forced his way to the king's presence. At the news of pressing danger, the soldier spirit awoke, and Ghias-ud-din's orders for meeting the invasion were so prompt and well planned that the King of Delhi payed a ransom and withdrew. A second period of rest followed, and ended with Nasir-ud-din once more forcing his way into the Presence.

The son presented his father, now an aged man of eighty, with A. D. 1500 a cup of sherbet and bade him drink. The king, whose armlet of bezvar stone had already twice made poison harmless, drew the stone from his arm. He thanked the Almighty for granting him unworthy the happiest life that had ever fallen to the lot of man, and prayed that the sin of his death might not be laid to his son's charge. He then drank the poison and died.¹

With reference to this crime, it is explained that the younger brother, Allah-ud-din, in view of their father's advanced age, resolved either to depose his elder brother (Nasir-ud-din) after his accession, or to cut him off before his father's death. The contention between the two princes rose to such a height that the elder brother was obliged to fly from Mandu. Having collected a force, A. D. 1499. however, he returned and besieged the fort, and using the influence which as Prime Minister he had gained during the whole of his father's reign won over certain officers within, who opened the Tarapur gate for his admission. On his entrance, Allah-ud-din fled to his father's palace, and Nasir-ud-din following him closely put him to death as well as all his children and the whole of his family. He then assumed the reins of government, and was formally crowned. A few days afterwards his father was found dead in the Seraglio.

On his succession to the throne, Nasir-ud-din had to deal with a series of domestic feuds. Sher Khan of Chanderi, who was joined by the Governor of Mandisaur and other malcontent nobles, raised the standard of rebellion. In this and the following year, A. D. 1500-12

¹ Journal of Bombay Branch of R. A. Society,† Article XI., "Mandu," by J. M. Campbell, Esq., LL.D., etc. Vol. XIX., No. LII.

however, they were defeated and the rebellion quelled. On his return to Mandu, Nasir-ud-din gave himself up to debauchery, and further devoted himself to discover and put to death all the adherents of his brother. His personal servants even did not escape his cruelty. It is said that one day whilst lying in a state of intoxication on the verge of a reservoir he fell into it, and was pulled out by four of his female slaves. On awaking with a violent headache, the women in order to account for his condition mentioned what had occurred, at which he was so enraged that he drew his sword and killed them all with his own hands.

A. D. 1502. In 1502, the king marched to attack the Rajputs of Kichiwara, and on arriving at Akbarpur,¹ built a splendid palace, which was much admired at that time. Having plundered the Kichiwara country, he returned to Mandu, and in the following year proceeded towards Chitore. Here he succeeded in extracting a large present in money from the Rana, and procured as a wife a daughter of one of the Rajput nobles. He also directed a campaign against Ahmed Nizam Shah of the Deccan, who had attacked the Chief of Khandesh, then subordinate to Malwa. The result of these operations was that the Deccan Chief retired to Ahmednagar, while Nasir-ud-din's forces occupied Burhanpur.

A. D. 1512. In 1512, the nobles, wearied and disgusted with the persecutions and cruelty of Nasir-nd-din, persuaded his son, Shahab-ud-din, to assume the government. For this purpose, the latter left Mandu and collected a large force, but was opposed and defeated by the king and thereupon fled to Delhi. Farishta says that shortly after this Sultan Nasir-ud-din was seized with a fever brought on by excess at the town of Bhurtpur, from which illness he died. But another version, which is confirmed by Jehangir's memoirs, has it, that he repeated his former experiences in the reservoir, whence on this occasion no pitying female pulled him out.

A. D. 1502. Prior to his death, he had nominated his third son Mahmûd as his successor.

¹ It is difficult to locate this place. Campbell identifies it with the village of Akbarpur on the S. bank of the Narbada about 15 miles from Mandu. It is true there are ruins of what was evidently once a fort, but these ruins have no suggestion of magnificence and bear no resemblance to those of Mandu. Moreover the Kichiwara country lies far to the north of Mandu, the Chiefs of Raglugarh being the present descendants of the old Kichiwara Rajputs, who troubled so much the Kings of Malwa.

He was buried at Mandu and the Emperor Jehangir thus describes his visit to his tomb : " It is related that when during his reign Sher Khan Arghān Sur visited Nasir-ud-din's grave, he ordered his attendants to flagellate the parricide's tomb. When I visited the sepulchre, I kicked his grave and ordered those with me to do the same. Not satisfied with this, I ordered his bones to be dug up and burned, and the ashes to be thrown into the Nerbada." A.D. 1540-55.

Mahmûd on his succession assumed the title of *Mahmûd the Second*. As showing the wealth and power to which the Mandu Kings had now attained, Farishta relates that at his coronation no fewer than seven hundred elephants with velvet trappings embroidered in gold formed part of the procession. A revolt on the part of Mahafiz Khan, Commandant of Mandu, made with the object of securing the succession of Nasir-ud-din's second son, prince Sahib Khan, forced Mahmûd to leave his capital. The king, however, succeeded in attracting to his standard many of the nobles of the surrounding districts, chief amongst them being Medni Rai, a Rajput. With his army he returned towards Mandu, and a severe engagement took place, the result of which was eventually decided by the gallant conduct of Medni Rai and his Rajput infantry. Sahib Khan was obliged to take refuge in the fort, and Sultan Mahmûd in consideration of their relationship was ready to offer him terms. These, however, were refused, on which Mahmûd commenced a regular siege, and Sahib Khan and Mohafiz Khan, fearing treachery from within, fled to Gujarat. 7th King of Malwa, 4th of Khilji dynasty. A.D. 1512-30.

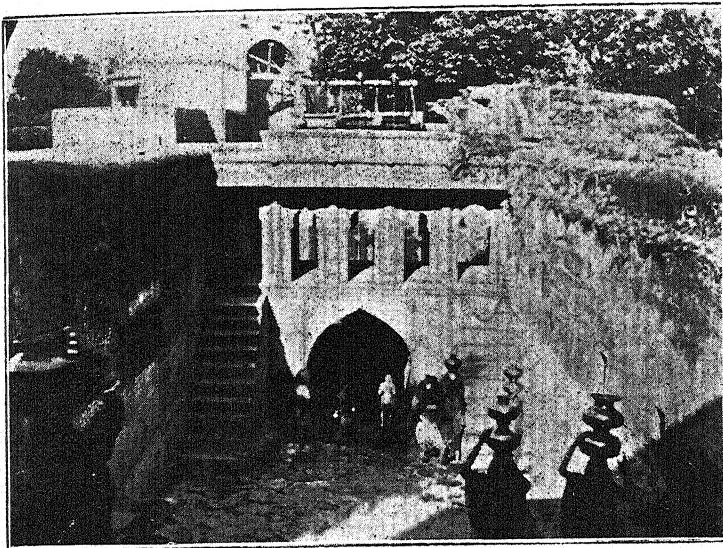
During the next few years, Medni Rai, who had acquired complete control over the king, succeeded in removing the Mahomedans from all posts of influence, and in becoming practical arbiter of the State. On one occasion, Mahmûd, recognizing that power was going from his hands, endeavoured to improve the situation by dismissing his entire Rajput army. Medni Rai, however, gained him over, and the Rajputs remained. A second time, apparently irritated beyond endurance by the helplessness of his position, he ordered his attendants to waylay Medni Rai and a certain Rajput officer Saliwahan, and to kill them. They were accordingly attacked, and the latter was killed, but Medni Rai escaped to his house. The Rajputs hearing of the death of Saliwahan attacked the palace, but the king, " who though a

A.D. 1513.

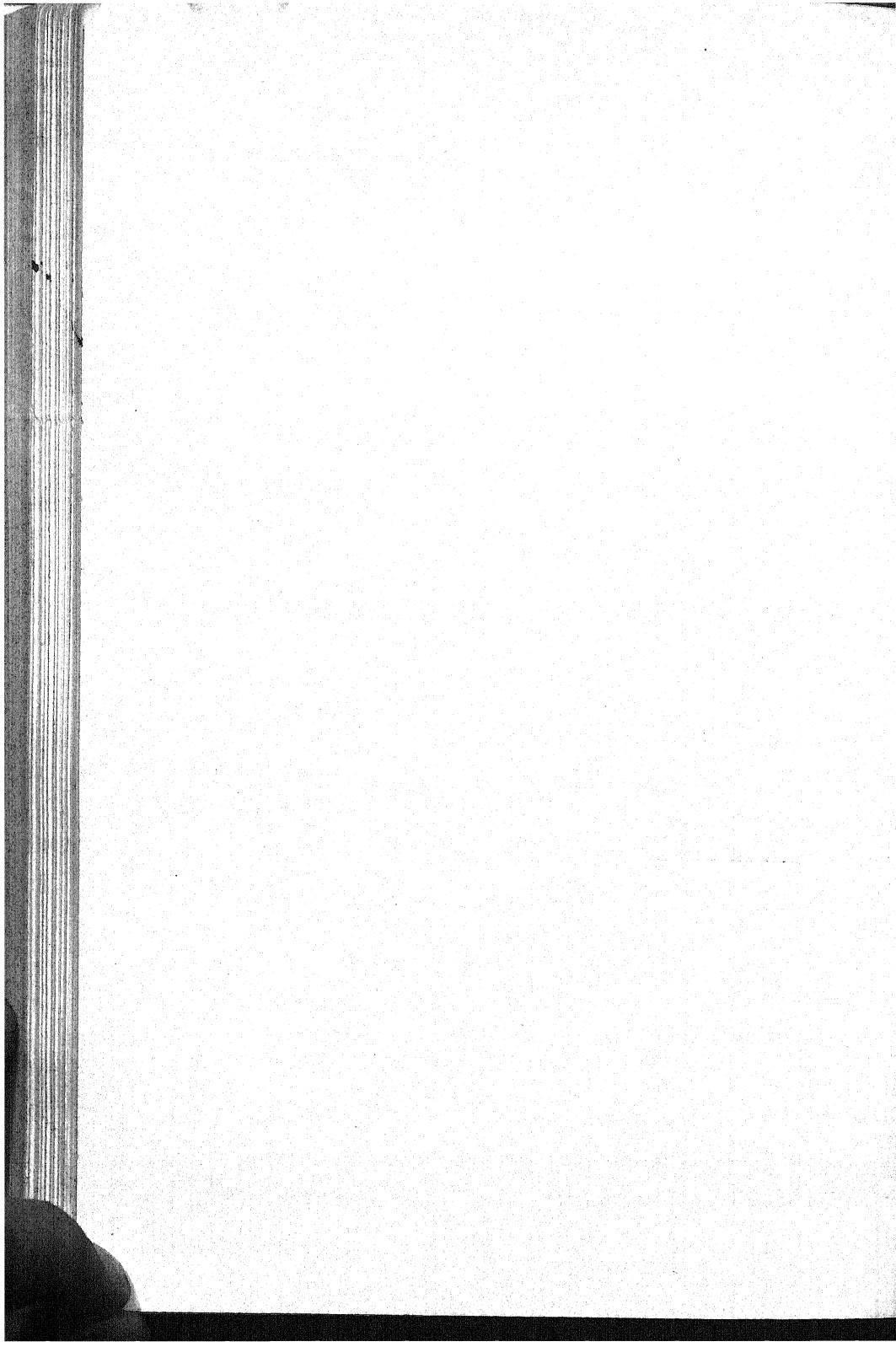
fool had not his equal in courage in the hour of danger," beat them back. Eventually Medni Rai was again taken into favour, but being ever after suspicious of his master's intentions, he always attended the palace with an escort of five hundred men. "This measure so greatly disturbed the king's mind," says Farishta, "that one night, leaving the fort of Mandu with one horseman and a few foot-attendants, he did not draw rein till he A. D. 1517. arrived on the borders of Gujerat." Here he was well received and after collecting an army, Muzaffar, king of Gujerat, accompanied him towards Malwa.

Having arrived at Dhar, which immediately surrendered, the two kings marched to Mandu and laid siege to that fortress. After a close investment, which lasted some months, Mandu was taken by assault, and it is said that 19,000 Rajputs were slain including those who were destroyed in the performance of the *Javar*, i.e., ceremony involving the sacrifice of their women and children on a funeral pile. While Sultan Mahmûd entered Mandu, Muzaffar withdrew to Dhar, where he received an invitation from Mahmûd as follows : "Mandu is a splendid fort, you should come and see it;" to which Muzaffar replied: "May Mandu bring good fortune to Sultan Mahmûd—he is the master of the fort. For the sake of the Lord I came to his help. On Friday I will go to the fortress, and having read the prayers in Mahmûd's name, I will return." Having thus visited Mandu, where he was magnificently entertained, the generous Muzaffar retired to Gujerat, leaving a force of three thousand men to help to guard the hill. Immediately afterwards Mahmûd marched against Medni Rai, and Rana Sanga of Chitore coming to the assistance of the latter, a great battle was fought. Despite the extraordinary bravery which Mahmûd showed on this occasion, the Malwa army was totally defeated, and the king himself, covered with wounds, was taken prisoner. Rana Sanga treated him with every mark of attention, dressed his wounds, and attended him in person, and after his recovery furnished him with an escort of a thousand Rajput horse and sent him to Mandu, where he reassumed the reins of government.

A. D. 1526. In 1526, by giving protection to his outlawed brother Chand Khan, and to Razi-ul-mulk, a refugee Gujerat noble, Mahmûd incurred the wrath of Bahadur Shah, who had succeeded his father Muzaffar on the throne of Gujerat.



A WELL IN THE DHAR CITY.



Bahadur apparently did not wish to press matters to extremity, and it was only when it was evident that Mahmûd did not desire a peaceful settlement that he advanced against Mandu. Mahmûd defended the place with 3,000 men, and the defence was gallantly maintained until the Gujeratis having scaled Songarh rushed down the slope and burst into the fort. May 20th.
A. D. 1526.

Mahmûd was forced to surrender, and would probably have received kind treatment, but his temper got the better of his judgment, and he abused his conqueror to his face, whereupon he was despatched with his seven sons to the fort of Champaner. On the way the detachment was attacked by 2,000 Bhils and Kolis at Dohad. Asuf Khan, the commander of the escort, imagining that the assault was made with the purpose of effecting Mahmûd's release, ordered him and his sons to be put to death. Thus ended the Khilji dynasty, and until 1534 Mandu remained under Gujerat. A. D. 1526.
End of Khilji dynasty.

In that year, Humayun Badshah marched against Gujerat, and having defeated Bahadar Shah at Mandisaur followed him to Mandu. He succeeded in capturing the fort in the same way that Bahadur had surprised Mahmûd's garrison. Sending two hundred men to the back of the fortress, they scaled the south-west heights of Songarh and opened the gate to let in their compatriots. Bahadur apprised by Mallû Khan of what had happened rushed out with four or five attendants, and being joined by some 20 others reached the gate by which Humayun's troops had entered. Cutting their way through these they gained the citadel of Songarh, and while two of Bahadur's chiefs, Suddar Khan and Sultan Alam Lodi, maintained themselves in the citadel, Bahadur himself let his horses down the cliffs by ropes, and after a thousand difficulties made his way to Champaner. On the following day, Saddar Khan and Alam Lodi surrendered to Humayun. A. D. 1534.
Conquest of Mandu by Humayun.

In 1535, owing to the revolt in Bengal, Humayun was forced to retire from Gujerat and withdrew to Mandu. Thence, as fortune was still against him, he returned to Agra.

Shortly afterwards, Mallû Khan, one of the officers of the late Khilji dynasty, retook all the country lying between the Nerbada and the town of Bhilsa, and had himself crowned in Mandu under the title of Khadar Shah of Malwa. It was about this time that he received from Sher Shah, then king of Bengal, a letter written

in the form of an order¹ requiring him to co-operate against the king of Delhi. Khadar Shah was so incensed at receiving a document of this kind that he sent a reply written in similar form. When Sher Shah received the answer, he tore off the seal and putting it on the point of his sword said: "God willing, if I ever meet with Khadar Shah, I will put him in mind of his impertinence in putting his seal on the face of a letter to my address." Consequently when that monarch ascended the throne of Delhi he marched against Malwa.

A. D. 1545.

A. D. 1545-53.

Khadar Shah went to do homage at Sarangpur, where he was well received, though his kingdom was given to Shujaat Khan. Nervous at what would next happen, Khadar Shah fled to Gujerat. Later, however, he returned with a large force and attacked Mandu, the Governor of which was then Hajee Khan. Hearing of his arrival, Shujaat Khan immediately proceeded to Dhar, and attacking Khadar Shah forthwith completely defeated him. During the reign of Sher Shah's successor, Selim Shah, Shujaat was forced to leave Malwa, but was eventually pardoned by Selim and reinstated in his government. He died in 1554 and was succeeded by his eldest son, Malik Bajazeed, who assumed the title of Baz Bahadur.

Farishta says: "Among the public works which do credit to Shujaat's memory is the town of Shujaalpur near the city of Ujjain, independent of which are many other memorials of his reign in different parts of Malwa." So far as is known, none of the ruins of Mandu are connected with this chief.

A. D. 1555.

After defeating and killing his brother Daulut Khan, who had control of the Ujjain and Sarangpur districts, and asserting his authority in other parts of Malwa, Bajazeed was crowned at Mandu under the title above mentioned. He then undertook a campaign against the Gonds, but his army having been drawn into an ambush, he was completely defeated and had to make his way alone to Sarangpur. Baz Bahadur was so much affected by this disgraceful defeat that to drive away the memory of it he abandoned himself to pleasure.

At this period the science of music had attained considerable perfection in Malwa, and it is said that Baz Bahadur devoted himself to its cultivation and encouragement. His attachment to

¹ Parwana as opposed to a Kharita.





THE PALACE OF BAZ BAHADUR.

Rup Mati at that time became notorious, and the "Loves of Baz Bahadur and Rup Mati" have been handed down to posterity in song.

The following is one of the stories : Baz Bahadur, the last king of Malwa, a young and gallant prince, passionately fond of music, was one day hunting in the forest bordering the right bank of the Nerbada. Having outridden all his retinue, he was in eager pursuit, when his ear was attracted by the most exquisite flood of melody from a neighbouring glade. He followed the sound and soon reached the spot, where seated 'neath a *bargat*¹ tree a young Hindu maiden was singing to the woods and to the deer and birds which had thronged thither to listen to her voice. He was dazzled by her beauty and enchanted by her unrivalled song. Her conversation riveted his love. He strove to win her heart and hand.

The first was speedily his, but the splendid lot to which he wooed her could not tempt her to dishonour the sacred race from which she sprang. She replied to all his overtures : "When the Nerbada shall flow through Mandu, I will be thy bride, but not till then."

"Mandu is elevated by precipices at least 1,200 feet above the Nerbada ; nevertheless, Baz Bahadur determined that the river should obey the voice of love, and climb the mountain height. He assembled the strength of his kingdom, axe in hand, to try the force of art. The river god, dreading to measure his strength against the majesty of love, rose before the astonished people in the form of a giant, whose forehead was lost in the skies. "Desist," he cried, "from thy rash attempt, but receive the well-merited reward of thy love ;—repair to Mandu, to a spot which overlooks our flood ; search there for our sacred tamarisk and dig wherever it is found ; beneath it, thou shalt come to a pure spring which, being tributary to us, is part of our divinity. Thither bear thy bride, to live as she has often sworn to live, upon the borders of her natal river."

"The king obeyed, he found the tamarisk and the spring, he dug the reservoir, he built near it a palace, and constructed a fine aqueduct to lead the waters of the fountain² to the baths of the palace."

¹ *Ficus parasitica*.

² The Rewa Kund—*vide* map.

"Rup Mati's father, who was the Thakur of Dharampuri, having heard these things, the maiden was condemned by him, who fondly loved her, but in whose race the pride of caste is a besetting sin, to drain the poisoned bowl of Durga,—her corpse to be consumed on a funeral pile, and her ashes to be scattered over the sacred waters of the Nerbada. She chants the Song of Death, but when about to drink the bowl, the Prince of Mandu rides up, and after a manly combat carries off Rup Mati to Mandu to become his queen."

The temple on the bank of the Nerbada is still shown at Dharampuri, on which Rup Mati's Guru nightly lit his lamp to mark for the Hindu maiden the line of the sacred stream.

But to revert to history, Akbar taking advantage of the condition of Malwa under Baz Bahadur, despatched an army with Adham Khan in command to occupy the country. Baz Bahadur heard nothing of the movement until the Moghuls had arrived close to Sarangpur. He immediately collected an army and entering on the field of action "with as little concern as if going into the company of females" he led the attack. Although he personally behaved with the greatest gallantry, his troops deserting him, he was compelled to fly and took refuge with Miran Mubarik of Khandesh in Asirgarh.

Meantime Pir Mahomed, who had succeeded Adham Khan as Governor of Malwa, followed Baz Bahadur into Khandesh, and penetrating as far as Burhanpur, totally devastated the country. On this Miran Mubarik Khan called Fazal Khan of Berar to his aid, and an alliance was formed. The Moghul troops glutted by debauch, refused to fight, and their leader was compelled to retreat towards Malwa. The allied forces immediately followed, and an action was fought on the banks of the Nerbada, in which the Moghuls were totally defeated, and Pir Mahomed himself with many others was drowned in the river. The confederates continued their march to Mandu, where Baz Bahadur again assumed the reins

- A. D. 1561. of government. Scarcely had he done so, however, when Akbar despatched a second army under Abdullah Khan Uzbeg to again conquer Malwa. Baz Bahadur on this occasion apparently offered no resistance, but fled to Gondwana, where he remained, except for A. D. 1570. occasional sallies against the Moghul power until 1570, when he gave himself up to Akbar, and was appointed a commander of 2,000 cavalry. He died some time prior to 1590, and according to the

Ain-i-Akbari "Baz Bahadur and his Rup Mati are buried together. Their tomb stands in the middle of a tank at Ujjain."

In 1573 Abdullah Khan, having evinced symptoms of revolt, Akbar had made a sudden incursion into Malwa. Abdullah retreated to Gujerat, but opposed such a steady resistance to the king that the latter, who was accompanied by a small body of cavalry only, had to retreat to Mandu. Here Farishta records he spent some time in viewing the buildings erected by the Khilji kings, and it was here he married the daughter of Mubarik, King of Khandesh, who came to do him homage. Abul Fazl refers to Mandu at this period as being one of the 28 towns in the Empire where copper coins were minted.

In 1584 Mirza Aziz Koka, foster-brother of Akbar, was Governor of Malwa, and in 1590 was succeeded by Shab-ud-din Ahmed Khan, A. D. 1584. A. H. 993. who died in the same year, and was followed by the Emperor's own son Prince Murād Mirza. It was at this time (A. D. 1592) that Akbar again visited Mandu, when on his way to the Deccan. Mirza Aziz Koka, who had been transferred to Gujerat, having started on a pilgrimage to Mekka without leave, Prince Murād was ordered thither, and Shahrukh Mirza, to whom Akbar had A. D. 1594. A. H. 1003. married one of his daughters two years previously, was appointed Governor of Malwa, and held the appointment until 1605.

Meantime Mirza Khan, the son of Byrūn, known as the Khan Khanān, halted for some time at Mandu while on his way to chastise the Chiefs of the Deccan. Later, Akbar sent his son Daniāl with powerful reinforcements for the same purpose, and in the A. D. 1599. A. H. 1008. same year he himself followed and again took up his residence in Mandu. Akbar returned to Agra from the conquest of the Deccan in 1602, and died there three years afterwards.

Although during this time Mandu continued to be nominally A. D. 1605. one of the four capitals of the Empire, it is evident that with the A. H. 1014. final overthrow of Baz Bahadur it lost its former lustre. We learn from Jehangir, who visited it twelve years after Akbar's death, and thanks to whose magnificence the ancient fortress again could bear its long-forgotten title of Shadiabad that the buildings had fallen into disrepair so complete that an expenditure of three lakhs was necessary to render them habitable. Of the condition of Mandu at this time one cannot do better than let the Imperial diarist speak for himself.

His entry into Mandu he describes as follows : —

" On Monday, the 23rd of Ispandád, the last month of the Persian year, when one quarter of the day had passed, I mounted my elephant, and, in good fortune and under kindly influences, made my happy entry into the fort of Mandu. About an hour (three *ghadis*) later, I entered the quarters which had been prepared to receive me. During my passage across the hill-top, I scattered Rs.15,000. Before my arrival, Abdul Karim, the Engineer, had been sent by me to repair the buildings of the former kings of Mandu. While my fortunate standards were at Ajmere, Abdnl Karim repaired such of the old Mandu buildings as were fit to be repaired, and built others anew. On the whole, he had provided quarters for me, the like of which have probably never been built in any other place. Three lakhs of rupees were spent on these repairs and buildings. I wish it had been possible to construct buildings like these in all cities likely to be visited by royalty."

" This fortress," he continues, " stands on the top of a hill about thirty-six miles (18 kos) in circumference. They say that before the days of Raja Bikramájít, a king was reigning over these parts, whose name was Jaising Deva. In his time, a man went to the forest to cut grass. When he brought the grass back, he found that the blade of his sickle had turned yellow. The grass-cutter in his surprise went to Mánán, an ironsmith. Mánán knew that the sickle was gold. He had heard that in those parts was to be found the philosopher's stone, whose touch turns iron and copper into gold. He told the grass-cutter to lead him to the place where the sickle had turned yellow, and there he found the philosopher's stone. The smith presented this treasure to his king. The king amassed untold wealth, part of which he spent in building Mandu fortress, which he completed in twelve years. At the request of the smith, on most of the stones in the walls a mark was cut in the form of an anvil. Towards the

close of his life, when king Jaising Deva withdrew his heart from the world, he called many Brahmins together on the bank of the Nerbada close to Mandu. He gave each Brahmin a share of his wealth, and to the Brahmin, in whom he had the greatest faith, he gave the philosopher's stone. Enraged at the gift of a paltry stone, the Brahmin threw it into the Nerbada, and there the philosopher's stone still lies." The Emperor continues : "On the 20th of Farwardán, five weeks after my arrival (11th April 1617), in reward for his services in repairing the buildings of Mandu, I conferred on my Engineer, Abdul Karim, the command of 12,000 horse, with the title of Maámúr Khan."

The sporting instincts of the Emperor were fully gratified, and numerous entries regarding his shooting expeditions occur :—

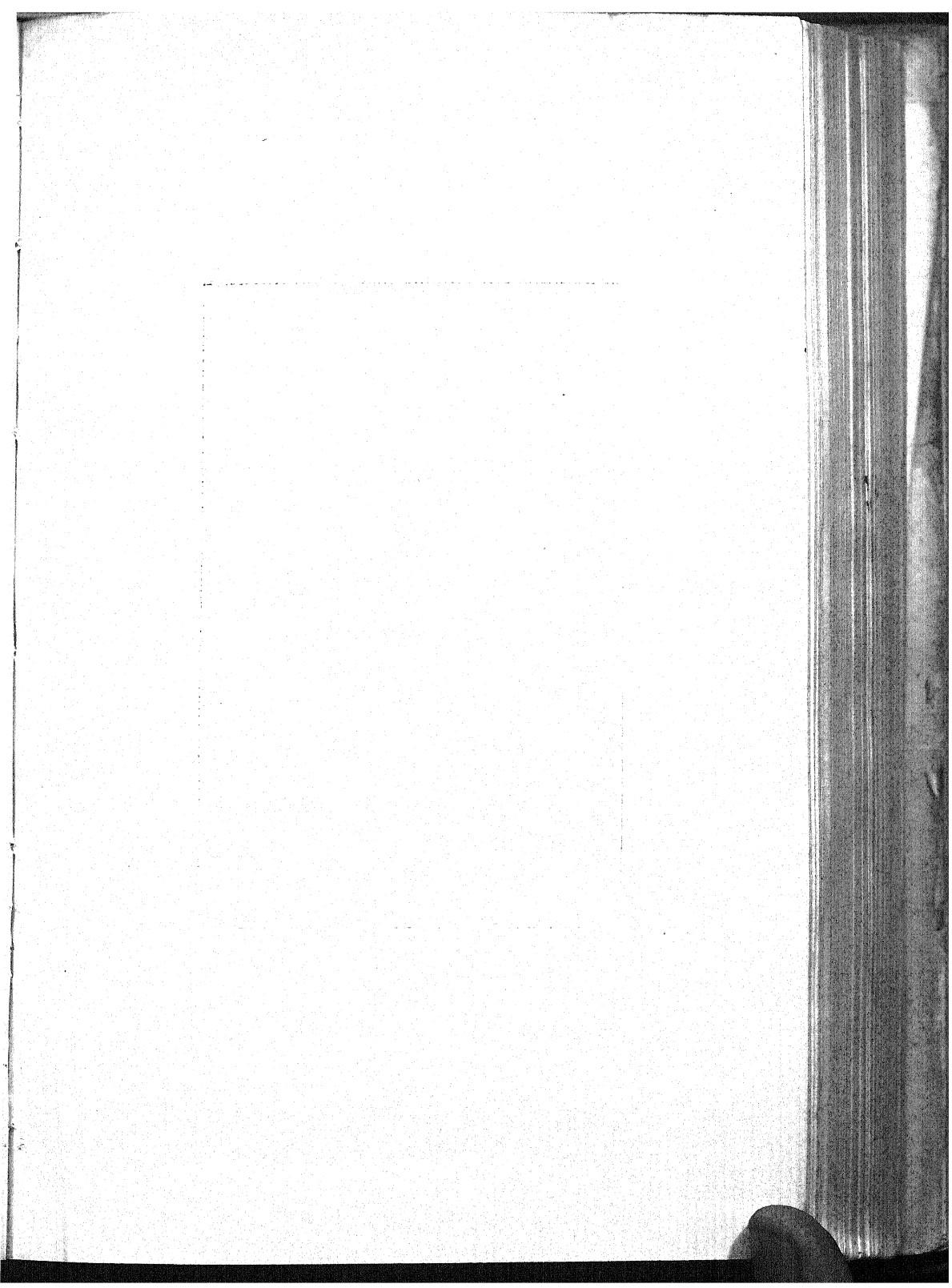
"On the fourth of the first month of Farwardán (16th March), the watchmen of the chase brought word that they had marked down a lion near the Sagur lake, which is a construction of the ancient rulers of Mandu. I mounted and proceeded towards the lake. When the lion broke cover he attacked and wounded ten or twelve of the *Ahádis* (*garde du corps*) and other men of my retinue. In the end, I brought him down with three gunshots and saved God's creatures from his evil. On the 22nd of the same month (3rd April 1617) the watchmen brought news of a tiger. I mounted forthwith and despatched him with three bullets. On the 7th of Adi'Bihisht (18th April 1617) the watchmen brought word that they had marked down four tigers. At one in the afternoon I started for the place with Núr Jehan Begum. Nur Jehan asked my leave to shoot the tigers with her gun. I said : 'Be it so.' In a trice she killed these four tigers with six bullets. I had never seen such shooting. To shoot from the back of an elephant, from within a closed howdah, and bring down with six bullets four wild beasts, without giving them an opportunity of moving or springing, is wonderful. In acknowledgment of this capital marksmanship, I ordered a thousand Ashrafs

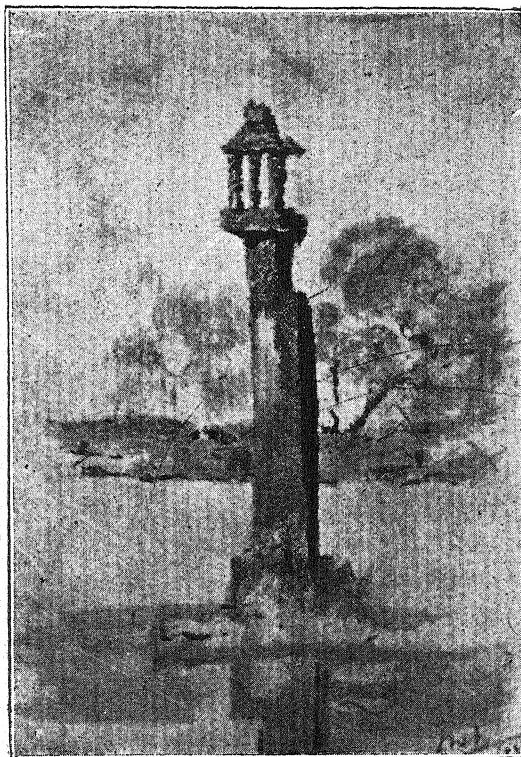
(Rs.4,500) to be scattered over Nur Jehan, and granted her a pair of ruby wristlets worth a lakh of rupees."

The rains at that time were evidently more copious than they have been lately. Rain, it is said, fell for forty days continuously, and Jehangir's description of the break which follows is delightful: "What words of mine can describe the beauty of the grass and of the wild flowers! They clothe each hill and dale, each slope and plain. I know of no place so pleasant in climate and so pretty in scenery as Mandu in the rainy season. This month of July, which is one of the months of the hot season, the sun being in Leo, one cannot sleep within the house without a coverlet, and during the day there is no need for a fan. What I have noticed is but a small part of the many beauties of Mandu. Two things I have seen here which I had seen nowhere in India: one of them is the tree of the wild plantain which grows all over the hill-top; the other is the nest of the mamolah or wagtail. Till now no birdcatcher could tell its nest. It so happened that in the building where I lodged we found a wagtail's nest with two young ones."

Another entry refers to a punitive expedition against a local Hindu Chief:—

"On the first of Tir, the fourth month of the Persian year (15th May 1617), the Hindu Chiefs of the neighbourhood came to pay their respects and present a tribute. The Hindu Chief of Jaitpúr, in the neighbourhood of Mandu, through his evil fortune, did not come to kiss the threshold. For this reason I ordered Fidáikhán to pillage the Jaitpúr country at the head of thirteen officers and four or five hundred matchlockmen. On the approach of Fidáikhán the Chief fled. He is now reported to regret his past conduct, and to intend to come to the Court and make his submission. On the 9th of Júr, the sixth month of the Persian Calendar (late July A. D. 1617), I heard that while raiding the lands of the Chief of Jaitpúr, Rúh-ul-Alh, the brother of Fidáikhán, was slain with a lance in the village where the Chief's wives and children were in hiding. The village was burned, and the women and daughters of the rebel Chief were taken captives."





ANCIENT STONE LANTERN. NALCHA TANK.

Of its social delights he writes as follows :—

“ On the evening of Thursday, the 19th of Amárdád, the fifth month of the Persian year (early July, A. D. 1617), I went with the ladies of the palace to see the buildings and palaces on the Ságár Lake which were built by the old kings of Mandu. The 26th of Amárdád (about mid July) was the Shab-i-Barát holiday. I ordered a jubilee or assembly of joy to be held on the occasion in one of the palaces occupied by Núr Jehan Begum in the midst of the big lake. The nobles and others were invited to attend this party which was organized by the Begum, and I ordered the cup and other intoxicants with various fruits and minced meats to be given to all who wished them. It was a wonderful gathering. As evening set in, the lanterns and lamps gleaming along the banks of the lake made an illumination such as never had been seen. The countless lights with which the palaces and buildings were ablaze shining on the lake made the whole surface of the lake appear to be on fire.”

During his stay in Mandu, Jehangir received a visit from his eldest son, afterwards the Emperor Shah Jehan, who had returned from his victorious campaign in the Deccan. His last entry regarding Mandu is :—

“ On the night of Friday, in the month of Abán, in all happiness and good fortune I marched from Mandu and halted on the bank of the lake of Nalcha.”

Sir Thomas Roe, the ambassador from King James to the Great Moghul, accompanied Jehangir in his march from Ajmere to Mandu, and has left numerous records of that time.¹

Shah Jehan spent the rains of 1622 in Mandu, and in 1627 A. D. 1622 appointed Khan Jehan Lodi as Governor of Malwa. There is no A. H. 1032 record of Aurangzebe having visited the place, except an inscription on the Alamgir gate to the effect that it was repaired by his order.

The Mahrattas took Mandu for the first time in 1696, but A. D. 1696. retired again to the south almost immediately. As already recorded, The Mahrat- Udaji Rao Puar² occupied the Fort in 1709, and the Mahomedan tee invasion.

¹ See Roe in Kerr's “Travels” IX.

² Ancestor of the present Chief.

supremacy finally came to an end with the Mahratta victory at Tirla in 1734. From that time onwards, Mandu has remained deserted except for a short period at the commencement of the last century, when it sheltered Maina Bai, the famous Rani of Dhar, against the attacks of Sindhia and Holkar, and where she gave birth to her son, Ramchunder Rao Puar. Fifteen years later, Malcolm in his history describes the hill as a resort of religious mendicants. Colonel Briggs, the translator of Farishta, writing in 1827, says :—

“Perhaps no part of India so abounds with tigers as the once famous city of Mandu. The capital, now deserted by man, is overgrown by forest, and from being the seat of luxury, elegance, and wealth, it has become the abode of wild beasts, and is resorted to by the few Europeans in that quarter for the pleasure of destroying them.”

A. D. 1839. Fergusson, twelve years later, describes the vegetation as tearing the buildings of the city to pieces, and obscuring them so

A. D. 1844. that they could hardly be seen, and in 1844 “A Bombay Subaltem” writes that it was dangerous to venture unarmed among the ruins of the Jahaz Mahal, as it was a favourite retreat for tigers.

The times have changed. No tiger has been seen in Mandu for the last thirty years, and the once famous capital is now the head-quarters of a small Tehsil of the Dhar State.

CHAPTER V.

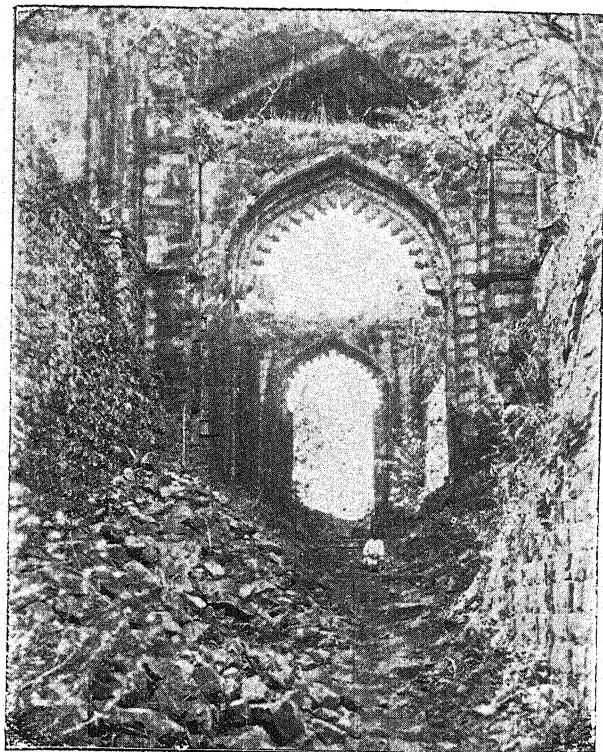
Mandu — its Buildings.

In the *Ain-i-Akbari*, Abul Fazl describes Mandu as a large city, the circumference of which is 12 “Kos.” He mentions the existence “of Mahmud Khilji’s Tower of Victory, and adds that for some period Mandu was the seat of Government, and stately edifices still recall their ancient Lords.” “Here are the tombs of the Khilji Sultans * * *. Here the tamarind (*Adansonia digitata*) grows as large as a cocoanut and its kernel is extremely white.”¹

Twenty years later (circa, A. D. 1612), Farishta thus describes the place :—

¹ *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol. II., Jarrett’s translation, p. 196.





THE DELHI GATE.

"This fortification is one of the most extraordinary in the world. It is built on the summit of an isolated mountain, said to be 18 kos (28 miles) in circumference. The place of a regular ditch is supplied by a ravine, formed by nature round the fortification, which is so deep that it seems impossible to take the fort by regular approaches. Within the fort is abundance of water and forage, though there is not sufficient space for the purposes of cultivation. Any army besieging Mandu must confine its operations chiefly to blockading the roads; for it is scarcely possible to invest a place of such extent. Many of the roads from the fort are steep and difficult of access. That leading to the south, known by the name of Tarapur gate, is so rough and steep that cavalry can with difficulty be led up. The road on the north, leading to the Delhi gate, is by far the most easy of access."

It is by this road that we now enter Mandu.

Descending the slope and crossing the neck of land which connects the hill with the main Vindhyan Range, the lower fortifications are entered at the Alamgir gate, which bears the following inscription:—

The Alamgir Gate.

"In the time of Alamgir Aurangzeb, the ruler of the world, this gate resembling the skies in altitude was built anew. In the year A. H. 1079 the work of renewal was begun and completed by the endeavour of the exalted Khan Muhammed Beg Khan from the accession of the Emperor of the world, Aurangzeb, this was the eleventh year by way of writing history."

The old road leads thence by a stone causeway over the ancient ditch to a second gate known as the Banghi Darwaza, where tradition has it that on the completion of the fort and of this gateway a sweeper was immured alive.

Continuing onwards, the old paved road rises sharply to the edge of the plateau where stands the Delhi gate which, although much ruined, still preserves its elegance and beauty of outline. No inscription is available to show when this gate was built.

It may be convenient to mention here the other gates on the hill.

The "Ghari Darwaza." Close to the Delhi gate to the east is that now known as the "Ghari Darwaza," *i.e.*, Carriage Gate. The road leading up to it leaves the old paved roadway close to the Alamgir gate, and is the only entrance into Mandu practicable for wheeled traffic. This gate also bears no inscription, and has no architectural interest.

The Rampol Gate. Continuing round the edge of the hill eastwards we come to the Rampol gate at a short distance from the modern village of Mandu, and about 50 yards from the edge of the cliff. This gate, which has no inscription and is not mentioned in any history, is somewhat difficult to explain, as no roadway leads from it to the valley. It is obviously of very ancient date and would seem to be a relic of the old Hindu city.

The Jehangir-pur Gate. The Jehangirpur gate gives access from Gujri to the eastern portion of the fort. Its construction is ascribed to the time of Jehangir, when a Pergannah of the same name was created. The revenue division still exists in name, but in fact the village of Jehangirpur is deserted, except for a few Bhil huts, and the head-quarters of the Pergannah are now at Gujri, four miles distant in the valley below. The road down the hill is a mere track. There is no inscription on this gate, but the ancient walls on either side are in good preservation.

The Bhagwania Gate. On the southern face of the hill overlooking Nimar and the Nerbada valley are the Bhagwania and Tarapur gates, named after the two villages at the foot of the hill to which each of them leads. The view from both gates is magnificent, and the Tarapur gate is particularly interesting both on account of its inscriptions and of the historical struggles for the possession of Mandu, of which it has so often been the scene.

A. D. 1519. The inscription on the Bhagwania Darwaza is dated A. H. 923, taking us back to the reign of Mahmûd II., the last Khilji king of Mandu. It reads thus :—

"This gate was built under the orders of Mirza Mahommed,
son of Mirza Badu Uz-Zaman of Meshed by Mohamed
Husein of Meshed in the month of Jamadi-Jussan,
A. H. 923."

The Tarapur Gate. The Tarapur gate has two inscriptions ; that on the upper gate shows it was commenced by Dilawar Khan Ghori, the 1st king of Mandu, and completed in the year following his death.





THE SONGARH GATE.

The second inscription, let into the more modern portion of the structure, shows that repairs to the gateway were carried out by one Sahib Mahomed Hussein during Akbar's time. The difference in construction of the upper and lower gates is very striking, the older portion bearing all the evidences of Hindu art and workmanship, while the lower gates are similar in design to the remaining gates of the fort, and all traces of Hindu influence is absent. The following is the translation of the two inscriptions.

A. D. 1406.
A. H. 809.

On the upper doorway :—

"This gate, of which there is none finer in any other city, was built in the town of Shadiabad by Dilawar Khan, the head of Islam and leader of the community, most great in dignity and kind, ever Victorious and Powerful, Generous and Liberal. This door by the grace of God was completed in A. H. 809."

A. D. 1406.

On the main gate :—

"In the reign of Jelal-ud-din Mohamed Akbar Badshah this beggar (fakir) Sahib Mohamed Hussain Imad-ud-din, son of Sultan Ali of Sabswar, repaired this road by the grace of God in the year A. H. 1014."

A. D. 1605.

From here a steep paved road, quite impassable for carts, leads down the hillside to Tarapur village and beyond to Dharampuri and the Nerbada river. The village of Tarapur, now a mere agglomeration of Bhil huts, must have been a large place when Mandu was in its prime. An inscription recently found in an old "baori" states that Nazir-ud-din granted land in this village to a certain Mahājān Baia among his following for the construction of a garden and of a well.

A. D. 1500.
1512.

There are two gates on the N.-W. face of Mandu. That known as the Songarh Gate was rebuilt by Maina Bai, the great Rani of Dhar, at the commencement of the 19th century. There is no access to it from the valley below, and it forms the entrance to the citadel of Mandu, the scene of the famous exploit of Bahadur Shah, when after the capture of the main fort by Humayun he fought his way to the citadel, and thence, while two of his followers defended the gate, let himself down over the edge of the cliff and effected his escape to Gujarat.

The Songarh Gate.

Finally, overlooking the wild country to the N.-W. of Mandu is the Lowani gate, whence a very rough and steep paved road,

The Lowani
Gate.

similar to that at Tarapur, leads to the Lowani country. This gate is undoubtedly one of the most ancient in Mandu, but it is now in ruins, and there is no inscription to show from what time it dates. On the edge of the cliff is a stone "lat" evidently of Hindu origin, and scattered round close by are numerous fragments of carved pillars and a few defaced images of the Hindu pantheon.

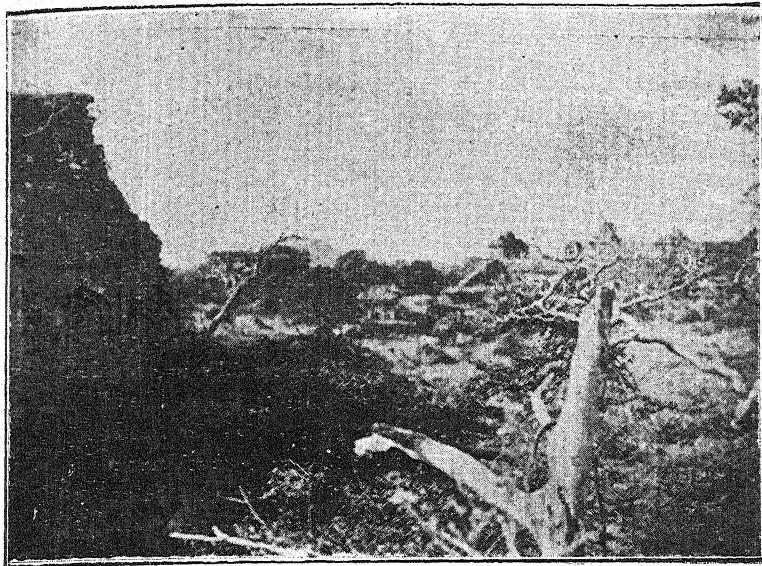
To return now to the Ghari Darwaza by which the traveller will ordinarily enter Mandu. The road leads westwards past the Delhi gate to the beautiful mass of ruined palaces in which the Khilji kings held their court. The wall which enclosed this whole area is in places still standing, and the road enters the enclosure between a much-ruined mosque, a miniature in architectural form of the great Jama Musjid, and the gate now known as the Hatipol, which was probably the main northern entrance to the palace. On each side of this gate is the remains of a life-sized model of an elephant. These figures are built of blocks of red sandstone, and were evidently covered with white marble plaster. They are probably relics of the days of Mahmud II., when Rajput influence was supreme in Mandu. At present only the legs and lower halves of the bodies remain with a low stone erection in front on which the trunk rested.

The principal buildings within the enclosure are the Hindola Mahal, the Jahaz Mahal, the Toweli Mahal, the Nahar Jhiroka and the Champa Baori, with the so-called Treasury and the ruin now known as Gadhasa's¹ palace, but what is much more probably the Koshak-jehan-namah² palace, mentioned in Farishta as having been built by Ghias-ud-din. Close to this are two more fine "Baoris," one known as the *Ujal* (bright) and the other as the *Andher* (dark), from the fact that the former is completely open to the light and air, and the latter altogether roofed in.

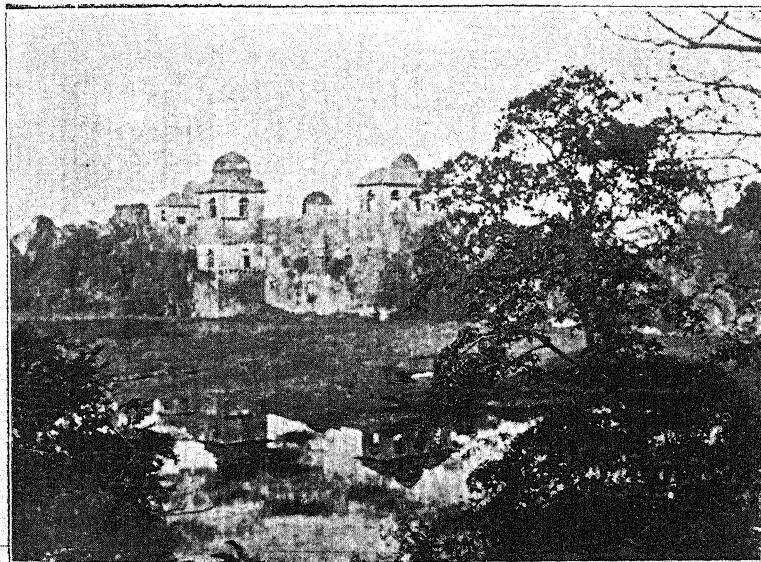
Much damage has been done by time and nature to these magnificent ruins, but the spirit of the place is there, and one can still reconstruct in imagination the splendour of the time when Ghias-ud-din, quitting the scenes of turmoil of his youth, held here his court, and so that no unsightly thing should strike his eye, ruled that within these walls only the fairest of the fairer sex should dwell.

1. According to tradition, a great Mahajan of the time of the Khiljis.

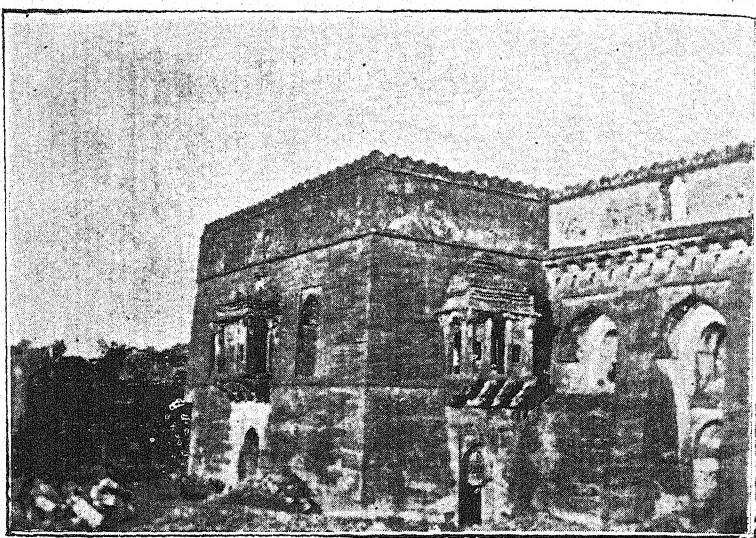
2. Palace whence all the world is seen.



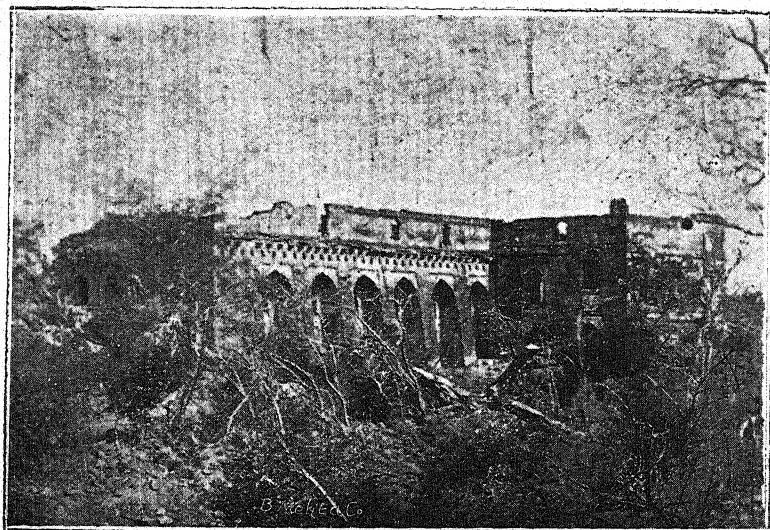
"THE MASS OF RUINED PALACES."



THE JAHAZ MAHAL.



THE HINDOLA MAHAL FROM THE WEST.



THE HINDOLA MAHAL FROM THE EAST.

The prognostications of those who visited Mandu in the first half of the nineteenth century have happily not been fulfilled. The "larger vaulted halls, of which Fergusson speaks, are still entire, "and the courts are still surrounded by arcades of great beauty."¹

The massive masonry and design of the Hindola Palace, which *The Hindola Mahal.* has withstood better perhaps than the other buildings the ravages of time, is most striking. The sloping buttressed walls, the deep windows, and the long lofty hall suggest some old Chapter house or Refectory, and have a style and grandeur all their own.

Passing through this building and along the northern bank of *The Champa Baori.* the lake, we come to the Champa Baori and the tangled mass of ruins above and below ground which surround it. A portion of one of the bathing houses remains intact and shows the care, thought, and elegance that was bestowed in a Mahomedan palace on this important part of the building.

The Jahaz Mahal with its long low façade stands as the centre *The Jahaz Mahal.* of this group of palaces. Seen from either side but especially from the west where it overhangs the lake, it is very beautiful, while from the terraced roof a magnificent view of the surrounding country is obtained. The main doorway in the centre of the eastern face is exceedingly well built and in very good preservation. This is probably due to renewal at the hands of Karim Khan, Jehangir's engineer, as it would seem that it was in this palace that the great king made his head-quarters during his stay in Mandu. In the centre of the lake stand the ruins of the palace last occupied by Shah Jehan Begum, who accompanied Jehangir to Mandu. The main gateway is worthy of notice, the arch being of entirely different design to that common in Mandu.

A. D. 1617.
A. H. 1025.

North of the Hindola and forming part of the walled enclosure *The Nahar Jhiroka.* is the Nahar Jhiroka. The marble-framed window set in the northern wall with its small platform and cupola has given this building its name. It was seated at this window (jhiroka) that the king used to receive daily in the morning (nahar) the salutations of his court.

Outside to the north of the whole enclosure lies the most ancient mosque in Mandu, the inscription which is given below showing it to have been built by Dilawar Khan Ghori in A. D. 1405.

Mosque of Dilawar Khan.
A. H. 808.

¹ Fergusson, Vol. II., p. 666.

Translation of inscription.

A. D. 1405.

" Dilawar Khan, the guardian of religion, who is as an assistant to the Prophet, and supporter of his people. High as the sky in honour and like the angels in aspect. Whose actions are unrivalled, and whose majesty and dignity is great, who is praised by all, who is wealthy, happy, and of good health, over whose actions God watches and is always present to render him aid in his work.

By the grace of the Almighty God and in an auspicious hour. He (Dilawar Khan) laid the foundation of this mosque in the Fort of Mandu in A. H. 808.

It resembles the kaaba whereof a copy stands in the sky.

By the grace of Jesus, Son of the Blessed Virgin Miriam, and of Moses, son of Amran, may he be always blest by God."

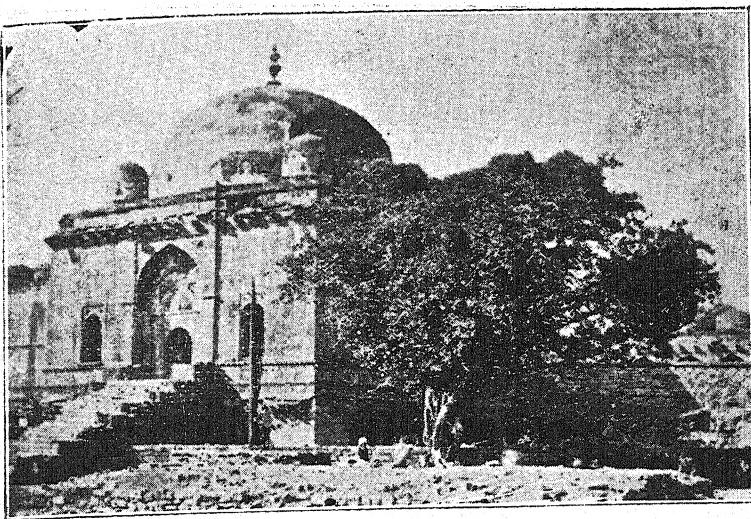
More modest in proportions than the Lat Musjid built by him at Dhar, this building has a rugged simplicity which is decidedly attractive. The low pitch of the whole structure has probably helped to maintain it in fair preservation through more than 500 years. The materials from which it is built are evidently taken from Hindu shrines.

*The Taweli
Mahal.*

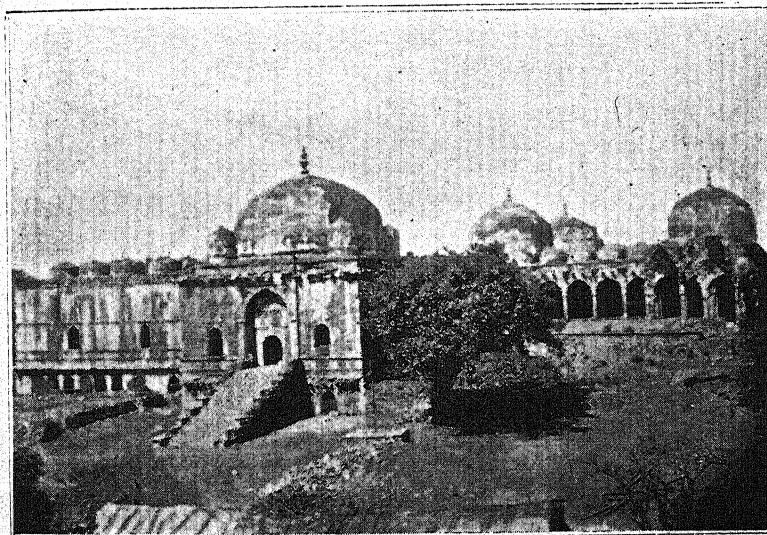
*Hoshang's
Tomb and
Mosque.*

Retracing our way back, passed the Jahaz Mahal and out through the gateway by the Taweli Palace, the quarters of Ghiasud-din's amazon guard, the road leads winding through the jungle to those buildings which were and indeed still are the glory of Mandu. The tomb of Hoshang and the great mosque commenced by that prince and completed by his more illustrious successor Mahmud.

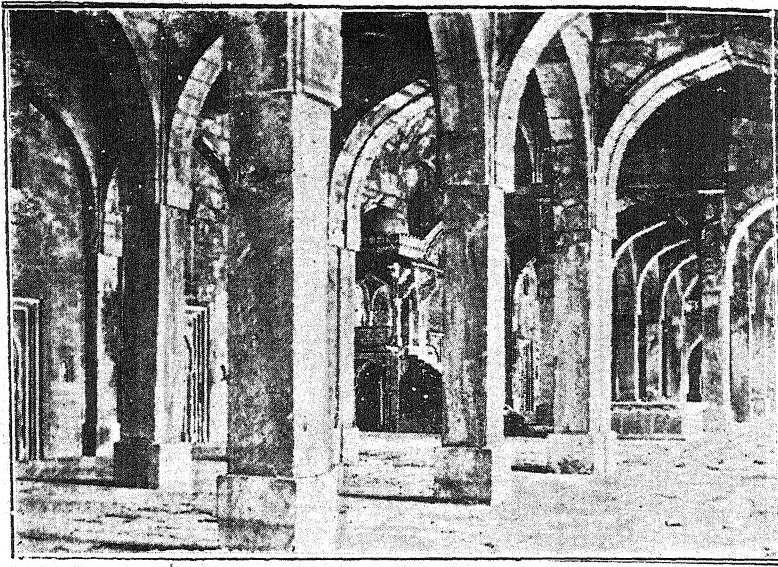
" Though the badly fitting joining of the marble slabs of the tomb walls are a notable contrast to the finish of the later Moghul buildings, Hoshang's tomb in its massive simplicity and dim-lighted roughness is a solemn and suitable resting-place for a great Pathan warrior. On the western side of the enclosure which surrounds the tomb, the pillars which near the base are four-sided, pass through an eight-sided and sixteen-sided belt into a round upper shaft. The round shaft ends in a square under capital, each face of which is filled by a group of leafage in outline, the same as the favonrite Hindu *Singh-Mukh* or horned head. Over the entwined



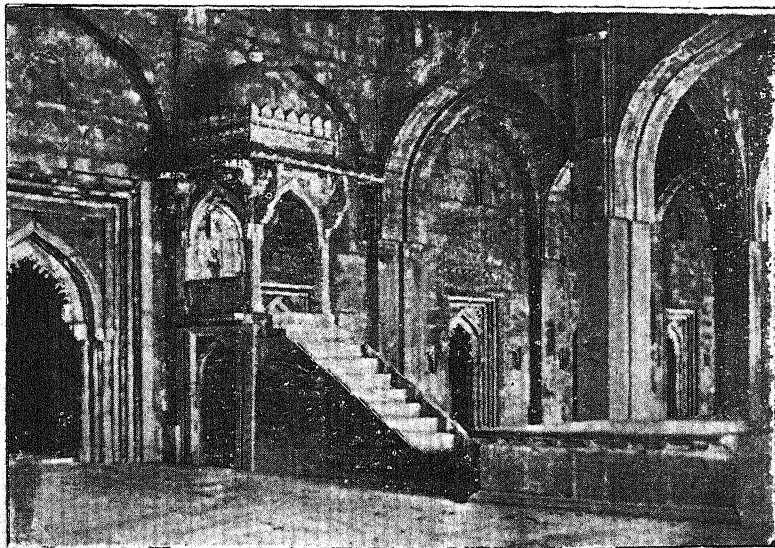
THE ENTRANCE OF THE JUMMA MUSJID.



GENERAL VIEW OF JUMMA MUSJID, MANDU.



INTERIOR JUMMA MUSJID, MANDU.



THE "NIMBAR" IN THE JUMMA MUSJID, MANDU.

leafy horns of this moulding; stone brackets support heavy stone beams; all Hindu in form.”¹

² Fergusson considers that these pillars were taken from a Jain building; and certainly the colonnade has the appearance of having been taken bodily from some Jain temple, of which, according to tradition, there were several on the shores of the Sagar lake.

Hoshang’s mosque was completed in A. D. 1454. The *The Great Mosque.*
entrance porch is a massive domed building projecting from A. H. 858.
the centre of the east face. Over the marble-lined doorway is the
following much damaged Persian inscription :—

“The mosque of exalted construction, the temple of heavenly altitude.

“Whose every pillar is like to those of the ‘Kaba’

“And (where) angels like the pigeons of the ‘Kaba’ make their circles round it, desiring to show it their respect.

“When he came to a full age and had passed through the merciless revolutions of the skies

“Aazam Humayun (*i.e.*, Malik Mughis) said—

“The administration of the country, the construction of buildings and the defeat of our enemies,

“Are things which I leave to you (my son) as parting advice with great earnestness.

“The personification of the goodness of Providence, the Sultan Alla-ud-din (Mahmûd I.)

“The Light of Religion and the satisfier of the wants of the people

“In the year A. H. 858 (A. D. 1454).

“In the words of this parting advice, finished the construction of this building.”

The interior of the court in its simple grandeur and expression of power may, according to Fergusson, be taken as one of the very best specimens of Afghan architecture to be found in India. It is almost an exact square enclosed on the east, north and south by

¹ “Mandu” by J. M. Campbell, Esq., No. LII., Vol. XIX, Journal of the Bombay Branch, R. A. S.

² History of Architecture, p. 666, Vol. II.

colonnades, portions of which are sadly ruined. The west face with its three lofty domes and great pointed arches is in fair repair.

Tower of Victory.

A. D. 1442-3.
A. H. 846.

Opposite the Jama Musjid are the ruins of Mahmûd's great Tower of Victory, and beneath it the college erected by the same king. Only a fragment of this tower remains to show that it was faced with white marble slabs inlaid with black stone. But history records that it was seven stories high, and the existing basement gives us an idea of its size. The fates have been hard on Mandu in this particular instance. The tower was built by Mahmûd in commemoration of his victory over the Rana Khumbu of Chittore: it is now an utter ruin while the Rana's great Tower of Victory at Chittore built about twelve years later in token of his victory over this same Mahmûd stands practically intact, and is among the most perfect models of the Hindu architecture of those days. Who shall say that this is not an emblem of the permanence so characteristic of all Hindu life and thought?

To the north-east of the square stand the modern public offices and state-endowed temple of Mandu. Southward the road leads to the Sagar lake, and is lined on either side for a short distance by the mean huts which go to form the modern village. A road branching to the eastward leads to the Lal Bungalow and beyond to what is locally known as the Sath Sao Siri (700 steps), where the walls of the fort leaving the crest of the hill dip down to a ravine some 700 feet in depth, and rise again on the opposite side to the crest close to the Jehangirpur gate.

A. D. 1526.

It has up to the present not been possible to fix the date of construction of the Lal Bungalow, but it is hoped that from a broken inscription in the Tugra character, which was found within the enclosure, it will be possible to "locate" this building. The site of this building, fixed as it is on the edge of a masonry enclosed tank buried in the jungle, is extremely romantic. It was here that the final scene in the history of the Khilji Kings was enacted, when Mahmûd II. surrendered to his conqueror, Bahadur Shah of Gujarat.

The environments of the Sagar lake have suffered much from the recent drought, as many of the "spreading mango trees" along its banks are now mere skeletons. To the east of it and

forming the end of the encamping ground is the smaller Jama Masjid built by Mâlik Mughis in 1432 A. D. The entrance door of which bears the following inscription :—

“With good omens, at a happy time and in a lucky and well-starred year

“On the 4th of the month of Allâh (Ramazán) on the great day of Friday,

“In the year 835 and six months from the Hijrah

“Counted according to the revolution of the moon in the Arabian manner,

“This Islâmi mosque was founded in this world,

“The top of whose dome rubs its head against the green canopy of Heaven.

“The construction of this mosque was due to Mughis-ud-din-wadunya (Mâlik Mughis), the father of Mahmûd I. of Mâl-wâ (A. D. 1435—1469), the redresser of temporal and spiritual wrongs.

“Ulugh (brave) Aázam (great) Humáyun (august) the Khán of the seven climes and of the nine countries.

“By the hands of his enterprise this mosque was founded so great,

“That some call it the house of Peace, others style it the Kaâba.

“This good building was completed on the last of the month of Shawwâl.

A. H. 835.
A. D. 1432.

“May the merit of this good act be inserted in the scroll of the Khán’s actions !

“In this centre may the praises of the sermon read by Mahmûd Shah

“Be everlasting so long as mountains stand on the earth and stars in the firmament.”

This mosque must have been a jewel, and makes the ruin which has overtaken it all the more distressing. Here there can be no doubt of the Hindu origin of the material used for the building, and the elegance of outline of the entrance porch even in its ruined state is fascinating. Opposite is what was Mâlik Mughis’ palace, and a little beyond that prince’s tomb, the black dome of which is “brightened by a belt of brilliant, pale, and deep-blue enamel.”

Beyond again on the right is the so-called Dhai-ka-Mahal,¹ and close by, the "Dhai-ki-Choti Bhain-ka-Mahal,"² of which there is nowhere historic mention.

The "Bombay Subaltern," writing in 1843, remarks "on our right, and on the high ground to the south of the Sagar lake "are the walls of the Shikarikot, said to have been built by Baz "Bahadur; in different directions are domed pavilions from which "the great men of those days used to observe the contests of "elephants hawking and any other spectacle that might offer."

To the writer it seems more probable that these buildings were some of the ordinary houses or tombs of the richer classes, more specially as the road which winds below them is lined with the remains of what were evidently houses of a meaner sort used probably by their retainers and servants.³

The road continues southwards to the Rewa Kund, Baz Bahadur's palace, and finally to Rup Mati's pavilion—perhaps the most delightful spot in Mandu.

The Rewa Kund.

The Rewa Kund, the pool or spring where to meet Rup Mati's wishes, the Nerbada is said "to have made its appearance on the mountain top" lies to the west of the road immediately opposite to the palace of Baz Bahadur. It is a small masonry-lined tank, and a ruined bathing house is on one side of it.

Baz Bahadur's Palace.

A fine, easy flight of steps leads from its north-east corner up the slope on which the palace of the last independent king of Mandu stands. On the left a portion of the lofty aqueduct by which the holy water of the Kund was introduced into the palace is still standing. On the entrance arch of Baz Bahadur's palace is a Persian inscription which shows that although the latter may have repaired the building it owes its origin to Nazir-ud-din. It runs thus:—

A. D. 1500,
1512.

A. D. 1509.

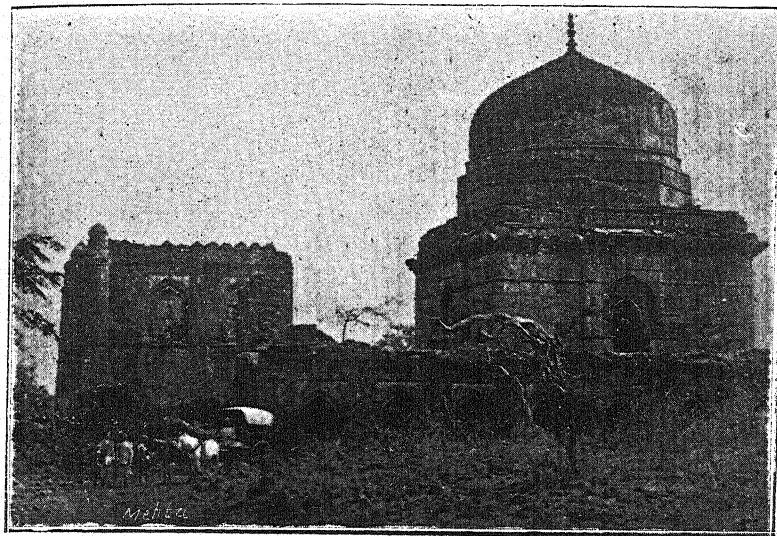
"In the time of the Sultan of Nations, the most just and great,
and the most learned and magnificent Sultan Nazir Shah
Khilji, written by Yusup the year A. H. 914."

Much of the marble from this building, especially from the balcony overlooking Mandu, has been mercilessly mutilated by a former generation; but happily some of the sides of the courtyards are intact, as also are the cupolas, which surmount the colonnades.

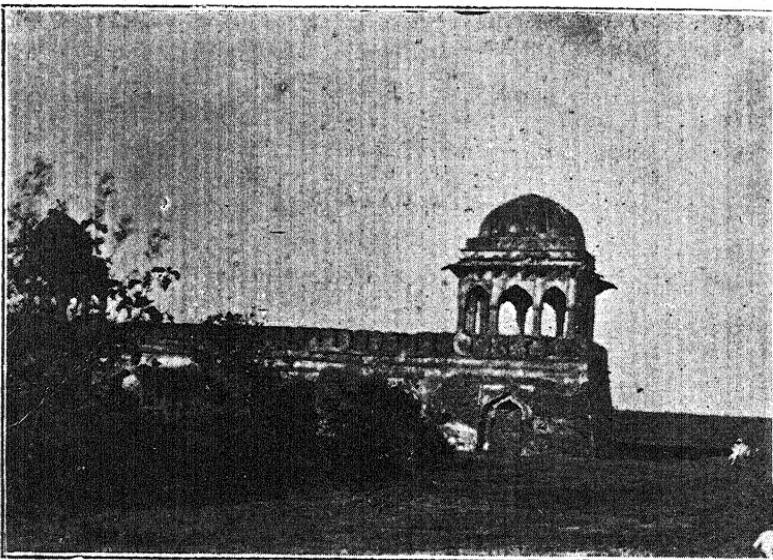
¹ i.e., the Nurse's Palace.

² i.e., the Palace of the nurse's young sister.

³ The Shikari Kot was probably much nearer Baz Bahadur's Palace. The walls of an enclosure are still visible to the east of this building.



THE DHAI KA MAHAL.



THE PALACE OF RUP MATI.

On the hill immediately overhanging the palace and clear against the sky-line stands "Rup Mati's Chatri."¹

Rup Mati's Pavilion.

"From a ground-floor of heavy masonry and arched gateways, stairs lead to the flat terrace, at the north and south ends of which are massive heavy-eaved pavilions, whose square pillars and pointed arches support lofty deep-grooved domes. The southern pavilion (unhappily now much ruined) on the very edge of the Vindhyan cliff commands a long stretch of the south face of Mandu, with its guardian wall covering the heights and hollows of the hill-top. Twelve hundred feet below spreads the dim hazy Nimar plain, brightened eastwards by the gleaming line of the Nerbada. The north pavilion through the fresh clear air of the hill-top looks over the entire stretch of Mandu from the high shoulder of Songarh in the extreme south-west across rolling tree brightened fields, past the domes, the tangled bush and the broad grey of the Sagar Lake to the five-dome cluster of Hoshang's mosque and tomb, on, across a sea of green tree tops, to the domed roof chambers of the Jahaz and the Toweli palaces, through the Delhi gateway, and beyond the deep cleft of the northern ravine, to the base level and low ranges of the Malwa plateau."²

Though it seems ruthless to lessen the romance attached to this building so intimately connected with Rup Mati and her princely lover, it should be noted that on an inner archway of the lower floor is an inscription so damaged as to be only partly decipherable, which shows that at some period this building was used as a Dharamsala for poor and needy travellers who might climb up the hill.

We must now retrace our steps back to the Mandu village, and taking the road which leads south-west reach the edge of the cliff above "Nilkanth." A long flight of steps leads down to the deep shady dell, where a "Mahomedan chamber with great open arched front looks out across a fountained courtyard and sloping scalloped water-table, to the wild western slopes of Mandu."³

¹ S. M. Campbell, "Mandu" Journal of Bombay Branch, R. A. Society, No. LII., Vol. XIX.

² Campbell's "Mandu."

A. D. 1574. This is the place where Akbar lodged in A. D. 1574, and which Jehangir visited in A. D. 1617. It was built by Shah Budagh Khan during his tenure of office as Commandant of Mandu, and bears the following inscriptions :—

“ Call it not waste to spend your life in water and earth (*i.e.*, in building).

“ If perchance a man of mind for a moment makes your house his lodging.

“ Written by Shah Budagh Khan in the year A. H. 982.”

A second inscription on the great southern arch reads thus :—

“ This pleasant building was completed in the reign of the great Sultan, most munificent and just Khakan, the Lord of the countries of Arabia and Persia, the Shadow of God on the two earths, the ruler of the sea and of the land, the exalter of the standards of those who war on the side of God. Abu Fatah Yahal-ud-din Mahomed Akbar, the warrior king, may his dominion and his kingdom be everlasting.

A. D. 1574. “ Written by Faridin Husein, son of Hat-nl-ward, in the year A. H. 982.”

The stones of this inscription have been wrongly placed by some illiterate restorer, the latter portion of the inscription coming first, and the first one last. A third inscription on the right wall, which is dated A. D. 1591-92, runs as follows :—

“ In the year A. D. 1000, when on his way to the conquest of the Dekhan, the Slaves of the exalted Lord of the Earth, the holder of the sky-like throne, the Shadow of Allah (the Emperor Akbar), passed by this place.”

“ That time wastes your home, cease, soul to complain

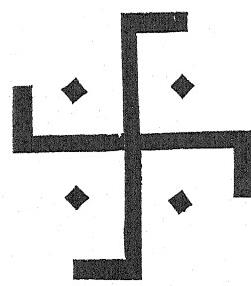
“ Who will not scorn a complainer so vain;

“ From the story of others this wisdom derive

“ Ere nought of thyself but stories survive.”

Finally on the left wall is the fourth inscription dated A. D. 1600 :—

“ The Shadow of Allah, the Emperor Akbar after the conquest of the Dekhan and Khandesh in the year 1009, set out for Hind.



“ May the name of the writer last for ever !
 “ At dawn and at eve I have watched an owl sitting
 “ On the lofty wall-tops of Shirwan Shah’s tomb,
 “ And the owl’s plaintive hooting conveyed me this warning,
 “ Here pomp, wealth, and greatness be dumb.”

This spot is now the retreat of a Hindu recluse, and has probably, as its Hindu name implies, reverted to its former use. Its gentle occupant, however, has not improved its artistic appearance, and although this building is the only one in Mandu which has been kept in proper repair externally, its internal arrangement has now little in keeping with the memories of Akbar.

A few other buildings call for mention. The tomb of Daria Khan about half-way between the great mosque and the Sagar Lake on the left of the road, still bears portions of the texts from the Koran in coloured enamel tiles with which it was entirely decorated.

A little beyond in the jungle is a building locally known as the Hathi-Khana. “ Hathi-Khana,” but evidently a tomb, interesting on account of the four massive pillars which support the dome, and which are unique in their style in Mandu.

The palace known as that of “ Chisti Khan,” commander of the army in the time of Mahmûd Khilji, is a ruin beautifully situated at the extreme north-east point of the hill. Here, too, is a sadly-damaged relic of what was once a most artistic piece of enamelled wall-decoration. Close by are vaults said to have been the magazines of the great Mahmûd. On the road to the Lal Bungalow, one passes two stone pillars evidently the “ Dip stambhas ” of a Hindu temple, while buried in the jungle to the west of the Jahaz Mahal is a large building said to have been the school of “ Shah Baddar,” a reputed sage. On the map attached to this paper, the position of numerous other buildings is shown, but the names given have a purely local significance, and are merely noted in order to assist the traveller when wandering with a local guide among these relics of the past.

ART. XII.—*Epigraphic Notes and Questions.*—By DEVADATTA
RAMKRISHNA BHANDARKAR, M.A.

[Communicated, June 1902.]

I.—THE FIRST TWO ROCK-EDICTS OF PIYADASI:

1.—*The First Rock Edict.*

Transcript.

1. इयं धंमलिषी देवानं प्रियेन
2. प्रियदसिना राजा लेखापिता [।] इधं न किं-
3. चि जीवं आरभिसा प्रज्ञूहितव्यं [।]
4. न च समाजो कृतव्यो [।] बहुकं हि दोसं
5. समाजम्हि पसति देवानं प्रियो प्रियदसि राजा [।]
6. अस्ति पि च एकचा समाजा साधुमता देवानं
7. प्रियस प्रियदसिनो [।] पुरा महानसम्भि
8. देवानं प्रियस प्रियदसिनो राजो अनुदिवसं ब-
9. हूनि प्राणसत्तसहस्रानि आरभिसु सूपाथाय [।]
10. से अज्ज यदा अवं धंमलिषी लिखिता ती एवं प्रा-
11. णा आरभरे सूपाथाय द्वौ मोरा एको मगो [।] सो पि
12. मगो न डुवो [।] एते पि ची प्राणा पछा न आरभिसरे [।]

Translation.

This edict of righteousness¹ was caused to be written by king Priyadarśin, beloved of the gods.² No animal should here (on earth) be immolated and offered as a sacrifice ; nor should any convivial gathering³ be called ; for, king Priyadarśin, beloved of the gods, sees much evil in a convivial gathering. Certain⁴ convivial gatherings were (once) favourably regarded by Priyadarśin, beloved of the gods. Formerly in the kitchen of king Priyadarśin, beloved of the gods, many hundreds of thousands of animals were day by day slaughtered for curry.⁵ But now when this edict of righteousness was written, only three animals were killed for curry, viz., two peacocks and one deer ; but even that deer not regularly. Even these three animals will not be afterwards killed.

Notes.

1. The word *dhammalipi*, which occurs in this as well as in many other edicts, has been translated 'righteousness-edict' by Dr. Kern, simply 'edict' by M. Senart, and 'religious edict' by Dr. Bühler. Strictly speaking, *lipi* means a *lekhā*, and consequently *dhammalipi* is a *dharmalekha*, i.e., a writing of righteousness. But I have rendered the word *lipi* by 'edict,' as all these *dhammalipis* were proclamations from king Piyadasi. I agree with Dr. Kern in taking *dhamma* to mean righteousness, for, wherever the word is used in the edicts,¹ it denotes no more than good moral acts. And this evidently is corroborated by the definition, which Piyadasi gives of *dhamma* in Pillar Edict II.

2. *Devánām-priya* :—On Pāṇini's *sūtra* VI. 3. 21. which deals with the genitive *aluk-samāsa*, Kātyāyana has the *Vārtika* : देवानांप्रिय इति च. From this it is plain that, in the time of the Vārtikakāra, *devánām-priya* had come into use, and was looked upon as one word. In his gloss on the *vārtika* भवदाविद्योगः appended to Pāṇini's *sūtra* V. 3. 14, Patañjali includes *devánām-priya* under this भवदाविद्यगण.² This indicates that, like *bharat* and the other words *dirghāyus* and *áyushmat* comprised in that *gāna*, *devánām-priya* also was employed as an auspicious mode of address or characterisation. In Rock Edict VIII., for *devánām-priya* of some versions, we have the variant *rājdno* of others. The only legitimate conclusion that can be deduced therefrom is that *devánām-priya* corresponds to *rājdno*. Coupling this fact with the inference we have drawn from what Patañjali has said, we find that *devánām-priya* was an auspicious mode of address or characterisation used in the case of kings. In much later times the word came to have the derogatory sense of 'a dullard' in Sanskrit literature. But even so late as the time of the Kāśikākāra and Kaiyata, we do not find this sense attached to the word *devánām-priya*. The earliest instance of it, so far as I have been able to trace it, is to be met with in the Kāvyaprakāśa : लेऽन्यतात्पर्यज्ञात्तात्पर्यवाचोशुक्तेर्वैवानांप्रियाः³. Here *devánām-priya* obviously denotes a dunce. Hēmachandra also gives *devánām-priya* in his

¹ The word *dhamma* occurring in the Bhabra edict only appears to have been used in a sense technical to Buddhism.

² Patañjali's Vyākaraṇa Mahābhāṣya, by Dr. Kielhorn, (Bo. Sk. Series) Vol. II., p. 405.

³ Kāvyaprakāśa, by Vāmanāchārya Jhalkikar, (Bo. Sk. Series), p. 255.

lexicon as synonymous with *mūḍha* and *jada*. Again, the word has been explained by Bhāṭṭōji Dīkṣhita in his *Siddhānta-kaumudi* as equivalent to *mūrkha*.¹ But whatever may have been the sense conveyed by *devānām-priya* in later times, it was not originally a degraded word, but was employed as an auspicious mode of characterisation with reference to kings.

It was Pandit Bhagwanlal Indrajī², who first drew attention to the fact that *devānām-priya* of some versions of Rock Edict VIII, corresponded to *rājāṇo* of others. He was also the first to show that *devānuppiya* (*devāṇuppiya*) of the Jain *sūtras* was a corruption of *devānām-priya*. Dr. Hoernle doubts the correctness of this view inasmuch as *devāṇu* in *devāṇuppiya* is an anomalous form of the genitive *devānām* in *devānām-priya*.³ But it has been stated above that *devānām-priya* is mentioned by Kātyāyana as an instance of *abhi-samāsa*. We have, therefore, to regard it as one word, and for practical purposes ignore the existence of the genitive case termination, when pronouncing it. In other words, when we hear the word pronounced, we are not to look upon it as two separate words, of which *devānām* is the genitive plural of *dēva*, but to take it as one word, like other *sāmāsika* words, without noticing the case termination that there is in the body of the word. If this is true, it very much weakens the objection referred to above. For, when we say that *devāṇuppiya* is a corruption of *devānām-priya*, we mean that the one word *devāṇuppiya* is a corruption of the one word *devānām-priya*. We cannot thus legitimately split up *devāṇuppiya* and *devānām-priya* each into two words, and then ask ourselves whether *devāṇu* of the one can, by means of the rules of the Prākṛit dialects, be justified as a more developed form of the genitive *devānām* of the other. Dr. Hoernle's proposal to consider *devāṇuppiya* as equivalent to *devānupriya*, is on the contrary, open to objection. For no authority has been adduced to show that *devānupriya* was ever used as a mode of address in the case of kings. And, so long as that authority is not forthcoming, *devāṇuppiya*, which is applied to kings even in the Jain *sūtras* cannot stand for *devānupriya*. But it has been shown above that *devānām-priya* was a mode of characterisation, and was often employed in connection with kings. It is, therefore, safer, on the whole, to

¹ *Siddhāntakaumudi*, No. 979.

² *Ind. Ant.* X. 108; see also *J. R. A. S.*, 1901, pp. 577-8 and 930.

³ *Uvāsagadasācāra*, Appendix III.

understand *devānuppiya* as a corruption of *devāñm-priya* than of *devānupriya*, which has no existence in literature.

Although *devāñm-priya* of some copies of Rock Edict VIII. corresponds to *rājāno* of others, it is not correct to regard the former as synonymous with, or equivalent to, the latter, as Mr. V. A. Smith appears to me to have done.¹ For, *rājā*, which is conjoined to the name of Piyadasi, together with *devāñm-priya*, would, in that case, be superfluous. Again, the rendering ‘his sacred majesty,’ which he has proposed for *devāñm-priya*, does not commend itself to me, as the phrase ‘his sacred majesty’ can be applied only to the head of a religious establishment, such e.g. as the Pope of Europe or the Śāṅkarāchāryas of India, but can never, with propriety be used with reference to a secular king.

I have, therefore, adhered to the rendering of *devāñm-priya* by ‘beloved of the gods.’

3. The word *samāja* seems to have very much exercised the antiquarians. According to most of them, it signifies ‘a convivial or festive assembly.’ Dr. Pischel,² however, proposes the meaning ‘battue’ for it. Although the first sense is undoubtedly correct, nobody has yet been able to adduce any authority in support of it. That, I think, is now furnished by the reference to the Harivāṁśa given under समाज + कर् in the St. Petersburg Dictionary. It is as follows:—

द्विजाय ब्रह्मदत्ताय ददौ ताक्ष्यवरध्वजः। सत्रे समासे च तदा चक्रचक्रगताधरः ५१८९.

विसर्जयित्वा तत्काञ्च पाण्डवांश महाबलः। बिल्वोदकेश्वरस्याथ समाजमकरो-
त्प्रभुः ५१९०.

मांससूपशताकीर्ण बहूतं व्यञ्जनाकुलं। निशुद्धकुशलान्मलान्देवो मल्लप्रियस्तदा ५१९१.

Here we are told that Kṛishṇa held in honour of the god Bilyōdakēśvara a *samāja* (feast), which is said to be “abounding in a hundred (varieties) of meat and curry, full of diverse (kinds) of food, and surcharged with condiments.” *Samāja*, therefore, appears to be a public feast, where meat formed one of the principal articles of food served. But this, I think, denotes only one feature of the *samāja*. Another feature of it will be clear from the following verse of the Bhāttikāvya:³

¹ J. R. A. S., 1901, pp. 486 & 517. ² Gött. Gel. Anz., 1881, p. 1321.

³ Canto V. II. v. 39 (Nirṇayasaṁśār edition).

इन्दुं चषकसंक्रान्तमुपाशुङ्क यथामृतम् ।

प्रशुज्ञानः पियावाचः समाजानुरतो जनः ॥

Here the word *samāja* is explained by the commentator Jaya-māngala, as signifying *pána-gôshthi*. *Samāja* thus, on the whole, seems to mean a sort of public merry-making, where meat and wine were copiously served.

When king Piyadasi says that he sees much evil in the holding of a *samāja*, he had in mind, I think, both these features of the *samāja*, viz., the slaughter of hundreds of animals, and the quaffing of copious wine. But it is the first feature of the *samāja*, that, above all, prompted the king to put a stop to this custom, since this edict is entirely concerned with the protection of animal life.

4. The word *ekachā* is formed by applying the termination *tā* to *eka*, and means ‘belonging to a particular place, certain.’ *Ekachā samāja* does not, therefore, mean “some kinds of festive assemblies,” as Dr. Bühler supposes, but convivial gatherings belonging to a particular place, i.e., the place where Piyadasi was in the habit of holding them. Further, *sâlhumatā*, I think, does not refer to his present, but to his past, opinion. What Piyadasi means is, that, although he now sees much evil in the celebration of *samājas*, there was a time when they were considered most excellent by him. The ancient kings of India appear to have been in the habit of holding *samājas*. In the Hâthigumphâ inscription at Cuttack, we are told that, Khâravela, king of Kalinga, amused his capital-town by celebrating festivals and *samājas* (उत्सवसमाजकारापनाहि च कीडापथि नगर्ये).¹ Similarly, Nâsik cave-inscription No. 18 speaks of Gotamî-putra Śâtakarnî as having caused festivals and *samājas* to be made (शत्रुघ्नुसवसमाजकारकस).² Quite in consonance with this practice, Piyadasi must have held several *samājas*, but the slaughter of thousands of animals on these occasions appears to have aroused his conscience and impelled him to abolish the institution, whereby so much animal life was sacrificed.

5. Piyadasi here tells us how to serve meat on the occasions of the *samājas* he formerly gave, thousands of animals were slaughtered in his kitchen, and how he has now imposed restrictions on the animals

¹ See “The Hâthigumphâ and three other Inscriptions,” &c., by Bhagwanlal Indraji, p. 26.

² Arch. Surv. West. Ind., Vol. IV., p. 108, l. 8.

to be slain for his table. *Anupdivasam*, no doubt, literally means 'daily,' but it seems here to denote the collective result of the daily slaughter of animals continued for a long period rather than the daily slaughter itself, for the killing of hundreds of thousands of animals every day is an impossibility. The word *sipa* here is worthy of note. Even to the present day, where English cockery is not imitated, meat is prepared among Hindus in the form of curry.

It will be seen that, if the rendering we have proposed for ll. 4—9 is accepted, the cogent objections, raised by the learned scholar M. Senart¹ to Dr. Bühler's interpretation, are satisfactorily answered. In the first place, the sense we have given of *samāja* is, as required by him, "more precise and circumscribed" than that suggested by Dr. Bühler, and is supported by authorities. Next, if *samāja* signifies, as we have seen, a public entertainment where meat and wine were served in profuse quantities, it is clear how thereby animal life "was compromised," and how, therefore, *na cha samājo katavyo* can stand connected with *na pajūhitavyāni* in an edict "entirely devoted to the protection of animal life." Again, if one translates, with Dr. Bühler, *asti pichu*, &c., &c., by "there are, however, also some kinds of festive assemblies considered most excellent by king Priyadarśin," the rendering becomes liable to M. Senart's objection that, "if Piyadasi had meant to approve of 'certain *samājas*,' he would have specified to what *samājas* he referred." But, as we have understood it, Piyadasi's approval pertains, not to any convivial gatherings he holds at present, but to those he formerly gave; in short, he once approved of certain *samājas* which he now disapproves. Thus M. Senart's objection does not apply to our interpretation. Lastly, when for *samāja* was proposed a vague sense, which did not clearly indicate how animal life was thereby "compromised," and when the words *asti pi chu*, &c., &c., were presumed to refer to certain *samājas* favourably regarded by Piyadasi at the time when the edict was promulgated, the details given of Piyadasi's kitchen, as M. Senart rightly observes, were rendered perfectly irrelevant and unmeaning. But, according to our view of the matter, these details attain full significance. For we have interpreted the words *asti pichu*, &c., &c., to allude to the *samājas*, i.e. public banquets, which Piyadasi gave long before he issued this edict; and it is but natural that Piyadasi should describe the hor-

¹ Ind. Ant. XX. 245, note 46.

rible slaughter of animals that was carried on in his kitchen, to serve meat on occasions of those *samájas*.

2.—*The Second Rock Edict.*

With regard to this edict I have only three remarks to offer. The first is with respect to Satiyaputa, mentioned by Piyadasi among the kings, ruling on the frontiers of his kingdom. The close correspondence in sound of Satiyaputa and Sâtputê, a surname current among the present Marâthás, is so striking that I am inclined to hold that the Sâtputês had formerly settled in the south on the Western Coast, as the mention of Satiyaputa in the edict points to it, and that they afterwards migrated as far northward as Mahârâshtra, and were merged into the warrior and other classes.

My second remark refers to the word *sámanita*, which occurs in connection with Antiochus and the four Greek princes. Dr. Bühler has rendered it by "vassal-kings."¹ And it is this rendering to which I take exception. *Sámanita* is the reading of all versions except that of Girûr, which substitutes *sámipanî* for it. This variant is of great importance, inasmuch as it indicates that *sámanita* must be interpreted in such a way as to correspond to it. *Sámanita* must, therefore, signify neighbouring or bordering. And, as a matter of fact, this is the sense which Childer's Pâli Dictionary gives for the word *sámanita*. There can remain, therefore, no doubt that *sámanita* in the edict is to be translated as 'neighbouring or bordering' and not "vassal-kings," as Dr. Bühler has done.

My third remark is concerned with the sense of the word *chikichhâ*. If we carefully attend to the contents of this edict, it cannot fail to strike us that, when Piyadasi says that he has established two kinds of *chikichhâ*, he makes only a general statement, of which the works of charity he mentions further on are particular instances. If so, the word *chikichhâ* must be interpreted in such a way as to go naturally with planting trees, raising orchards, digging wells, and such other charitable works which Piyadasi has instituted. But if we hold with Dr. Bühler that the word means "a hospital"² or with M. Senart that it signifies "remedies,"³ then we shall have to suppose that this edict simply sets forth a congeries of facts thoroughly unconnected with one another. I, therefore, propose to take *chikichhâ* in the sense of 'provision or provident arrangement.'

¹ *Ep. Ind.* II. 468.

² *Ibid.*

³ *Ind. Ant.* IX. 287; *Ibid.* XX, 240, note 32.

If this sense is adopted, the word *chikichhdā* goes with all the charitable acts specified by Piyadasi, and a connection is established between it and what follows. For Piyadasi here speaks of having made two provident arrangements, i.e., provident arrangements for two classes of creatures—men and animals. And what are these? They are obviously the planting of medicinal herbs, the growing of orchards, the sinking of wells, and so forth. By this way of interpretation alone the edict attains its full significance.

II.—THE ĀJIVIKAS.

The epigraphic references to the Ājivikas occur in the inscriptions of Piyadasi and his grandson Daśaratha. The earliest of these is to be found in the Barābar cave-inscription,¹ which speaks of them as the donees to whom the cave was dedicated by Piyadasi in the thirteenth year of his reign. The Ājivikas are also mentioned in Pillar Edict VII., among those, whom, Piyadasi tells us, he has ordered his Dharma-mahāmātras to concern themselves with. They are also referred to in the Nâgârjunî cave-inscriptions, which record the grant of three caves to Ājivikas by Daśaratha, beloved of the gods.² But the following note is chiefly concerned with the passage of Pillar Edict VII., wherein the Ājivikas are mentioned. The passage is as follows:—

हेमेव बाभनेसु आजीविकेसु पि मे कटे इमे विद्यापटा हैंहति ति.

Dr. Kern and Dr. Bühler connect *babbhanesu* with *ājīvikesu*, and translate it thus: “likewise I have arranged it that they will be occupied with the Brahmanical Ājivikas.”³ Thus, according to these scholars, the Ājivikas were a Brahmanical sect. The reasons for holding this view and for proposing the above interpretation have been set forth by Dr. Kern in his *Der Buddhismus*, and have been repeated by Dr. Bühler in his paper on the Barābar and Nâgârjunî Hill Cave Inscriptions.⁴ But apart from the refutation of these arguments, it is not difficult to see that *babbhanesu* can by no means stand in apposition with *Ājīvikesu*, as has been supposed by Dr. Kern and Dr. Bühler. In the Nâgârjunî cave inscriptions of Daśaratha, the Ājivikas are styled *bhadanta*. Now,

¹ *Ind. Ant.* XX. 169 and 364.

² *Ibid.*, 364-5.

³ *Ep. Ind.* II. 272; in justice to Dr. Bühler, it must be said that he admitted the possibility of translating the same passage by separating हेमेव बाभनेसु from आजीविकेसु, *Ind. Ant.* XX. 362.

⁴ *Ind. Ant.* XX. 361-3.

śhadanta is a title which has never been applied to any members of a Brahmanical school. The Ājīvikas could not, therefore, have been a Brahmanical sect. The same conclusion is pointed to by the following stanzas from the Suttanipāta¹ :—

Ye kec' ime titthiyā vādasilā
 Ājīvikā vā yadi vā niganṭhā
 paññāya taṁ nātitaranti sabbe
 tihito vajantam viya sīghagāmīm. 6

Ye kec' ime brāhmaṇā vādasilā
 vuddhā cāpi brāhmaṇā santi keci
 sajbe tayi atthabaddhā bhavanti
 ye vāpi c' aññe vādino maññamānā. 7

Translation.

"All these disputatious Titthiyas and Ājīvikas and Niganthas do not any of them overcome thee in understanding as a man standing (does not overcome) the one that is walking quickly."

"All these disputatious Brāhmaṇas, and there are even some old Brāhmaṇas, all are bound by thy opinion, and others also that are considered disputants."²

It will be seen from this that here the Brāhmaṇas, Ājīvikas and Nirgranthas are distinguished from one another. The Ājīvikas cannot, therefore, be regarded as having been a Brahmanical school.

We shall now proceed to the consideration of Dr. Kern's view that the Ājīvikas are Vaishnavas. This view rests on two passages from Utpala's commentary on Varāhamihira's Brihajjātaka. The first passage is आजीविकप्रवर्णं च नारायणाप्रितानां, which he renders by "and the use of (the term) Ājīvika refers to those who have taken refuge with Nārāyaṇa." In support of this explanation, Utpala, according to Dr. Kern, cites a Prākrit verse of Kālakāchārya, which the commentator renders by the Sanskrit केशवर्मार्गदीक्षितः केशवभक्तः भागवत् इत्थर्थः. This, in Dr. Kern's opinion, unmistakably shows that Kālakāchārya regards Ājīvikas as Bhāgavatas. Now, in the first place, the translation proposed by Dr. Kern for the first passage is not correct. That this is the case will be seen from the following extract from Utpala's commentary bearing upon this point :—

¹ Sutta-Nipāta, edited by V. Fauböll, p. 672. ² Sacred Books of the East, Vol. X., Pt. II., p. 63.

एकस्थैश्चतुरादिभिर्बलयुतैर्जाता पृथग्वीर्येणः
शाक्यार्जीविकभिक्षुवृद्धचरका निर्विश्वन्याशनाः ।
माहेयज्ञगुहक्षपाकरात्प्रभाकरीनैः क्रमात्

तत्राश्वेव चतुरादिभिरेकस्थैर्ग्नैर्जातस्य प्रब्रज्यायोगं शारूलविक्रीडितेनाह ॥
एकस्थैर्ग्निति । यत्र तत्र राशौ भ्रहाश्चतुरादिश्वत्वाः पञ्च षट् सप्त वा एकस्था यशा
भवन्ति । सर्वे बलहीनास्तदा जातस्य प्रब्रज्या न भवति । तेषां चतुराशीनां एकत्र-
गानां मध्याद्ययोर्कोऽपि बलवान्भवति तदैव प्रब्रज्या भवति । यदा बहवो बलिन-
स्तदा बहवः प्रब्रज्या भवन्ति । एवमेकस्थैश्चतुरादिभिर्बलयुतैर्जाताः प्रब्रज्या-
भाजो भवन्ति । यस्मादुक्तं ॥ प्रब्रज्या बलिभिः समा ॥ ताश्च पृथग्वीर्येणः
शाक्याद्यां भवन्ति । वौथग्वीर्वलिभिर्ग्नैः पृथक् समस्ता भवन्ति । शाक्या-
दीनां माहेयाद्यो भ्रहा यथोन्तकमेण ॥ तद्यथा ॥ चतुरादीनामेकस्थानां मध्याद्यसा
बलवान्भवियो भवति तदा शाक्यो भवति । शाक्यो रक्तपदः । अथ चतुराशीनां
मध्याद्यसा ज्ञो लुधो बलवान्भवति तदा आजीविको भवति । आजीविकश्चैकदण्डी ।
एवं जीवो बलवान्यदा भवति तदा भिक्षुभवति । संन्यासी ज्ञयः¹ । यदा चन्द्रो
बलवान् तदा वृद्धशावको भवति । वृत्तमंगभयात् आवकण्डवो लुसी द्रष्टव्यः ।
वृद्धशावकः कपाली । शुक्रे बलवति चरको भवति । चरको चक्रधरः² । सैरे
बलवति निर्वन्धः । निर्वन्धो नमः क्षपणकः प्रावरणादिरहितः । आदित्ये बलवति
वन्याशानो भवति । वने भवं वन्यं तद्यातीति वन्याशनः । तपस्वी मूलफलाशुनः ।
एवं क्रमात्प्रब्रज्यार्थीयः । एते च कालकमताद्वाराख्याताः । तथा च कालकाच्चा-
र्यः ॥ नावसिंधो दिष्णणहि चंद्रे कावालिं तदा भणिर्भः । रक्तवडो शुमिसुवे सोमसुवे
एअदण्डी अ ॥ देवगुरुशुक्रकोणाकवेण जईचरअख्यवणाइ ॥ अस्यार्थः । तावसिंधो
क्षपणिकः । दिष्णणाहे दिनार्थे । चंद्रे चन्द्रे । कावालिं कापालिकः । तदा
भणिर्भं तथा भणितः । रक्तवडो रक्तपदः । भूमिसुवे शुमिसुते । सोमसुवे सोमसुते ।
एअदण्डी अ एकदण्डी च । देवगुरुर्द्वृहस्पतिः । शुक्रः शुक्रः । कोणः शनिः । कवेण
क्रमेण । जई यतिः । चरभ चरकः । ख्यवणाइ क्षपणकः । अत्र वृद्धशावकप्रहणं
महेष्वाश्रितानां प्रब्रज्यानामुपलक्षणं । आजीविकप्रहणं च नारायणाश्रितानां । तथा
च कालक्रमसंहितार्था पञ्चते । जलण-हर-सुग्रभ-केसव-सुइ-बहू-णगमगमेषु
दिक्काणं । पाअव्या सुराइ-गहा कमेण नाहगड़ ॥ अस्यार्थः जलण उवलनः ।
सामिक इत्यर्थः । हर ईश्वरभक्तः । भद्रारकः । सुग्रभ सुग्रतः । बौद्ध इत्यर्थः ।
केसव केशवभक्तः । भागवत इत्यर्थः । सुइ शृतिमार्गरतः । मीमांसकः । बहू
ब्रह्मभक्तः । वानप्रस्थः । नग्न नमः । क्षपणकः । मग्नेषु मार्गेषु । दिक्काणं
दीक्षानां । पाअव्या ज्ञातव्याः । सुराइगहा सूर्यादिप्रहाः । कमेण क्रमेण । नाह-
गड़ नाथ यतः ।

Now, with regard to the first passage आजीविकप्रहणं च नारायणा-
श्रितानां, it is plain that the word च indicates that it is connected
with the preceding passage, and that consequently the words प्रब्रज्या-

¹ Another reading: भिक्षुबिदण्डी यतिः

² Another reading: चक्रकरः

नामुपलक्षणम् from the latter, require to be understood after नारायणाभितानां in the former, passage. Dr. Kern, however, not perceiving the force of च takes आजीविकप्रहणं च नारायणाभितानां as a distinct sentence in itself. Evidently, therefore, he cannot be right in translating it by "and the use of (the term) Ājīvika refers to those who have taken refuge with Nārāyaṇa." The true rendering of the passage is as follows : "and (the term) Ājīvika is used as a mark to denote the monastic orders dependent upon Nārāyaṇa." Here the most important word is *upalakshana*, which Dr. Kern has entirely lost sight of. *Upalakshana* means a mark indicative of something that the word itself does not actually express. Utpala has already, in explaining the original of Varāhamihira by comparing it with a *śloka* of Kālakāchārya, said that *ājīvika* signifies *ekadāndī*. And now he adds that the term *ājīvika* is to be taken as a mark to denote the recluse-devotees of Nārāyaṇa. It is a mark only and not a word expressive of them. Sanskrit commentators often employ the word *upalakshana*, when they want a certain word or expression in the original to denote things, not, truly speaking, expressed by that word or expression. And precisely the same practice is followed here by Utpala. The list of ascetic denominations given by Varāhamihira is by no means exhaustive, for, among others, it fails to take cognizance of the recluse-devotees of Nārāyaṇa. Hence the necessity to understand the latter by means of an *upalakshana*. From this it follows that the passage आजीविकप्रहणं च नारायणाभितानां, far from supporting Dr. Kern's view that the Ājīvikas are Vaishṇavas, runs counter to it.

The next passage from Utpala's commentary cited by Dr. Kern in favour of his thesis, is, as stated above, केशवमार्गदीक्षितः केशवभक्तः भागवत् इत्यर्थः: This passage also has been misconstrued, but the misconception in this case is dependent upon the misinterpretation of the former passage. For Utpala certainly quotes this from Kālakāchārya, as believed by Dr. Kern, in support of the assertion आजीविकप्रहणं च नारायणाभितानां. But, as we have just seen, what Utpala wants thereby to convey is, that the term *ājīvika* not means, as supposed by Dr. Kern, but denotes by *upalakshana*, the recluse-devotees of Nārāyaṇa. It may, however, be asked—what authority justifies this *upalakshana*? It is the authority of Kālakāchārya, and Utpala quotes a verse from Kālakasāṁhitā in support of his position. According to this verse, a man becomes केशवमार्गदीक्षित्, if, when born, the planet mercury is predominant. But under the same astrological

condition at the time of his birth, a man becomes, according to another verse of Kālakāchārya cited before, an *ekadāṇḍī*, which has been identified by Utpala with the *Ājīvika* of Varāhamihira. So that the *kēśava-mārga-dikṣitas* of the new verse remain to be accounted for. This justifies Utpala in making *Ājīvika* stand as a mark for *kēśava-mārga-dikṣitas*, i.e. Bhāgavatas. This is how, in my opinion, the second passage, on which Dr. Kern relies for his theory, requires to be understood. It points to the justification of the *upalakṣhaṇa*, according to which *Ājīvika* denotes the recluse-devotees of Nārāyaṇa, and not of the assertion that the Vaishṇavas are to be understood by *Ājīvika* in its natural sense. The view propounded by Dr. Kern and countenanced by Dr. Bühler that the Ājīvikas are Vaishṇavas, has, therefore, little ground to stand upon.

It will not be out of place, I think, if a short account of these Ājīvikas is given with a view to point out who they were. My work here will be principally that of bringing some of the scattered rays to a focus. The founders of this monastic order were Nanda-Vachchha, Kisa-Samkicchha, and Makkhali Gosāla, of whom the last is by far the most famous, as he is one of the six well-known Teachers mentioned in Buddhist scriptures. There is a Sanskrit word *maskarin*, which ordinarily signifies an ascetic. But this word, I think, is formed from the name Makkhali, and originally denoted an Ājīvika monk. But, after the disappearance of the Ājīvikas, the origin and the signification of the word were forgotten, and it came to be used in the ordinary sense of an 'ascetic.' Buddhaghōsha tells us that an Ājīvika is *nagga-pabbajito*.¹ Ājīvikas are also described as *achela*,² i.e., unclothed. And in confirmation of this, there are at least two stories from the Vinaya-piṭaka. According to the first,³ which is in the Mahāvagga, while the Buddha and the Bhikshus were once staying in the Anāthapiṇḍikāsrama in Jetavana at Srāvasti, it began to rain over the whole world. The Buddha informed the Bhikshus that that was the last mighty storm of rain over the whole world, and consequently asked them to let themselves be rained down upon. The Bhikshus accordingly divested themselves of their robes and exposed their bodies to rain. On that very day, Visākhā, mother of Migāra, was engaged in preparations for a feast to the Buddha and his Bhikshus. When the preparations were over, she sent her maid-

¹ J. R. A. S. 1898, p. 197.

² Jāt. I. 390.

³ VIII. 15, 2—6.

servant to the Buddha to intimate that dinner was ready. When the maid-servant approached the Anāthapindikāsrama, she saw the naked Bhikshus, but concluded from their being naked that they were Ājivikas. The other story, which is from the Nissaggiya,¹ is, that, while a few Bhikshus left Sāketa for Srāvasti, they were waylaid by certain robbers, who deprived them of their robes. Being forbidden by the Buddha to ask for another garment, they went naked to Srāvasti to meet the Bhikshus there. But the latter, instead of recognising them as mendicants of their order, mistook them for Ājivikas as they were unclothed.

The Ājivikas covered their bodies with dust, and their food consisted of fish and cow-dung.² They were noted for ascetic practices of the most rigorous kind. Some of the austerities they practised are mentioned in one Jātaka to have been "painful squatting on heels, swinging in the air like bats, reclining on thorns and scorching themselves with five fires."³ Again, as first pointed out by Dr. Bühler, they branded the hands of their novice with a heated ball.⁴ Their doctrine has been admirably summed up by the Buddha in the words *n'atthi kamman n'atthi kiriyanū n'atthi viriyanti*. They were thus complete fatalists.⁵

The Ājivikas appear to have been intimately connected with the Nirgranthas, i.e., Jainas. They are often associated together in the Buddhist literature (see e.g. the stanza quoted above from the Sutta Nipāta). The Jaina work Bhagavatī tells us that Gosāla Mankhaliputta was for some time a pupil of Mahāvira.⁶ Again, in the Divyāvadāna, the Nirgranthas have actually been once called Ājivikas.⁷ Further, the imposition of a tax on Ājivikas is mentioned in some of the South-Indian Inscriptions⁸ edited by Dr. Hultzsch, who considers them to be Jainas.

¹ VI. 2.

² Jāt. I. 390.

³ *Ibid.* I. 493; other austerities to which they resorted have been set forth in the Majjhima-Nikāya, p. 238. For the translation of this passage, see Rhys Davids' Dialogues of the Buddha, p. 227 ff.

⁴ Jāt. III. 541.

⁵ See also Rhys Davids' Dialogues of the Buddha, pp. 71 ff., and Hoernle's Uvāsagadasāo, Appendix II.

⁶ 'The Life of the Buddha' translated by W. W. Rockhill, pp. 249 ff. Uvāsagadasāo by Hoernle, Appendix I.

⁷ Divyāvadāna, edited by Cowell and Neil, p. 427.

⁸ Vol. I., pp. 88, 89, 92 and 108.

In the Brahmanical works, the earliest reference to the Ājīvikas that has been traced, is in Varāhamihira's *Bṛihajjātaka*, as we have seen above. Then in the Jānakiharāṇa of Kumāradāsa (A. D. 725), Rāvaṇa is mentioned to have approached Sītā in the garb of an Ājīvika monk.¹ No other reference to the Ājīvikas has been found in Brahmanical literature, so far as my knowledge goes.

III.—DIGHWĀ-DUBAULĪ PLATE OF MAHĒNDRAPĀLA and

BENGAL AS. SOC.'S PLATE OF VINĀYAKAPĀLA.

These copper-plate charters have been edited by various scholars from time to time, but the scholar who edited them last is Dr. Fleet, who has laid students of ancient Indian history under deep obligations, by giving them an excellent summary of the different theories held regarding the royal grantors of these charters and then setting forth his own view of the matter. His view, considered in the light of the researches then made, was, indeed, incontrovertible; but the publication of the Daulatpurā grant of Bhōjadēva, and of the well-known Siyadōnī inscription, the contents of which were but imperfectly known when Dr. Fleet wrote upon the subject, has thrown such a flood of light upon the whole question that, in my humble opinion, a new theory requires to be framed. To this task I set myself in this paper, but this object can be best attained by giving, in short, the chief arguments on which Dr. Fleet's theory is based, and then my own reasons for dissenting from his view.

Dr. Fleet's arguments² may be briefly stated, as follow:—

1. The kings mentioned in the copper-plate inscriptions cannot be identical with the homonymous kings named in the Gwalior, Pēhēvā and Siyadōnī stone-inscriptions, inasmuch as the former bear the subordinate title *mahārāja*, and the latter, the paramount titles *paramabhaṭṭāraka mahārājādhīrāja paramēśvara*.

2. The locality Mahādaya, whence the charters were issued, cannot be identified with Kanauj, as it is spoken of therein as a *skandhāvāra*; and it is most unlikely that such a famous capital town as Kanauj should be selected for a camp. Their capital was either Śrāvasti or Vārāṇasi; and Mahādaya, where their camp was established, must be located near the Ganges or its tributaries, since

¹ Cap. X. r. 76.

² Ind. Ant. Vol. XV. pp. 110-1.

Vinâyakapâla, who issued the second charter, is mentioned therein to have bathed in the Ganges before making the grant.

3. The dates of the plates are 155 and 188 respectively, and are to be referred to the Harsha era. Their English equivalents are, therefore, A.D. 761-62, and A.D. 794-95, respectively. They, therefore, flourished in the second half of the eighth century A.D., and cannot be the same as their namesakes, who were posterior by full one century.

Before we proceed to deal with these arguments one by one, the first question that we shall decide is : are these princes identical with the homonymous kings mentioned in the stone-inscriptions ? The last four generations of princes in the second copper-plate charter are :—

Râmabhadra
|
Bhôja
|
Mahêndrapâla
|
Vinâyakapâla.¹

The succession of the princes of Kanauj as determined from the Gwalior, Pêhêvâ and Siyadôni inscriptions is as follows :—

Râmabhadra
|
Bhôja
|
Mahêndrapâla
|
Mahipâla or Kshitipâla.

It will be seen at a glance that there is a perfect agreement of names, so far as the first three princes are concerned. But there appears to be some difference with regard to the name of the fourth prince. This difference, however, is only apparent. Dr. Kielhorn has shown, on the evidence of a Khajurâho inscription,² that Mahipâla also bore the name Hêrambapâla. Thus the difference of name with regard to the fourth prince in the two lists ceases to exist, when it is remembered that Mahipâla of the second list was

¹ The copper-plate grant of Vinâyakapâla places his half-brother Bhêja II. between him and their father Mahêndrapâla, but I have omitted his name as we are concerned, not with succession, but with generations.

² Ep. Ind. I. 124 and 171.

also called Hērambapāla, which is synonymous with Vināyakapāla, both being names of Gaṇapati. We thus see that the names of the last four princes mentioned in the copper-plate inscriptions agree with those of the princes referred to in the stone-inscriptions. The agreement of names in the case of one or two princes can be explained away as a mere coincidence. But when the agreement extends to the names of no less than four princes, only one conclusion is possible, viz. that they are identical, unless cogent reasons can be adduced to the contrary. The only conceivable objection to this view is that the kings of the copper-plate inscriptions are called simply *mahārājas*, whereas those of the stone-inscriptions are styled, *paramabhatṭāraka mahārājādhīrāja Paramēśvara*. This point I shall shortly consider.

We shall now turn to the second of Dr. Fleet's arguments summarised above. He says that Mahōdaya, whence the copper-plate grants were issued, cannot be Kanauj, because Mahōdaya is therein called a *skandhāvāra*, and such a great city as Kanauj could not have been used as a site for a camp. Dr. Fleet would, indeed, have been correct in saying that such a renowned city as Kanauj could not have been selected for a camp, if the word *skandhāvāra* had meant a camp only. But, as pointed out by Dr. Kielhorn, the word *skandhāvāra* is given by lexicographers as another word for *rājadhāni* also,¹ and the reason of it is evident. The place of the king's residence, be it temporary or permanent, cannot be without horses, elephants, foot-soldiers, and other implements of war—exactly the things met with in camps. Precisely for the same reason, Gwalior, the capital of Scindia's dominions, is known by the name of *lashkar*, i.e. a camp. And, that *skandhāvāra*, as used in our copper-plate charters, signifies a capital, may be easily seen. Since Dr. Fleet wrote his paper on these charters, a copper-plate grant of Bhōjadēva of the same dynasty has been found, which also was issued from the Mahōdaya *skandhāvāra*.² We thus have three copper-plate charters of this dynasty, all issued from Mahōdaya. Now, it is highly improbable that three distinct princes at three different times chose one and the same place called Mahōdaya, for their camp, if the word *skandhāvāra* is here to be understood in this.

¹ Ep. Ind. V. 209; see also Hēmachandra's *Abhidhānachintāmaṇi* by Boehltingk and Rieu, p. 181, v. 973.

² Ep. Ind. V. 211.

sense. Obviously, therefore, the word *skandhârvâra* must be taken to denote *râjadhâni*, i.e. the place of royal residence. This is not the first instance of the word being used in this sense. Other epigraphic instances can be adduced. Thus the Khâlimpur charter of Dharmapâladêva, of the Pâla dynasty, was issued from the *jaya-skandhârvâra*, fixed at Pâtaliputra.¹ The Mungir grant of Dêvapâla and the Bhâgalpur charter of Nârâyana-pâla, of the same dynasty, were made from the *jayaskandhârvâra*, established at Mudgiri.² As Pâtaliputra (Pâtnâ) and Mudgiri (Mungir) were names of renowned cities, they could not possibly have been used as *skandhârvâras* in the sense of camps. The word *skandhârvâra*, therefore, even in these copper-plate charters of the Pâla kings, must be understood in the sense of *râjadhâni*, and Pâtaliputra and Mudgiri, supposed to have been the seats of the Pâla Government in the time of Dharmapâla, and of Dêvapâla and Nârâyana-pâla, respectively. Nothing, therefore, precludes us from holding that, the word *skandhârvâra* occurring in our copper-plate inscriptions, must be taken to signify *râjadhâni*, and that Mahôdaya, which is therein spoken of as a *skandhârvâra*, must accordingly denote a great city, worthy of royal residence. Now, according to lexicographers, Mahôdaya is another name for Kânyakubja, i.e. Kanauj. This fits here excellently, for, as we have just seen, Mahôdaya of our plates was a large city, worthy of royal residence, and Kanauj was for long known as the capital of North India. Again, as noticed by Dr. Fleet himself, the second of the two grants was issued by Vinâyaka-pâla from Mahôdaya after bathing in the Ganges. Mahôdaya was thus on the banks of the Ganges. And Kanauj, with which we have identified the Mahôdaya of our plates, is on the Ganges. No doubt, therefore, can remain as to the Mahôdaya in question being the same as Kanauj. There was doubtless some plausibility in Dr. Fleet's objection to this identification, when only these two copper-plate charters were known, mentioning places about 250 and 150 miles east of Kanauj. But now in addition to these charters, a new grant of Bhôjadêva, mentioned above, has come to light, and it speaks of a locality called Sivâ, which is unquestionably the same as Sêwâ, in the Jôdhpur State, where it was found, which is no less than 300 miles west of Kanauj. If this is so, it is difficult to

¹ Ep. Ind. IV. 249.

² Ind. Ant. XV. 306; XXI, 256.

conceive, as first pointed out by Dr. Kielhorn,¹ a capital town other than Kanauj most favourably situated as the place from which the three charters could be issued.²

We shall now turn to the first of Dr. Fleet's arguments summarised above. He alleges that the kings of the copper-plate inscriptions cannot be the same as their namesakes, referred to in the stone-inscriptions, as the former are called simply *Mahârâjas*, and the latter, *paramabhatîdraka mahârâjâdhirâja paramâśvaras*. Now, I think, it is wrong to suppose that *mahârâja* necessarily denotes a subordinate feudatory rank. The word literally means 'the great king,' and can appropriately be applied to even an independent ruler. And, that, as a matter of fact, this is actually the case with regard to the kings of the copper-plate inscriptions is clearly attested by the vast extent of territory over which they ruled. It has been just shown that Mahôdaya or Kanauj was their capital, that two of their copper-plate grants refer to localities about 250 and 150 miles to the east of Kanauj, and that the third, i.e. the newly-found grant of Bhôjadêva names a certain place, which is 300 miles to the west of Kanauj. Thus the dominions of these kings extended at least as far as 250 to the east, and 300 miles to the west of Kanauj, their capital. This was undoubtedly a vast range of territory, and was certainly of no less extent than that held by the Chêdi, Chandêlla and Paramâra rulers. Now, if the latter are regarded as independent sovereigns, there is no reason why the former should not be regarded as equally independent, although they do not assume high-sounding titles. Nay, about this period the high-sounding titles borne by kings are often found empty. We have the well-known instance of Vaidyadêva, who was first a minister of Kumârapâla, of the Pâla dynasty, but was afterwards made by him king of Kâmarûpa. Although Vaidyadêva was thus subordinate to Kumârapâla, he styles himself *mahârâjâdhirâja paramabhatîdraka paramâśvara*.³ Another instance is furnished by the Râjôr stone-inscription of Mathanadêva, who, although himself a feudatory of Vijayapâla, king of Kanauj, assumes

¹ Ep. Ind. V. 209.

² In justice to Dr. Fleet it requires to be mentioned that he does admit at Ep. Ind. VI. 198, that the Mahôdaya of these copper-plate inscriptions refers to Kanauj. But, as the objections urged by him against the identification of the Mahôdaya of these plates with Kanauj were in themselves weighty, I thought it necessary to consider them.

³ Ep. Ind. II. 353.

the titles *mahárájādhirája paraméśvara*.¹ Further may be cited an instance of the contrary kind, an instance of a prince, who, although an independent ruler, bears the simple title *paraméśvara* like that of *mahárája*. Bhōjadēva of the Siyadōṇī stone-inscription has been commonly supposed to be the same as the Bhōjadēva of the Gwalior stone-inscription No. 2. But, while in the first inscription, he is styled *paramabhaṭṭdraka mahárájādhirája paraméśvara*, he is styled, in the second, simply *svámī paraméśvara*.² In short, the assumption of the simple or high-sounding titles is not a sure index of the true rank, especially about this period. And we have seen that, the territory, over which the kings of the copper-plate inscriptions ruled, was as vast as, if perhaps not vaster than, that owned by the Chēdi, Chandēlla or Paramāra kings. It is, therefore, incontrovertible that the former were independent rulers; and thus the objection to their identity with the homonymous kings of the stone-inscriptions has little weight.

We now come to the last point, *viz.* the dates of the plates. According to Dr. Fleet, the dates are 155 and 188, and are years of the Harsha era. In editing the newly-found grant of Bhōjadēva, Dr. Kielhorn too following Dr. Fleet interprets the symbol 3 as equivalent to 100, and refers it to the Harsha era. Conceding for the moment that these dates have been correctly read, let us see whether they can be said to belong to the Harsha era. The dates 100 and 155 of Bhōjadēva and Mahēndrapāla of the copper-plate inscriptions, as read by Dr. Fleet and Dr. Kielhorn, if referred to the Harsha era, as held by them, are equivalent to A.D. 706 and 761. So that from A.D. 706 to 761 we have both Bhōjadēva and Mahēndrapāla, reigning consecutively at Mahōdaya or Kanauj. Now, the Rājatarāṅgini tells us that Lalitāditya of Kāshmir defeated Yaśōvarman, who reigned at Kanauj, and was the patron of Bhavabhūti and Vākpati. The Kāshmir chronicle assigns Lalitāditya to the period 726—760 A.D.³ It is, therefore, plain that Yaśōvarman whom he defeated must have been reigning between A.D. 726—760, *i.e.* about that period when, and at that very Mahōdaya or Kanauj where, Bhōjadēva and Mahēndrapāla were reigning, as will be seen from the above. Evidently, therefore, the theory that the dates of these princes are years of the Harsha era must be given up. Nor can we

¹ *Ibid.* III, 266.

² *Ibid.* I., 159.

³ Kalhana's Rājatarāṅgini translated by M. A. Stein, Vol. I, p. 132.

accept the reading of these dates, as proposed by the same scholars. Dr. Fleet, indeed, says "that the dates of these two inscriptions are perfectly certain."¹ But I am sorry that I have not been able to trace the grounds, on which this certainty is based. Beyond telling us in a footnote that "the remaining symbols for 5, 10 and 100 in their present forms are still to be entered there"² (i.e. in Bhagwanlal Indraji's table), he does not attempt to adduce any authority in support of his reading. This being the case, one is perfectly justified in regarding the readings as not certain, but only tentative. And, if I may be allowed to put forth a conjecture, I propose that the symbol ३ or ፩ which, according to Dr. Fleet and Dr. Kielhorn, is equivalent to 100, should be understood to stand for 900 especially as it closely resembles ९ the sign for 9 occurring in the Bengal As. Soc.'s plate of Vinâyakapâla, and that the dates so read should be referred to the Vikrama era, like those of the Gwalior, Asû, Dêrogadh and Siyadôgi inscriptions. If this conjecture is followed, the dates of the three copper-plate inscriptions are to be read 900, 955 and 988 V.E., which correspond to A.D. 844, 899 and 932 respectively. For the sake of clearness, we shall place the dates of both the copper-plate and the stone inscriptions side by side, thus:—

		Copper-plate inscriptions.	Stone-inscriptions.
Bhôjadêva	...	844 A. D.	862, 876 and 882 A. D.
Mahêndrapâla	...	899 A. D.	903 and 907 A.D.
Mahîpâla	...	932 A. D.	917 A. D.
Vinâyakapâla	or ... } ... }		

There is no disagreement whatever, so far as the dates of Mahêndrapâla are concerned. With regard to Bhôjadêva, if we accept the date of the copper-plate inscription, as we have conjectured it, we shall have to suppose that he reigned for at least 38 years; and, I think, there is nothing impossible in this supposition. With respect to Mahîpâla or Vinâyakapâla, the date which his grant gives him, is, indeed, posterior to that furnished by the stone-inscription,

¹ Ind. Ant. XV, 111.

² Ibid., p. 106, footnote 3.

by at least fifteen years. But this need not trouble us, as it is in no way inconsistent with the earliest date 948 A. D., we have for his successor Dévapâla. On the whole, I think, the conjecture may be provisionally accepted, until further researches throw light on this point and settle it finally.



ART. XIII.—*Gurjaras.** By DEVADATTA RAMKRISHNA

BHANDARKAR, M.A.

[Read 13th November 1902.]

Gujarāt, the well-known portion of the Bombay Presidency, has been commonly held to be Gurjararāshṭra or the country of the Gurjaras. But, howsoever the word may be explained, it remains incontrovertible that the country received its name from the Gurjaras, who settled in, and wielded sway over, that province. In ancient days, however, Gujarāt was not known by this name, but was called Lāṭa.¹ Many antiquarians have indeed expressed the view that this Lāṭa corresponded to South Gujarāt from the Mahi to the Tapi, but that it did not comprehend North Gujarāt.² There can, however, be little doubt that Lāṭa included North Gujarāt also. The Cambay copper-plate charter of the Rāshtrakūṭa prince, Gōvinda IV., speaks of Khetaka *mandala* as forming a part of Lāṭa *dēsa*³. As Khetaka is undoubtedly identical with the modern Kaira, the boundaries of Lāṭa may be supposed to be stretching as far as a little to the north of Kaira. One of the Gwalior inscriptions published by Dr. Hultzsch mentions Alla, keeper of the marches in the service of Rāmadēva, king of Kanauj (C. 835 A. D.) as having emigrated from Ānandapura in Lāṭa *mandala*⁴. Ānandapura is doubtless the modern Vadnagar and we may consequently suppose that a portion of territory as far

* Mr. A. M. T. Jackson has written a very able and valuable paper on the Gurjaras, which forms the history portion of "Bhinmal" in Appendix III. of the *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I., Pt. I. It was the perusal of this interesting paper that first set my thoughts going, and what I have said here is a sort of supplement to what he has already done.

¹ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. V. p. 145; *History of Gujarāt*, in the *Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency*, Vol. I., Pt. I., p. 7.; *Dynasties of the Kanarese District*, in the *Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency*, Vol. I., Pt. II., pp. 309-10.

² *Ep. Ind.* VII. 40.

³ *Ibid.* I. 156; Ānandapura is mentioned in the Alīnā grant of Śilāditya VII., which has been identified by Dr. Fleet with Ānand, the chief town of the Ānand taluka, about twenty-one miles south-east of Kaira (*Gupta Inscr.* p. 173). The name also occurs in the Sarsavni plates of the Kaṭachchhuri prince, Buddharāja, in his paper on which Dr. Kielhorn inclines to Dr. Fleet's view with regard to this identification (*Ep. Ind.* VI. 279). But, in my humble opinion, this identification is far from satisfactory.

north to the Mahî as Vadnagar was comprised in the country of Lâta. The question that now arises is: where then was the kingdom of the Gûrjaras, so often alluded to in inscriptions, before the middle of the tenth century, as, till that time, Gujarât was known as Lâta, and hence was not ruled over by Gûrjara princes?

In no less than three inscriptions Gurjaratrâ is mentioned as the name of a province. The Ghaṭayâl inscription of a Pratîhâra prince, named Kakkuka, speaks of Marumâda (Mârwâr), Valla, Tamâni (Stravanî), Pariankâ-ajja and Gujjaratâ (Gurjaratrâ), as the provinces held by that prince.¹ The Daulatpurâ plate of Bhôjadêva mentions Gurjaratrâ *bhûmi* as comprising Dêñdvânaka *vishaya*, a village of which called Sivâgrâma was granted by that king². Sivâgrâma is identical with the village Sîwâ, where the plate was originally found, and Dêñdvânaka still survives in the name of the city of Didwân, in the north-easternmost part of the Jôdhapur State. Dr. Kielhorn, who edited this grant, has given, in a footnote of his paper thereon, the full text of an inscription found at Kâlaujara, wherein also Gurjaratrâ *maṇḍala* is mentioned together with the town of Maingalânaka falling within it.³ Maingalânaka the learned doctor has identified with Maglonâ, 28 miles N. N. E. of Didwân. Gurjaratrâ was thus a province (*maṇḍala*) in Râjputânâ not unlike Marumâda, Stravanî

It is not established by means of the identification of any surrounding villages; nor by the mention of this name in any one of the inscriptions in or about Ânand. It is only the correspondence of sound that is in favour of this view. On the other hand, the identification of Ânandapura with Vadnagar is based, in my humble opinion, on irrefragable evidence. The Vadnagar *prâsasti* of the reign of Kumârapâla distinctly makes mention of the town by the name of Ânandapura and speaks of it as containing a settlement of Brâhmaṇas called Nagar (Ep. Ind. I. pp. 295, 299 and 303). This is quite in keeping with the tradition current among Nâgar Brâhmaṇas that their original seat was Vadnagar (Gujarât Population in the *Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency*, Vol. IX., Pt. I., p. 13). Again, the Alinâ charters of A.D. 649 and 656 were issued to the same grantee who is described in the first as originally of Ânarittapura and in the second as originally of Ânandapura (Ind. Ant. VII. 75 and 79). This means that Ânandapura was also known by the name of Ânarittapura. And, as a matter of fact, according to popular stories, Vadnagar was called Ânarittapura in the Trîtâ-yuga (History of Gujarât, in the *Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency*, Vol. I., Pt. I., p. 6).

¹ J. R. A. S. 1895, p. 517.

² Ep. Ind. V. 211.

³ Loc. Cit. 210, and footnote 3.

and so forth, and further, as the Daulatpurā plate and the Kālañjara inscription inform us, this province of Gurjaratrā extended round about Didwān, Siwā and Maglonā. The name Gurjaratrā is highly significant. It indicates that it was in this province that the Gūrjaras gained a firm footing and established themselves, and that consequently it came to be called after them just as Śakasthāna, Ahirwār and so forth were called after Śakas and Abhīras. Thus we see that, before the middle of the tenth century, the Gūrjaras were settled in a part of Rājputānā called Gurjaratrā after them. It must not, however, be supposed that the Gūrjara power was confined to this province only. The Chinese pilgrim Yuan-Chuang (Hiouen-Thsang) (C. 640 A.D.) places the kingdom of Kiu-che-lo 1,800 li or 300 miles to the north of the country of Valabhi. The proper representative of Kiu-che-lo has been accepted to be Gūrjara, and, as Yuan-Chuang mentions the countries of Surāshṭra, Ānandapura, Ujjayani,¹ Sindhu and Mūlasthānapura surrounding Kiu-che-lo, Kiu-che-lo must be regarded as corresponding to Central and Northern Rājputānā. Besides, as according to the Chinese traveller, the country of Kiu-che-lo was 5,000 li or 834 miles in circuit, it could not have been merely the small province of Gurjaratrā. The same conclusion is pointed to by the mention, in the Harshacharita, of the conquests of Prabhākaravardhana.) The king is therein described as "a lion to the deer which were the Hūnas, mental affliction to the king of Sindhu, (the cause) of sleeplessness to the Gūrjara prince, the pākala fever to the scent elephants of the ruler of Gandhāra, the pilferer of the wits of the Lāṭa king and an axe to the creeper, viz. the goddess of wealth of the Mālava prince."² Now, the Hūnas were settled in the Himālayas to the north of Prabhākaravardhana's kingdom of Śrikanṭha. The countries of Mālava, Sindhu and Lāṭa correspond respectively to the present Mālwā, Sindh and Gujarāt. The only territory which remains surrounded by Śrikanṭha, Gandhāra, Sindhu, Lāṭa and Mālava is Rājputānā, which must, therefore, be supposed to answer to the country of the Gūrjaras. The larger portion of Rājputānā thus appears to have been under the Gūrjara sway. Next, the Pañchatantra, in its fourth *tantra* contains the story of a *rathakāra*, who is mentioned as having gone to a Gūrjara village in the Gūrjara

¹ Buddhist Records of the Western World, Vol. II. pp. 261.

² Gañḍavaho by S. P. Pandit, Introduction, p. cxxvii, fo. 3; Kādambarī, by Peterson, 1883, Introduction, p. 56.

country in search for camels.¹ As Rājputānā is still known to be the habitat of camels, our conclusion that the Gūrjaradēsa coincides in the main with Rājputānā is thus supported by the Pañchatantra.

✓ Again, a stone-inscription has been published by Dr. Kielhorn of a king named Mathanadēva (A. D. 960), who is described as belonging to the Gurjara-Pratihāra dynasty.² His capital was Rājyapura, the modern Rājōr in the Alwār State, where the stone-inscription was found. Mathanadēva is therein represented to have granted on the occasion of the installation of the god Lachchukēśvara the village of Vyāghrapātaka, together with all neighbouring fields, cultivated, we are distinctly told, by the Gūrjas. It is thus plain that Mathanadēva, himself a Gūrjara and belonging to the Pratihāra family, held sway over a territory corresponding to the present Alwār State and that this territory was occupied by Gūrjas, as they appear to have been the agricultural class there. Further, it has been mentioned above that the Ghaṭayāl inscription of the Pratihāra prince Kakkuka speaks of Marumāda (Mārwār), Valla, Tamaṇi (Stravāṇi), Pariaṅkā-ajja and Gujjaratā (Gurjaratrā) as held by that prince. As these Pratihāra princes were Gūrjas,³ we find that, a large portion of Rājputānā, and not the small province of Gurjaratrā only, owned the Gūrjara sway. Nay, we have also evidence, as will be shown further on, that the Gūrjara supremacy at one period was not restricted to Rājputānā only, but had spread far beyond its limits. But this much is certain that Rājputānā was essentially the country of the Gūrjas.

The Rāshtrakūṭas are represented in their records as constantly fighting with the Gūrjas. Thus the Rādhanpur grant states that the Gūrjara, fearing Gōvinda III., fled, nobody knew whither, so that he might not witness a battle even in a dream.⁴ An unpublished copper-plate charter of Amōghavarsha I.⁵ speaks of this Rāshtrakūṭa prince as having defeated the roaring Gūrjara king. The Nausārī grant of Indra III. compares Krishṇa II.'s battles with the Gūrjara ruler to a storm of the rainy season.⁶ The Dēolī and Karhād grants

¹ Pañchatantra by Kosegarten, p. 229; *Ibid.* (Bo. Sk. Series) IV. and V. p. 33. In the latter, however, only Gurjara-grāma is mentioned.

² *Ep. Ind.* III. 266.

³ See further in the sequel.

⁴ *Ep. Ind.* VI. 244.

⁵ This copper-plate grant is in the possession of my brother, Prof. S. R. Bhandarkar, who is soon going to edit it.

⁶ Above Vol. XVIII. p. 258.

of Kṛishṇa III. assert that, on hearing of the conquests of this Rāshtrakūṭa sovereign, the hope of conquering Kālañjara and Chitrapūṭa dropped away from the heart of the Gūrjara prince.¹ To whom then do these Rāshtrakūṭa references to the Gūrjara princes before the middle of the tenth century apply? It is supposed by some antiquarians that they apply to the Chāvadā kings of Anahilavāḍa.² But the grant of the Chālukya prince Pulakēśi Janāśraya, dated 738-9 A.D., mentions Chāvotakas and Gūrjaras among the peoples whose countries were invaded by the Tājika army.³ The kingdoms of the Chāvotakas or Chāvadās and the Gūrjaras are thus distinguished from one another. Secondly, the Rāshtrakūṭa grants describe the battles between the Rāshtrakūṭas and the Gūrjaras in such a way as to show that they both were well-matched foes. The Gūrjaras, who could in this manner measure their strength against the Rāshtrakūṭas must be supposed to have been a powerful dynasty holding sway over a vast range of territory. But the Chāvadās of Anahilavāḍa do not appear to have been of great importance. No inscriptions of that dynasty have yet come to light, and the kingdom which they held was not extensive. We have seen above that, in the times of the Rāshtrakūṭas, the boundaries of Lāṭa had stretched as far north as Vāḍnagar, which is directly east of Anahilavāḍa, the capital of the Chāvadās. The territory ruled over by the Chāvadās could not, therefore, have been extensive, and consequently they must have occupied quite a subordinate position. For these reasons Chāvadās cannot be considered to be the Gūrjaras, who so braved the Rāshtrakūṭas.

A theory has been put forth that the Rāshtrakūṭa references to Gūrjaras apply to the dynasty reigning at Bhillamāl or Bhinmāl.⁴ This view rests on the ground that Yuan-Chuang speaks of the kingdom of Kiu-che-lo or Gūrjaras as having for its capital Pi-lo-mo-lo, which, it is contended, is identical with Bhillamāla. Pi-lo-mo-lo was for long identified with Bālmēr in the Jēsalmēr State by the French scholars, followed by Mr. Beal. Colonel Watson was the first to identify it with Bhillamāl, and Dr. Bühler was the first to lend

¹ *Ep. Ind.* V. 194 and IV. 284.

² *Ind. Ant.* XII. 181.

³ *Trans. Inter. Ori. Cong.* 1886, p. 231.

⁴ *History of Gujurāt*, in the *Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency*, Vol. I., Pt I., p. 466 ff.

countenance to this identification.¹ But the identification of Pi-lo-mo-lo with Bhillamâla is far from satisfactory. For Yuan-Chuang says that the kingdom of Kiu-che-lo or Gûrjara lay 1,800 li or 300 miles to the north of the country of Valabhi. This means that the kingdoms themselves, and not their capitals, were separated by this distance, and that consequently the distance between their capitals was much more than 300 miles. But, as a matter of fact, the distance even between their capitals, i.e. between Valabhi and Bhillamâl (supposing Bhillamâl to be identical with Pi-lo-mo-lo) scarcely comes to 215 miles, which is much less than even the distance of 300 miles which separates the two kingdoms. Secondly, it is highly doubtful whether the city of Bhillamâl or Bhinmâl was actually known by this name in Yuan-Chuang's time. For, in all the inscriptions that have come to light in and near the town, it is called Śrimâla, and not Bhillamâl or Bhinmâl.² Again, the Jainas have preserved traditions which show that Śrimâla was the earlier, and Bhillamâla the later, name of the town. Mérutunga e.g. tells us that Śrimâla was first called Bhillamâla by Bhôja of Dhârâ, because the people of that town allowed the poet Mâgha to die of starvation.³ Dr. Böhler says that the astronomer Brahmagupta, who flourished in A. D. 628, "calls himself Bhillamâlakâchârya."⁴ If Dr. Böhler's statement is true, then it indeed follows that the name Bhillamâlaka was known as early as Yuan-Chuang's time. But on examining the authorities which he has adduced in support of his statement, one finds that Brahmagupta does not call himself Bhillamâlakâcharya, but is so called by others.⁵ Next, it is by no means certain that Bhillamâl was the native place of Brahmagupta. For, although there are traditions which make Brahmagupta a

¹ Ind. Ant. VI. 63 and XVII. 192.

² Bombay Gazetteer, Vol. I. Pt. I. p. 472 ff.

³ Ind. Ant. VI. 63, footnote || ; XVII. 192, footnote 31.

⁴ Ind. Ant. XVII. 192.

⁵ Thus e.g., on p. 297 of *Die Sanskrit und Prakrit Handschriften der Berliner Bibliothek*, Vol. II, by Weber, the ending portion *iti c̄ri Bhilamâlachârya Bhata Jishpusuta Brahmagupta virachite*, "etc.", is immediately preceded by "*namastasmai C̄ri Brahmaguptâya*." This obeisance must be supposed to be offered to Brahmagupta, not by himself, but by somebody else, who must consequently be presumed to be speaking of the former as Bhilamâlachârya.

native of Bhillamāl, there are other traditions, according to which Rīvānagara was his native place.¹

To whom then, let us ask again, do the references to Gūrjara princes in the Rāshtrakūṭa records apply? There is every probability, nay, in my humble opinion, certainty that they apply to the dynasty of Mahōdaya, to which Bhōja, Mahēndrapāla and Mahipāla belonged. A copper-plate charter found at Haddālā speaks of the Chāpa prince Dhāraṇīvarāha who issued the grant as "ruling by the grace of the feet of Rājāddhirāja Paramēśvara Śrī Mahipāladeva."² The inscription is dated 914 A. D. Dr. Bühler, who edited the grant, held that this paramount sovereign Mahipāla was a Chūḍāsamā prince,³ and Pandit Bhagwanlal Indraji endorsed this view.⁴ But Mr. A. M. T. Jackson was the first to see that this Mahipāla was identical with the Gūrjara king Mahipāla mentioned by the Kanarese poet Pampa as being vanquished by the Chālukya ruler Narasiṁha, father of his patron Arikēsarī II.⁵ In the first place, there is here an agreement of names (*viz.* that of Mahipāla) in the case of the supreme ruler mentioned in the Haddālā grant and of the Gūrjara prince said by Pampa to have been defeated by Narasiṁha. Secondly, the dates of Narasiṁha and Mahipāla of the aforesaid grant agree. For, as Arikēsarī II. was a contemporary of the Rāshtrakūṭa sovereign, Gōvinda IV,⁶ Narasiṁha, father of Arikēsarī II. may easily be supposed to be a contemporary of Indra III., father of this Gōvinda IV. For Indra III. we have the dates 915, 916-17 A. D. It is, therefore, not unreasonable to hold that Narasiṁha lived about 915 A. D., and the date of the Haddālā grant, in which Mahipāla is mentioned, is 914 A. D. There is thus an agreement not only with regard to names, as just shown, but also with regard to the dates of the princes Narasiṁha and Mahipāla of Dhāraṇīvarāha's grant. Nothing, therefore, precludes us from holding with Mr. A. M. T. Jackson that the Mahipāla of the Haddālā inscription is identical with the Gūrjara prince Mahipāla vanquished

¹ *Ind. Ant.* XVII. 192 and footnote 32; Gaṇakataraṅgiṇī, The Pandit, N.S., XIV., 18.

² *Ind. Ant.* XII. 193.

³ *Loc. Cit.* 192.

⁴ *History of Gujarat*, in the *Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency*, Vol. I., Pt. I., p. 138.

⁵ *Ibid.* p. 466.

⁶ *Ep. Ind.* VII. 33-34.

by Narasiṁha. Now, this Mahipāla, as we have seen, was a paramount sovereign, and for him the date 914 A. D. is furnished by the Haddalā charter. But the only paramount sovereign of the name of Mahipāla reigning about this time was the Mahipāla of the dynasty of Mahôdaya for whom we have the date 917 A. D. of the Asnî inscription.¹ Here also there is not only an agreement of names but also an agreement of dates. The conclusion is, therefore, irresistible that the Mahipāla of the Haddalā grant, the Gurjara King Mahipāla defeated by Narasiṁha, and the Mahipāla of the Mahôdaya dynasty are one and the same prince. Let us now proceed a step further. Narasiṁha who vanquished Mahipāla was a feudatory chieftain holding the Jôla country, which coincides in the main with the Dhârwâr district. Whereas the Mahipāla of Mahôdaya, whom he defeated was a paramount sovereign wielding sway over a vast range of territory in the north. Besides, Pampa tells us that this Mahipāla, being conquered, was pursued by Narasiṁha, as far as the confluence of the Ganges where the latter bathed his horse.² Now, what can be more unnatural than that Narasiṁha, who was simply a feudatory and ruled over a small province in the south, should set out for an expedition of conquest as far north as Mahôdaya (Kanauj), defeat Mahipāla, the paramount sovereign of the north, and pursue him as far as the junction of the Ganges? The whole matter is, however, rendered intelligible by the Cambay grant of Gôvinda IV., in my paper on which I have shown that, Indra III., father of this Râshtrakûta prince, overran the north, attacked Mahôdaya, and ousted its ruler Mahipāla.³ Narasiṁha, being a feudatory of Indra III., must have accompanied this Râshtrakûta sovereign in his expedition of conquest in the north. Next, it must be really Indra III., who pursued Mahipāla as far as the confluence of the Ganges before the latter fled for refuge to Dharmapâla of the Pâla dynasty. But Pampa transferred to Narasiṁha the whole credit of defeating Mahipāla and pursuing him as far as the junction of the Ganges, as, being the protégé of Narasiṁha's son Arikêśarin II., he might naturally be expected to magnify his deeds. We thus see that the king Mahipāla defeated by Indra III. was a Gurjara prince and that,

¹ *Ind. Ant.* XVI. 173 ff.

² *Karnâṭaka Śabdânuśâsana* by Rice, Intro. 26-7.

³ *Ep. Ind.* VII. 30-32.

consequently the Râshtrakûta references to Gûrjaras must be considered to apply to the members of the Mahôdaya dynasty, to which Mahipâla belonged. The validity of this conclusion can be tested by the identification of another prince of this dynasty. The Vanî and Râdhanpur plates¹ of the Râshtrakûta sovereign, Gôvinda III., assert that Gôvinda's father Dhruva drove Vatsarâja into the trackless Maru country, and wrested from him the two royal parasols of the Gauda king, which he had easily appropriated. The Barôda charter of the Gujarât Râshtrakûta king Karka states that Gôvinda III. caused Karka's "arm to become the door-bar of the country of the lord of the Gûrjaras who had become evilly inflamed by conquering the lord of Gauda and the lord of Vanga."² Comparing, as was first done by Mr. A. M. T. Jackson,³ the statement of the Vanî or Râdhanpur, with that of the Barôda grant, it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that the Vatsarâja defeated by Dhruva was a Gûrjara prince. In the colophon of Jinasêna's Harivamsha bearing the date 783-4 A. D.,⁴ Vatsarâja is mentioned as ruling in the west, and Srivallabha, son of Krishnâ, as ruling in the south. Whether we take Srivallabha to be an epithet of Gôvinda II. with Dr. Bhandarkar and Prof. Pathak,⁵ or of his brother Dhruva with Dr. Fleet,⁶ it can hardly be questioned that the Vatsarâja of the Jain Harivamsha is the same as the Gûrjara prince Vatsarâja defeated by Dhruva. We thus obtain a specific date, *viz.* 783-4 A. D., for the Gûrjara king Vatsarâja. In a paper recently contributed by me to this journal, I have given what appear to me to be cogent reasons to show that the kings Râmabhadra, Bhôja, Mahêndrapâla and Mahipâla alias Hêrambapâla of the Siyadânî, Pêhêva, Asnî, and Gwalior stone-inscriptions are identical with the homonymous kings of the Daulatpurâ, Dighwâ-

¹ *Ind. Ant.* XI. 131; *Ep. Ind.* VI. 243.

² *Ind. Ant.* XII. 160 and 164.

³ *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I., Pt. I., p. 466.

⁴ *Ind. Ant.* XV. 141; *Early History of the Dekhan*, 65; *Ep. Ind.* VI, 195-6; the second half of the stanza beginning with *Śâkêshv-abda-śateshu*, &c., does not appear to me to have been properly translated. The word *nripa*, in my opinion, shows that *Avanti-bhûbhîti* is to be connected with *pûrvâm*, and *Vatsâdirâjé* with *aparâm*. The translation would then be as follows: "in the east, the illustrious king of Avanti; in the west, king Vatsarâja; (and) in the territory of the Sanryas, the victorious and brave Varâ" (or "the brave Jayavrâha")—Peterson, *Fourth Report on Sk. MSS. Index of Authors*, p. 43, and note).

⁵ *Early History of Dekhan*, 55; *Above*, Vol. XX, p. 26.

⁶ *Ep. Ind.* Vol. VI., 195-8.

Dubaulî and Bengal Asiatic Society's copper-plate inscriptions. The genealogy, therefore, given of Bhôja in the Daulatpurâ plate, e.g., must be supposed to be exactly the same as that of Bhôja of the Gwalior and Siyadônî stone-inscriptions, as they are both one and the same person. In the paper just alluded to, I have also put forth the view that the correct readings of the dates of the plates are 900, 955 and 988, and not 100, 155 and 188 as read by Dr. Fleet and Dr. Kielhorn, and that these dates are to be referred to the Vikrama era. We thus from the Daulatpurâ plate obtain for Bhôja the date 900 V.E., i.e. 844 A.D., which is the earliest of the dates we have for him. Now, in the genealogy of this Bhôja, the name of Vatsarâja is mentioned, and as three generations removed from him.¹ Taking the earliest date, 844 A.D. of Bhôja, and allotting twenty-five years to each one of the three generations, we get the period 769-794 A.D., to which Vatsarâja is to be assigned. And we have seen that Vatsarâja lived about 783 A.D., the date of the Jain Harivainâ in which he is referred to. We thus not only find the name of Vatsarâja occurring in the genealogy of Bhôja who belonged to the Mahôdaya dynasty, but also find that the period calculated for Vatsarâja, allowing an average duration of twenty-five years for each reign, completely agrees with the date we get for him from an independent source. There can, therefore, be little doubt that the dynasty of Mahôdaya, to which Vatsarâja and Mahîpâla belonged, was a Gûrjara dynasty, and that the allusions to the Gûrjara princes in the Râshtrakûta records apply to the members of this dynasty.² As the capital of this dynasty was Mahôdaya (Kanauj), the Gûrjara seat of power lay at Kanauj. And extraneous evidence is forthcoming in support of this

¹ *Ep. Ind.* V. 211.

² The king Vatsarâja defeated by Dhruva becomes the same as the prince Vatsarâja mentioned in the Daulatpurâ plate in the genealogy of Bhôja, only if my theory that Râmabhadra, Bhôja, Mahêndrapâla and Vinâyakapâla of the copper-plate inscriptions are identical with Râmabhadra, Bhôja, Mahêndrapâla and Mahîpâla or Hêrambapâla of the stone-inscriptions is accepted. In support of the correctness of this theory, it may be said, in addition to the arguments adduced in the paper alluded to above, that, in an unpublished grant of Amôghavarsha I. in the possession of my brother Prof. S. R. Bhandarkar, Gôvinda III. is represented to have vanquished a prince named Nâgabhata. This Nâgabhata is evidently the son of Vatsarâja mentioned in the genealogy of Bhôja and defeated by Dhruva, father of Gôvinda III.

conclusion. About A. D. 916 Abu Zaid, Sulaimān's editor, speaks of Kanauj as a large country forming the empire of Juzr, i.e. Gūrjara.¹ This means that the Gūrjara princes ruled over a vast range of territory, the capital of which was Kanauj. And the princes, who were reigning at Kanauj about the beginning of the tenth century, were members of the Mahōdaya dynasty, who were thus, according to Abu Zaid, Gūrjaras,—a conclusion which perfectly agrees with what we have already established from an independent source. Next, the Arab traveller, Al Masūdi² (c. 943 A. D.) says that the country of the Balhāras (Rāshtrakūṭas) extended from the Kankar (Konkan) in the south or south-west north to the frontiers of the king of Juzr (Gūrjara), "a monarch rich in men, horses and camels."³ At another place, Al Masūdi says that the country of the king of Kanauj extended "about a hundred and twenty square parasangs of Sindh, each *parasang* being equal to eight miles of this country."⁴ He further tells us that this king had four armies according to the four quarters of the world, and that the army of the south fought against the Balhāra king of Mānkīr (Mālkhēt). This means that the kingdom of the Rāshtrakūṭas lay immediately to the south of the kingdom of Kanauj. But Al Masūdi also says, as we have just seen, that the Konkan held by the Rāshtrakūṭas lay immediately to the south of the kingdom of Juzr, i.e. Gūrjara. The conclusion is, therefore, obvious that, by the kingdom of Juzr and the kingdom of Kanauj, Al Masūdi understands one and the same thing and that consequently the capital of the Juzr, i.e. Gūrjara king was Kanauj. This is a further confirmation of our theory. Next, we find that the kingdoms of the Rāshtrakūṭa and Gūrjara kings were conterminous with one another and that they often waged war with one another. The country of Lāṭa since the time of Gōvinda III. was held by the Rāshtrakūṭas, and the boundaries of

¹ *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I., pt. I., pp. 526-7.

² *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I., pt. I., p. 519.

³ Compare with this the expression : *Śri-Mahōdaya-samavāsit-ānēka-gō-hasty-āśra-ratha-patti-sampannu-shandhārādāt*, with which the Daulatprā, Dighwā-Dubauli and Bengal As. Soc.'s grants begin. The Gūrjara kings were rich in camels as they were in possession of Rājputānā, which, even to this day, is the habitat of those ruminant quadrupeds. Further, a horse-fair is mentioned in a Pēhēvā inscription referring itself to the reign of Bhōja (*Ep. Ind. I. 187*).

⁴ *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I., pt. I., p. 518.

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⁴ *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I., pt. I., p. 518.

Lâta in their times had extended, as shown above, as far as Vâd-nagar in the north. We have also shown that Râjputânâ was essentially the country of the Gûrjaras, and in the time of Mahîpâla at any rate, Kâthiâwâî also owned the Gûrjara sway, inasmuch as the Hadâlâ grant of the Châpa prince Dharañivâraha, who ruled at Vardhamâna (Vâdhwân) speaks of Mahîpâla as his overlord. There thus remains little doubt that the boundaries of the Râshtrakûta and Gûrjara kingdoms were extremely close to one another; and as they were close neighbours, it is no wonder that they were constantly engaged in acts of mutual hostility, as Al Masûdi informs us. We have already seen that Gôvinda III., Amôghavarsha I., Krishnâ II. and Krishnâ III. are represented in the Râshtrakûta records to have inflicted defeats upon the Gûrjara kings. And now we have seen that Vatsarâja and Mahîpâla, whom Dhruva and Indra III. respectively vanquished, were also Gûrjara sovereigns. In short, all evidence points to the conclusion that the Râshtrakûta references to Gûrjaras apply to the dynasty to which Vatsarâja and Mahîpâla belonged. There can be no doubt whatever that, since the time of Bhôja, the capital of the dynasty was Mahôdaya or Kanauj. But whether it was so in the time of Vatsarâja is not certain. But, in the Vanî and Râdhanpur plates, Vatsarâja is spoken of as "intoxicated in consequence of the fortune of royalty of the Gauda king which he had easily appropriated."¹ If it is supposed that Vatsarâja's power was restricted to Râjputânâ only, then it is somewhat difficult to understand how he could have subjugated such a distant territory as the Gauda country. But, if it is held that he wielded supremacy over the country, ruled over by Bhôja, Mahêndrapâla and others, i.e. as far east as Srâvasti and Vârânaî,² then it becomes intelligible that he should attack and reduce the Gauda territory. Again, on the assumption that the capital of this Gûrjara dynasty before the time of Bhôja (A. D. 844-82) was Kanauj, the gap of no less than one hundred years between this king and Yaśôvarman, patron of Bhavabhûti and Vâkpati, who, we know, was reigning at Kanauj as late as

¹ *Ind. Ant.* XI. 157; *Ep. Ind.* VI. 243; that Gauda here denotes a part of Bengal is shown by the fact that it is associated with Vanga in the Barôda grant, which is spoken of as having been conquered by the Gûrjara, who, as mentioned above, was doubtless Vatsarâja.

² *Ind. Ant.* XV. 112 and 141.

A. D. 744,¹ completely disappears, because Dēvaśakti (c. 750 A. D.), the first ruler of this dynasty and father of Vatsarāja (A. D. 769-794) comes quite close to the date 744 A. D. when Yaśōvarman was living. Strong probabilities, therefore, lead us to conclude that the seat of power of this Gūrjara dynasty was at Kanauj from the very beginning.

But even before this Gūrjara dynasty of Mahôdaya came to power there were Gūrjara princes and Gūrjara kingdoms. We have already seen that the Chinese traveller Yuan-Chuang (c. 640 A. D.) speaks of the central and northern portions of Rājputânâ as the kingdom of Kiu-che-lo or Gūrjaras with its capital at Pi-lo-mo-lo. The Aihole inscription of A. D. 634 mentions the Chalukya prince Pulakéśin II. as having defeated the Gūrjaras. Next, the Harshacharita, as shown above, represents Prabhâkaravardhana (c. 585 A. D.) as being (the cause of) "sleeplessness to the Gūrjara king." That these Gūrjaras are to be located in, and held sway over, the greater portion of Rājputânâ has been shown above.² It is also equally incontrovertible that their capital was, as mentioned by Yuan-Chuang, Pi-lo-mo-lo; but, in my opinion, as said above, no satisfactory identification of this Pi-lo-mo-lo has as yet been established. This is the only knowledge we possess about this Gūrjara dynasty. No epigraphic records have as yet come to light which give us information regarding what the name of this dynasty was and who were the members thereof.

When then did the modern province of Gujarât come to be called after Gūrjaras? We have seen that, up to the time of the Râshtrakûṭa king Gôvinda IV., it was known as Lâṭa. Not long after the reign of Gôvinda IV., the Râshtrakûṭa sovereignty over Lâṭa was overthrown, and that of the Chaulukyas established. And it was evidently in the time of the Chaulukya sovereigns that Gujarât came to be called after Gūrjaras. The Dôhad inscription of A. D. 1140 speaks of the Chaulukya king Jayasimha as a ruler of Gûrjaramandala.³ In the Somanâth Pâṭan prâśasti of G. E. 850, i.e. A. D. 1168, the Chaulukya prince Kumârapâla is called king of the Gûrjaramandala.⁴ In many other records of the Chaulukya period and later, Gujarât has been differently called after Gūrjaras. Thus in the Girnâr

¹ Kalhana's Chronicle of the Kings of Kâśmîr, by Dr. Stein, Vol. I., p. 132, footnote 134.

² Ind. Ant. X. 159.

³ Vienna Ori. Jour. III. 9.

inscriptions of Vastupâla and Têjapâla, Gûrjaramandala is referred to and is spoken of as including Dhavalakkaka (Dhôlkâ) and other towns.¹ In a Jain work named *Pattâvalivâchanâ*, the province is called Gurjaradêsa, in which the city of Kappaðavanija (Kapaðvanji) is mentioned as included.² In an inscription, dated V. E. 1556, the town of Ahimmadavâda is spoken of as situated in Gûrjaradharitri.³ In the colophon of the work entitled *Pravâsakritya*, the author Gangâdhara says that he completed it in V. E. 1163 at Stambhatirtha (Cambay) in Gûrjaramandala.⁴ We find Gujarât mentioned also by the name of Gûrjaratrâ. Thus in Jinadattasûri's *Ganadharasârdhaśataka*, Gujaratâ (Gûrjaratrâ) is referred to with its capital Anahillavâda (Anahillapâtaka) and with king Durlabharâja reigning there.⁵ Again, Gûrjaratrâ is mentioned in Dharmasâgaragani's *Gurvâvalisûtra*, wherein Sî Dêvendrasûri is represented to have gone to Gûrjaratrâ from Ujjayinî in Mâlavaka.⁶ It will thus be seen that it was after the establishment of the Chaulukya power that Gujarât came to be variously called after Gûrjaras. It will be further seen that Gûrjaratrâ was one of the names by which the province was called after Gûrjaras. This is highly important, because it supplies us with the original name from which the modern name Gujarât is to be derived. Attempts have been made to trace Gujarât to Gûrjara-râshtra and Gûrjara-râtra.⁷ With regard to the first of these names, its modern equivalent would be Gujarâth and not Gujarât. The change of *s̄tha* into *ta*, instead of into *t̄ha*, which this proposal involves, is philologically improbable. With regard to the second name, though Gûrjara-râtra might pass into Gujarât, the name itself is unknown to Sanskrit and Prâkrit literature as well as inscriptions. But the corruption of Gûrjaratrâ into Gujarât is perfectly regular and natural. Besides, we have seen above that Gûrjaratrâ was the name of a province in Râjputânâ called after Gûrjaras. It is, therefore, quite intelligible that, a portion of Lâta, when occupied by Gûrjaras, should similarly be called Gûrjaratrâ after them. I say

¹ *Arch. Surv. West. Ind.* II. 170.

² Weber, *Die Sk. und Pr. Handschriften der Berliner Bibliothek*, II. 1040.

³ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IV., p. 299.

⁴ *Notices of Sk. MSS.* by Mitra, Vol. II., pp. 113-4.

⁵ Weber, *Die Sk. und Pr. Handschriften der Berliner Bibliothek*, II. 990.

⁶ *Ibid.* 1008.

⁷ *History of Gujarât*, in the *Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency*, Vol. I., pt. I., pp. 2 and 85.

a portion of Lâta, because from the above it will be easily perceived that, as the province held by the Gûrjaras included Dholkâ, Kapadvanj, Ahmedâbâd, Pâtan and Cambay, it did not extend to the south of the Mahî. And quite in consonance with this view, we find Lâta mentioned in inscriptions during the Chaulukya period side by side with such expressions as Gûrjaradêsa, Gûrjaramandala and so forth.¹ And even to this day both Hindus and Muhammadans of Surat visiting Pâtan and Ahmedâbâd speak of going to Gujarât, whereas the Ahmedâbâd division of the Nâgar Brâhmaṇas call their caste-people of Surat Kunkâñâs.²

It is thus clear that a portion of Lâta first came to be called after Gûrjaras, when it came under the sway of the Chaulukyas. The conclusion is, therefore, irresistible that the Chaulukyas were Gûrjaras. The first independent king of the Chaulukya dynasty was Mûlarâja. In one of his copper-plate charters, dated V. E. 1043, he is called *Mahârâjâddhirâja Śri-Mûlarâja*, son of *Mahârâjâddhirâja Śri-Râji*.³ In another of his grants, dated V. E. 1051, he is styled *paramabhat-îdraka mahârâjâddhirâja paramâvara Mûlarâjadêva*.⁴ It is thus plain that in and before V. E. 1043, the date of the first grant Mûlarâja was not a paramount sovereign. Besides, in the first grant, he is spoken of as having conquered by the strength of his arms the Sârasvatamandala, the country surrounding Anahilavâda the capital of the Chaulukyas. This means that Mûlarâja was not originally a king, but made himself so by his conquests. And the traditions are unanimous in saying that his father Râja (properly Râji) came from Kalyânakataka in Kânyakubja.⁵ Where this Kalyânakataka is to be located has puzzled many antiquarians. But I think that, in all likelihood, Kalyânakataka denotes Kanauj itself. We have seen that Kanauj was known by the name Mahôdaya. And Mahôdaya and Kalyâna are identical in meaning. Secondly, it is to be noted that, in the copper-plate charters of Bhôja, Mahêndrapâla and Vinâyakapâla, Mahôdaya is called a *skandhâvâra*.⁶ *Skandhâvâra*

¹ See e.g. *Ep. Ind.* V. 31.

² *History of Gujarat*, in the *Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency*, Vol. I., pt. I., p. 5, footnote 1.

³ *Ind. Ant.* VI. 191 ff. ⁴ *Vienna Ori. Jour.* V. 300.

⁵ *Ind. Ant.* VI. 181; *History of Gujarat* in the *Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency*, Vol. I., pt. I., pp. 150 and 156-7.

⁶ *Ep. Ind.* V. 211; *Ind. Ant.* XV. 112 and 140.

and *Kāṭaka*, again, are synonymous terms. Hence Kalyāṇakāṭaka is equivalent to Mahōdayaskandhāvāra, so far as their meaning goes. And, as Hindu authors are in the habit of speaking about the same kings and cities in terms different but equivalent in meaning, it is highly probable that by Kalyāṇakāṭaka in the Kānyakubja country Kanauj is meant. Mūlarāja thus becomes connected with Kanauj in the north, which, as shown above, was up to the middle of the tenth century a seat of the Gūrjara power. Mūlarāja thus appears to be of Gūrjara nationality, and this is in keeping with the conclusion that Chaulukyas were Gūrjaras arrived at from the fact that it was since their settlement that Gujarāt came to be called after Gūrjaras.

With the Chaulukyas are closely associated Paramāras, Chāhamānas and Pratihāras, all of them being styled Agnikulas. Colonel Tod mentions a tradition with regard to the origin of these Agnikulas.¹ On Mount Abu the Brāhmaṇas were disturbed by the demons in the performance of their sacrifice. So assembling round the *agni-kundā* under the presidency of Vasishtā, they prayed to Mahādēva, and from the pit of the sacrificial fire arose a figure whom the Brāhmaṇas placed as guardian of the gate, and hence his name "Prithihadwara" contracted to Parihār (Pratihāra). A second arose, and, being formed in the palm of the hand (*chuluka*), was called "Chalook" (Chaulukya). A third issued forth and was named Pramāra (Paramāra), and a fourth figure appeared quadriform (*chaturaṅga*), and hence his name Chohān (Chāhamāna). As the ancestors of Pratihāras, Chaulukyas, Paramāras and Chāhamānas all issued forth from the *agni-kundā*, it is plain that they have a common origin, and that hence they belong to one and the same race. And as we have seen that the Chaulukyas were Gūrjaras, it is not unreasonable to argue that the other three families also are of the Gūrjara stock. In the case of Pratihāras at any rate, there can be no doubt, since, as was seen above, in the Rājōr stone-inscription Mathanadēva is called a Gūrjara-Pratihāra, which must, I think, be interpreted to mean that he was of the Pratihāra family and of the Gūrjara race. Three considerations indirectly make the Paramāras Gūrjaras. The first is that the Firozpur Gūjars of the Punjab have a tradition that they came there from Dār nagar in the south.² As Dhārā was from the beginning the seat of the Paramāra power, this may be

¹ Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan (Calcutta edition), Vol. I., pp. 68-9.

² Ibbetson, Census of the Panjab, p. 263, para. 480.

considered as a not unlikely indication of the Paramâras being Gâjars. The second consideration is that the Gûrjara Châvadâs were a branch of Paramâras; and the third is that the Gûrjara Osvâls are Paramâras.¹

We thus see that Gujarât is the modern form of the Sanskrit Gûrjaratrâ and that Gujarât came to be so called when it was occupied by the Chaulukyas. But it has been shown above that, even before as now, not the whole, but the northern part only, of the present Gujarât was known as Gûrjaradêsa or Gûrjaratîâ, and that, during the Chaulukya period, the southern part continued for some time to be called Lâzâ. It must not, however, be supposed that, when the northern part of Gujarât came to be called after Gûrjaras during the period of the Chaulukya supremacy, Râjputânâ, which was known as Gûrjaradêsa before the Chaulukya period ceased to be so known. Thus, in the Abu inscription of V. E. 1342, Samarasimha, to whose reign it refers itself, is described as "lifting the deeply sunk Gûrjara-mahî out of the Turushka sea."² Here Gûrjara-mahî doubtless denotes Mêdapâta (Mêvâd) held by Samarasimha and the country surrounding it. Similarly, Al Biruni (A. D. 970-1031) tells us that to the south-east of Kanauj lay "Guzarat," the capital of which was Bazân *alias* Nârâyân, which was not far from Jaipûr.³ This means that, even from the time of Al Biruni to the time of Samarasimha, a portion of Râjputânâ continued to be called after Gûrjaras.

A few words regarding the origin of the Gûrjaras will not, I think, be out of place. General Cunningham identifies them with the Tochari, *alias* Yuechi, *alias* Kushana. The reason alleged by him in support of his thesis is that, besides the Jats whom he identifies with the Zanthii of Strabo, and the Liatti of Pliny and Ptolemy, Gûjars "are the only numerous race of foreign origin in the Panjab and North-Western Provinces of India who are known to have been powerful during the early centuries of the Christian era."⁴ Though the reason put forth by Cunningham is not convincing, the fact that, the Śrîmâli Brâhmaṇas and most of the present chiefs of Râjputânâ, which was essentially the country of the Gûrjaras, trace

¹ *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. IX., pt. II., p. 485.

² *Ind. Ant.* XVI. 350.

³ Sachau, Al Biruni, I. 202; *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I., pt. I., p. 520.

⁴ *Arch. Surv. Reports* by Cunningham, Vol. II. p. 70.

their origin to Kanak or Kanaksen, who is commonly supposed to be Kanishka, seems to support his view.¹ But we must not attach too much importance to the legends about Kanaksen, for the Turks of Kâbul, who are certainly not older than the latter part of the sixth century in that reign also claimed Kanishka as an ancestor.² Mr. J. S. Nesfield, however, propounds the theory that the pastoral castes, such as Ahirs, Gûjars and Jats are the necessary intermediate link between the hunting and the agricultural, that the word Gûjar, in particular, comes from the Sanskrit *gôchara* or cattle-grazer, and that consequently they are not of an alien stock.³ In the first place, the Sanskrit word *gôchara* does not mean a cattle-grazer, as Mr. Nesfield supposes. Secondly, the custom of many foreign Hinduized royal families of identifying their dynastic, with epic, names, and tracing their descent from some epic hero is too well-known to require any proof. Next, the genuine Aryan *gôpas* or herdsmen, so far as we can judge from the Pâli Jâtakas and Mahâbhârata, were of settled habits. But the pastoral castes, such as Ahirs, Gûjars and Jats, have even to this day preserved their nomadic and predatory instincts to a more or less extent. This would point to their scythic, rather than Aryan, origin.

Many ethnologists are of opinion that Ahirs, Gûjars and Jats are all of one ethnic stock, and that the differences that are visible between them are to be explained by the fact that they entered India at different times or settled in different parts.⁴ Of these hordes, Ahirs appear to be the earliest, who poured into India. Abhîras, i.e., Ahirs, are mentioned as a tribe in the Allâhâbâd pillar inscription of Samudragupta.⁵ An Abhîra prince is also referred to in a Nâsik cave-inscription of the third century.⁶ A third inscription found at Gûnda and dated A. D. 181 in the reign of the Kshatrapa Rudrasimha speaks of his general Rudrabhûti who is therein called an Abhîra.⁷ The Abhîras were thus settled in India as early as the latter half of the second century after Christ. Next in chronolo-

¹ *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I., pt. I., p. 462, footnote 3.

² A note from Mr. A. M. T. Jackson.

³ *Brief View of the Caste System of the North-Western Provinces and Oudh*, &c., p. 12, para. 26.

⁴ Ibbetson, *Census of the Panjab*, p. 265.

⁵ *Cor. Ins. Ind.* III. p. 8.

⁶ *Arch. Surv. West. Ind.* IV. 103.

⁷ *Ind. Ant.* X. 157.

gical order come the Gûrjars. It has been shown above that the country of Gûrjars is alluded to by Yuan-Chuang (c. 640 A. D.), that they are mentioned in the Aihole inscription of A. D. 634 as being defeated by the Chaulukya prince Pulakéśi II., and that they are spoken of by Bâṇa in his Harshacharita as being vanquished by Prabhâkaravardhana (c. 585 A. D.) An earlier reference to Gûrjars than that of A. D. 585 cannot be traced. They may, therefore, be supposed to have penetrated India about the beginning of the sixth century. The Jats, in my opinion, were the last to enter India, inasmuch as they do not appear to have been anywhere mentioned in ancient inscriptions or to have wielded sway over any province like Abhîras or Gûrjars before the Muhammadan conquest. Now, the principal feature of these foreign tribes that strikes us is, that, when they entered the Panjâb from the north-west, they advanced further both to the east and the south, conquering and settling in various provinces called after them. The Ahirs are thus found in large numbers to the east as far as Bengal; and, in the Mirzâpur district of the North-Western Provinces, there is a tract of land called Ahraura doubtlessly named after them. The Ahirs are spread to the south as far as the Dekkan; and, as an Abhîra prince is mentioned in a Nâsik cave-inscription, as we have just seen, it is clear that the Abhîras once held sway over Mahârâshtra. Besides, the province called Ahîrwâr to the south of Jhansi shows that the Ahirs had gained a footing even in Central India. It is true that, in the Panjâb proper to the exclusion of the Dehli and Gurgaon Districts, no Ahirs are at present found. But in the Musala Parva of the Mahâbhârata, Arjuna is represented to have been waylaid by Abhîras in the Pañchanadadêśa, i.e. the Panjâb, as he was going from Dvârakâ to Mathurâ with the widowed females and treasures of the Yâdavas after burning the dead bodies of Kriṣṇa and Balarâma.¹ These Abhîras are therein called Dasyus and Mlechchhas. This shows that, in the early centuries of the Christian era when the Musala Parva was probably composed, the Abhîras did exist in the Panjâb, and that, as they are spoken of as banditti and foreigners, they are undoubtedly to be considered as a foreign nomadic tribe. With regard to the present distribution of the Gûjars, in the hilly country of Jammu, Chibhâl and Hazâl in the Panjâb and away in the Independent Territory lying to the north of Peshâwar as far as the Swat river

¹ *Adhyâya*, 7; also *Vishnu Purâna* by Wilson, Cap. 38.

Gûjar herdsmen are found in large numbers. "Here they are a purely pastoral and almost nomad race, taking their herds up into the higher ranges in summer and descending with them into the valleys during the cold weather."¹ This, in my opinion, unmistakably points to their Scythian, rather than Aryan, origin. In the Southern Panjâb they are not so numerous as they are towards the north, "where they have given their name to several important places, such as Gujrânwâla, in the Rechna Duâb, Gujarât in the Chaj Duâb, and Gûjar Khân in the Sindh Sâgar Duâb."² To the east they have spread in great numbers down the Upper Jumna; and, in the Sabâranpur district, which during the eighteenth century was actually called Gujarât. Still further to the east "they occupy the petty State of Samptar in Bundelkhand." To the south they have spread as far as the Gujarât province of the Bombay Presidency. One of the northern districts of Gwalior is still called Gûjargâr after the Gûjars. That the larger portion of Râjputâna was known as Gûrjara-dêsa and that the peninsula of Gujarât owes its name to these Gûjars has already been shown in detail. That up to the middle of the tenth century almost the whole of North India, excepting Bengal, owned their supremacy, with their seat of power at Kanauj and that their might afterwards overshadowed Central India and the peninsula of Gujarât with their capital at Anahillapâtaka has also been shown above.

Another noteworthy feature about these Âbhîras and Gûjaras is the way in which they are gradually being merged into the Hindu population. Thus in Khândesh, many craftsmen classes are split up into two divisions, simple and Ahir. Thus besides Âbhîra Brâhmaṇas and Ahirs proper, there are Ahir Sonârs or goldsmiths, Ahir Sutârs or carpenters, Ahir Sâlis or weavers, Ahir Gurâvs or temple-servants and Ahir Kolis or fishers.³ Similarly in Gujarât many artisan and other classes are of two divisions, simple and Gûjar. Thus there are Gûjar Kambis or husbandmen, Gûjar Vâniâs or traders, Gûjar Suthârs or carpenters, Gûjar Sonis or goldsmiths, Gûjar Kumbhârs or potters and Gûjar Salâts or masons.⁴ As a new foreign tribe

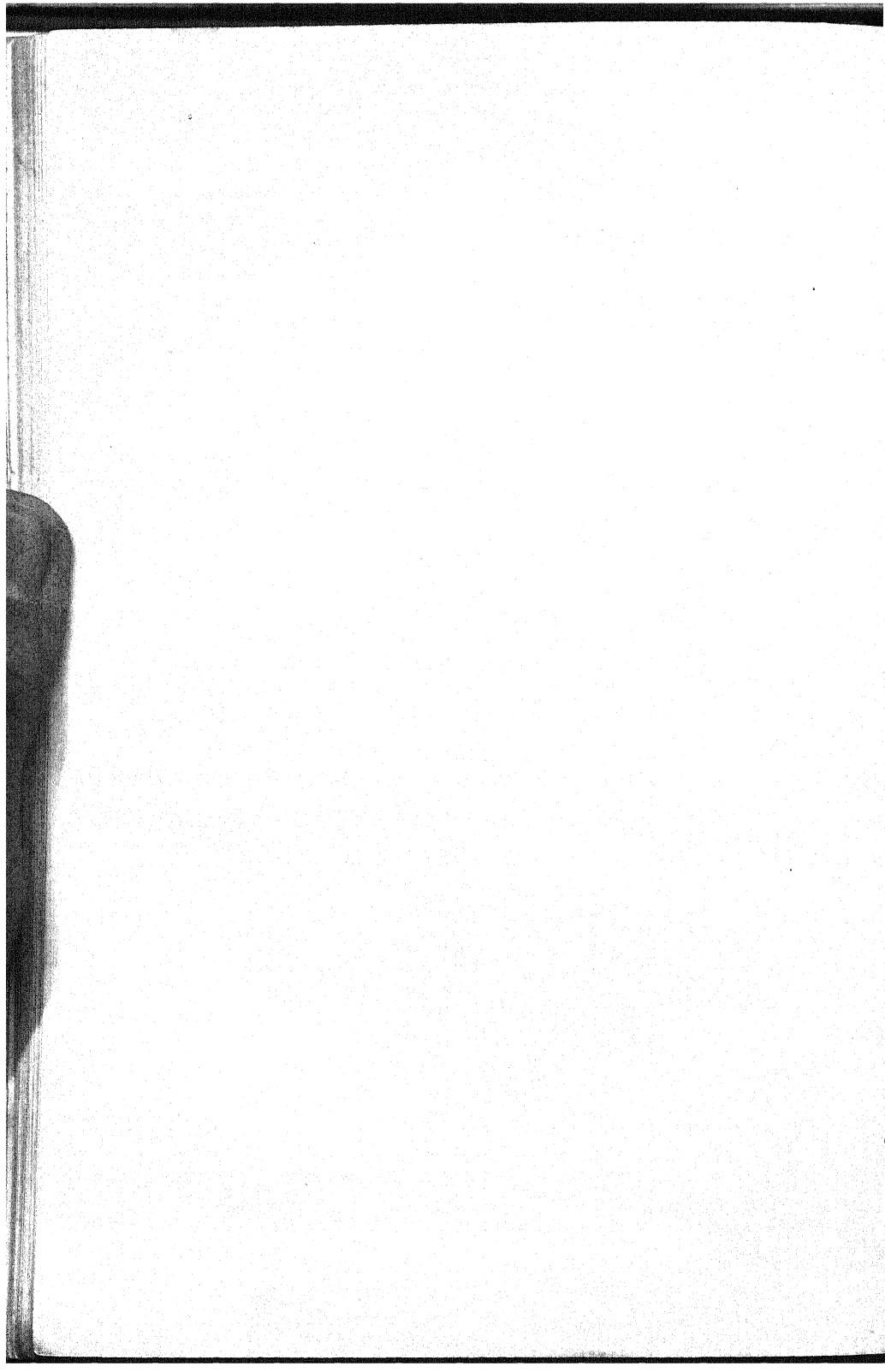
¹ *Ibbetson*, Census of the Panjab, p. 263.

² *Arch. Surv. Reports*, by Cunningham, Vol. II. pp. 71-2.

³ *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. XII., p. 39 and footnote 10.

⁴ *Ibid.* Vol. I., Pt. I., p. 4.

settles, many of its members gradually give up their original profession, follow the occupations of different castes, and are thus broken up into many divisions, each division being known by the name of its calling. In process of time, by a fiction too wide-spread to require any proof, that community of occupation presupposes community of origin, each division of the new tribe traces descent from the same source as that of the other people of the caste pursuing the same calling. The original tribal name soon sinks to the name of a division or to a mere surname, and the whole tribe is thus absorbed into the general class.



ART. XIV—‘Ománee Proverbs.

BY LIEUT.-COLONEL A. S. G. JAYAKAR, I.M.S. (Retired), M.R.A.S.
(Communicated, January 1903.)

A study of the proverbs and maxims of a nation is as essential to the philologist, to whom they are invaluable as a storehouse of the dialectical and linguistic peculiarities exhibited in the expression of thoughts, while yet the nation was only in an early condition of civilization, as to the philosopher who can often trace in them the inner springs of human action. No description or picture can convey more forcibly to the mind the habits, manners, and the general mode of thought of a particular people than an insight into their proverbs, which are mostly couched in the familiar words and thoughts of ordinary daily life.

One of the greatest peculiarities of the Arabic language is the concise and compact mode in which thoughts, often of a complicated nature, can be expressed. This peculiarity and the character of the people as a highly observant race, have combined to produce a proverbial literature unsurpassed in any other language and deserving of a careful study. Scattered and separated in some instances by almost impassable barriers as the modern Arabs are, they can hardly at present be considered a united nation; their habits, their occupations, their aspirations, and even their modes of thought, all more or less modified and influenced by the circumstances and conditions of life in which they live in each separate district, have acquired such distinctive features as to give rise not only to a dialect, but also to maxims and proverbs peculiar to each community.

The physical features and geographical position of the province of ‘Omán have isolated its inhabitants for centuries from the rest of the Arabs, which renders a study of their dialect and proverbs of special interest. When we look at the immense sandy desert which borders it on the north and west, and which has hitherto almost effectually cut off all land communication with the rest of the country, we cannot fail to wonder at the manner in which the ‘Ománees have still retained one of the great racial peculiarities, namely, that of expressing ideas and thoughts in the shape of proverbs—a mode which undoubtedly possesses the double advantage of conciseness and impressiveness. Whether we hear them in the palace or in the shop, in the field or on the roadside, they are the same homely ungarnished truths, expressed in the fewest and simplest possible words, and brought more or less forcibly to the minds of both the speaker and the hearer by the context

of the subject of conversation. Even a casual observer cannot help noticing the extensive use the 'Ománees make of proverbial sayings in their conversation, and admiring the facility with which they adapt them to the circumstances calling for their use.

As a rule the 'Ománees may be considered to be a peace-loving and law-abiding people, and although almost every man carries arms of some kind or another, nothing would induce him to use them unless driven to an extremity. They have a great aversion to fighting, and all possible means for an amicable settlement of a dispute are sought and tried before any recourse to arms is had. This, however, does not exempt them from the charge of being great intriguers, especially in State matters, whilst plotting, which often means in 'Omán the adoption of low and vile tricks for the attainment of an object, is a quality held in great esteem (*vide* Nos. 93, 94, 116 and 294). But upon the whole, though avaricious, they are contented and happy, and while keen on defending their own rights, it is only under exceptional circumstances that we find them intruding upon those of others.

Barring in maritime places, the general avocation of the Hadr (inhabitants of towns and villages) of 'Omán is that of an agricultural nature. The date-palm and the camel principally engross their attention and enter conspicuously into their proverbial similes. Individual wealth or property (J̄l̄), which has come to be synonymous with date-palms, is gauged by the number of the trees possessed, whilst tribal wealth or strength is judged by the number of camels which a tribe can muster in times of exigency. The loss of either is therefore looked upon as a calamity.

A superstitious belief in the existence and power of supernatural beings forms also an essential feature of the 'Ománee character, as may be seen in Nos. 132 and 200, whilst a belief in sorcery or magic (*vide* No. 230), especially in its capability of transforming human beings into lower animals, has gained even a stronger hold on the minds of the people. It is not to be wondered at, that under the strong influence of such beliefs, disease is frequently attributed to the agency of the evil spirit, and death often looked upon as only a transformation of form. The enchanter or sorcerer being a destroyer of human peace and happiness is considered a tyrant (No. 229) and universally dreaded; extreme care is therefore taken not to offend persons who have the reputation of being expert in the Black Art. This fear even extends to the animals which are supposed to be in the special service of the enchanters, for instance, the hyena, which is considered to be employed for riding upon, and the lapwing, which acts as their messenger (No. 230).

Blood feuds and consequent blood revenge, which have from time immemorial formed an important part of Arab life, have acquired in 'Omán even a greater importance and have become a fruitful source of inter-tribal troubles. The Hináwees, the descendants of the immigrants from Yaman, and the Gafrees, the descendants of the immigrants from the north, under one or other of which great political factions the tribes of 'Omán are grouped, bear perpetual enmity towards each other, and under the present system in which personal grievances are often looked upon as tribal affairs, causes constantly arise to foment and keep up this bitter feeling of hatred between the two great divisions. In this manner murder and pillage, however personal in their nature, have to be avenged sooner or later by the tribe of the victim against the tribe to which the culprit belongs, so that the punishment more often than otherwise falls on an innocent person (*vide* No. 256).

Another feature which will strike the reader as remarkable in the following paper is the great dependence the people of 'Omán place on luck (*vide* No. 36). It is not, however, to be inferred that they are absolutely lazy; on the contrary, they are an active race, but their exertions are generally limited to grooves to which they have been accustomed for centuries, and to an extent which sometimes falls short of success. Nature has undoubtedly helped to spoil the 'Ománee in this respect, by having furnished him in the date-palm with ready means of sustenance and protection from the inclemency of the weather, and thus exempting him from the toil and labour so inseparable from agricultural life in other countries. The date-palm, which is the principal object of his care and attention, exacts from him service which costs him hardly any labour, whilst the camel, his principal means of locomotion, frequently depends upon its own resources for its food.

Credulity plays an important part in the social and religious life of the people of 'Omán, who while exhibiting this sign of weak-mindedness retain nevertheless the great national character of the Arab race—of being unimaginative and practical. Their almost universal belief in the supernatural and fabulous, as illustrated in the following paper, is a fair indication of their credulous nature, whilst proverb No. 241 illustrates not only their gullibility, but also a character, examples of which are not infrequently met with in the East.

Upon the whole, however, the moral principles inculcated in the proverbs and aphorisms of the 'Ománees are sound, and may be considered the heritage of mankind in general from remote ages. It will be seen how closely some of the proverbs given here resemble in their application those of other nations, though the mode of thought and

expression must necessarily be strikingly different. The simple homely truths which underlie all proverbial literature, and which have been discovered as a result of experience of ages, are universally the same, whatever the mode of expression may be.

In order to enable the reader to recognize the peculiarities of the 'Ománee dialect, the mode of spelling adopted throughout the following pages is such as would convey easily to his mind the phonetic differences between the standard and 'Ománee Arabic. With this view all the important vowel marks are shown, and no attempt has been made either to correct the orthography or to assimilate it to that of the standard Arabic. In many instances a striking resemblance to common and well-known English proverbs in their application is observed, and in such cases English equivalents are given. In a few instances the proverbs seem to have come from classical Arabic proverbs, or to have a great resemblance to Arabic proverbs current in Egypt, in which cases a reference is given to the books in which they may be found.

In the following pages the following abbreviations are used :—

B. A. P. for Burckhardt's Arabic Proverbs.

Eng. eq. for English equivalent.

F. A. P. for Freytag's *Arabum Proverbia*.

Lit. for literally.

'Om, for 'Ománee.

صَاتَائِيْ يَضْرُبُ عَلَيْهِ قَامٌ يَرْعَى

He (a bull) is brought for leaping but keeps on grazing.

Applied to a person who has an important undertaking before him, but engages in some trivial affair.

قَامَ 'Om. for past part. of مَاتَأَيْ = he came.
قَامَ 'Om. for past part. of أَتَى = he commenced, he remained.

اَخْدُتْ اَحَسَانَكِ بِلَسَانِكِ 2

You have taken away (the beauty of) your kindness by your tongue (unkind words).

Eng. eq. A gift with a kind countenance is a double gift.

3 اذا برك القمر لا تبدىء في التحجوم

If the moon shines for you, do not mind the stars.

If one has the support of a great person, he can afford to be independent of his subordinates or others inferior to him in rank.

The modern Egyptians have a similar proverb. Conf. B. A. P. No. 4.

إِذَا جَارَ عَلَيْكَ الزَّمَانُ جُورٌ عَلَى الْأَرْضِ 4

If fortune (time) oppresses you, oppress land.

This is an exhortation for exertion in hard times.

إِذَا سَاحَ النَّبَاتُ حَيْثُ يَأْدِيكَ اللَّيلُ بَاتٍ 5

When the operation of fecundating the date-palms with the pollen of the male palms is over, sleep wherever the night overtakes you. *Lit.*
When the pollen is all gone.

It is the time when the real cold weather is supposed to be over in 'Omán.

نَبَاتٌ Om.=the germinating principle or pollen obtained from the flowers of the male date-palm.

إِذَا كَانَ الْمُتَكَلِّمُ مَجْنُونٌ يَكُونُ الْمُسْتَمِعُ عَاقِلٌ 6

If the speaker is mad, the hearer should be wise.

It shows the necessity of caution on the part of a hearer in believing what he is informed and in acting upon it.

Eng. eq. Believe not all you hear, and report not all you believe.

إِذَا مَا حَادَتِ الرُّوْبَةُ مَا تَجُودُ الصَّلَةُ 7

If the curdled milk is not good, its water is (also) not good.

If there is no good in the principal person of a house or tribe, one must not expect to find it in a person in an inferior position.

الصَّلَةُ=the water which separates from milk on churning it, or on boiling new milk.

إِذَا مَاتَتْ جَاءِدَةٌ فِي مَكْرَانٍ مَا يَعْلَى السَّمَنِ فِي عَمَانٍ 8

If a ewe dies in Makrán, *ghee* (clarified butter) won't become dear in 'Omán.

Applied to trivial events or circumstances not likely to have even a remote effect.

Eng. eq. Two swallows do not make a summer. حَادِعٌ ٨ 'Om.=a ewe.

إِذَا مَاسَدَ عُصْبَهَا وَلَا مِنْ عَرْقِهَا ٩

If its (date-palm's) produce is not enough, have it out of its roots.

On the advisability of uprooting or selling off a thing which entails profitless labour. It is also applied to persons.

عَصْبَةٌ 'Om.=a cluster of dates on the stalk. وَلَا ١٠ stands for يَلَا.

إِذَا مَا طَاعَكَ الدَّهْرُ طِبْعَهُ حَتَّى تَكُونَ رَبِيعَهُ ١٠

If fortune does not obey you, follow it so that you may become its companion.

Adapt yourself to the times.

Eng. eq. As the year is, so must your pot seethe.

There is a similar proverb in classical Arabic. Conf. F. A. P., Tom III, No. 2965.

سِمْ شَابِعٍ وَالْبَطْنُ جَائِعٌ ١١

(His) name is renowned, but his stomach is hungry.

Applied to one who has a big name but is penniless; also to a vain boaster.

The form جَائِعٌ (*hungry*) is rarely used, but is employed here evidently for rhyming, the commoner forms being جَوْعَانٌ and سِمْ جِيَاعَانٌ [سم جياعان] stands for سِمْ [سم]

Eng. eq. Empty vessels make the greatest sound.

There is a similar proverb in classical Arabic. Conf. F. A. P., Caput XXVI, No. 132.

تُوكِلُ مَالَ الْزَوْجِ وَتَحْنُنُ لِلْمُطْلَقِ ١٢

She lives at the expense (*lit. eats the property*) of the present husband, but sings the praises (*lit. yearns towards*) of the one that has divorced her.

Applied to an ungrateful person.

كِلْ مِنْ بَصَلْ عَمَّا يَحْصُلْ ١٣

Eat of an onion whatever (portion) you may get.

Partake of a good thing even if it be a little, onions like radishes being considered by the people of 'Omán a delicacy.

A good thing even if it be a little is not to be despised.

كِلْ مِنْ ثُومْ بِمَا تُرِمْ ١٤

Eat of garlic as much as you can.

One cannot have too much of a good thing. رَامْ تُرُومْ from 'Om. = he was able.

كِلْ مِنْ زَوْيَهْ وَلَوْعَوْيَهْ ١٥

Eat of a radish even if it be a leaflet.

If one cannot get the whole of a good thing, even a small part of it ought to be accepted. زَوْيَهْ 'Om. = a radish.

كِلْنَا مِدَشْ يَا سِيعَةَ وَعَقِيلَاشْ وَرَأْ الْعَنَةَ ١٦

We have eaten (dates) out of you, O basket, and thrown you behind the house.

Said of an ungrateful person.

سِيعَةً = a small basket made of green palm leaves. عَنْ 'Om. = he threw away. عَنَّةً 'Om. = a house, originally a pen to hold camels.

لَا فَاتَكَ اللَّحْمُ شَرَبَ الْمَرَقَ ١٧

If you lose the meat, drink the gravy.

Eng. eq. Half a loaf is better than no bread. Conf. B. A. P., No. 662.

لَا stands for إِذَا.

أَلَيْ يَلْمِمُ الْحُوْلُ وَيَدْرِي بُهْ لَأِبِدِ مِنْ طَشْ الرَّاهَمِ يَصِيدُهُ ١٨

This is a Badawee proverb. He who gathers weeds and takes shelter under them, will necessarily get wet directly it rains.

Eng. eq. Do not lean on a broken reed.

أَمَّا حِلْسٌ وَهِجَعٌ وَأَمَّا ضُرْبٌ وَوَجْعٌ
‘الْحِلْسُ’ Om. = weeds, rubbish. الْيَ stands for الَّذِي.

19 أَمَّا جِلْسٌ وَهِجَعٌ وَأَمَّا ضُرْبٌ وَوَجْعٌ

Either sit and remain listless, or strike and cause pain.

Either never attempt or accomplish. This is somewhat similar to the Syriac proverb, اذا ضربت او جع واذا طعمت اشبع (Burton). Conf. also F. A. P., Caput I, No. 103.

20 أَمَّا طَاهِرٌ يَصَابُهُ وَأَمَّا رِجْسٌ پِرْمَابِهٍ

It (a prayer-mat) is either clean enough to pray upon or unclean enough to be thrown away.

Applied to a thing or case to which there are only two extremes without any mean between.

21 أَمَّا فَتَحْ بَابَكَ وَتَجْمَلْ لَا شَدَّهُ وَتَخْمَلْ

Either open your door and do good (to others), or close it and become unknown.

22 أَمَّا وَأَمَّا وَأَمَّا

Either, or, or. One of the three things must happen to overcome the difficulty.

It is related that a certain wazeer having a spite against a certain man whom he wished to be killed, told the king whose wazeer he was, that a certain horse which he had received as a present knew to speak, and that there was only one man in his kingdom who could understand the language. The man, who was the wazeer's enemy, was immediately brought before the king, but as he persistently denied having any knowledge of the horse-language, his head was ordered to be struck off. He was, however, allowed a respite of three days in order to make up his mind, whether he would talk with the horse or lose his life, and ordered to be kept with the horse in the same stable. The man was lost in thinking how to get over the difficulty, and kept constantly saying, أَمَّا وَأَمَّا وَأَمَّا (either, or, or), which the horseman reported to the king. He therefore sent for him and asked

him the meaning of his words. The man again declared his inability to talk with the horse, and pardon having been promised him, he said that he was thinking, that one of the three things must happen for him to get over the difficulty, namely, that either he should die, or the sultan,

or the horse (أَمَا أَنَا أَمُوت وَأَمَا السُّلْطَان وَأَمَا الْفَرَس). The king having thus found out, that that was only a plot against the poor man's life designed by the wazeer, ordered the latter to be killed instead.

23 أَنَا سَكَبْتُ الْمَاء عَلَى غَيِّ السَّرَا لَا إِنَّا بِالْمَاءِ وَلَا إِنَّا بِغَيِّ السَّرَا

I threw away the water on account of (seeing) the mirage, but here I am without any water and without the mirage.

Applied to one who gives up a reality for a shadow, and loses both in consequence of it. غَيِّ السَّرَا 'Om.=mirage.

24 أَنَا شَاهِفُ خَيْرٍ وَخَضْرَةً مَا اسْتَعْجَبْ مِنْ جَرَادَ الْمَقْبُرَةِ

I have seen plenty and prosperity (lit. green), and am therefore not filled with wonder at the sight of *Jarād-ul-mukubreh* (lit. a locust of the grave-yard).

Said of a person who has seen better times. *Jarād-ul-mukubreh* is the name technically applied to an orthopterous insect commonly found near grave-yards.

25 أَنَا شَاهِفُ مَسْكَدٍ وَكِيتَانَهَا مَا اسْتَعْجَبْ مِنْ دَارَسِيتٍ وَكِيزَانَهَا

I have seen Maskad (Muscat) and its forts, and am not therefore filled with wonder at the sight of Darseit and its earthen ewers.

The people of ' Omán spell the name of the town of Maskat as Maskad. In former days there used to be many potteries at Darseit near Matrah.

كُوت 'Om.=fort—from Hindustance كوت

كُوز 'Om.=an earthen ewer. كيزان

26 أَنَا مَا شَاهِفُ دَمٍ فِي الْخَتَانَةِ وَالْقَيْصِ فِي شَرْجَبَانَةِ

I have not seen the blood (only) of circumcision and the *kaid* (only) of *sharjabáneh*.

Said in self-praise.

القيظ (السيخ stands for =Summer, the season of dates, when the people visit the date plantations and enjoy themselves generally.

شرجيان=*Solanum violaceum*; it grows wild in 'Omán.

أَنَا أَقُولْ جَمَلْ وَأَنْتْ تَقُولْ جَبَلْ 27

I say "a camel," and you say "a mountain."

This proverb is used when there is a great difference of opinion, or when an answer to a question relates to something totally different from what the question is about.

أَنَا أَقُولْ طَابُقْ وَأَنْتْ تَقُولْ طَاقُقْ 28

I say "joined," and you say "separated."

Applied in the same sense as the last proverb.

إِنْ بَعِيْتَ تَجِيْوِيْ: اَنْظُرْ بِمَا فِي كَفَكْ وَإِنْ بَعِيْتَ تَلِيْشْ اَنْظُرْ 29

بِاللّٰهِ يٰ يَغْفِيْكِ

If you wish to be generous, see (first) what is in your hand; and if you wish to fight, see (first) who will follow you.

On the advisability of seeing first what one's means are before undertaking a thing.

Eng. eq. Look before you leap.

لَا لَشْ تَلِيْش from **لَا لَشْ** in the sense of plundering or laying waste a country.

إِنْ رَأَيْتَ صَاحِبَكْ عَسْلَ لَا تَلِحِسْهَ كَلَهْ 30

If you find your friend to be honey, do not lick him altogether.

On the advisability of not killing the goose with golden eggs.

إِنْ كَانِتِيْكَ عَسَارَ مَا يَضْرَكَ ضَرِيْطَ الْحَسَارِ 31

If your motive is good, an ass' breaking wind will not injure you.

Let not little things interfere with the carrying out of your purpose, if your motive is good.

أَيْ وَالْعَزَّى مَا يَنْفَعُ 32

Repentance is of no avail.

Eng. eq. No use crying over spilt milk.

أَيْ وَالْعَزَّى is a common phrase for expressing regret at the loss of an opportunity, or any other reason for repentance,

بَادِرْ سَدِّ سَلَّيْنَ وَمَدِيْنَ أَجْرِيْسِيْنَ 33

He has sown only two *sidis* (of seed) when he has borrowed two *jarees*.

Applied to a person who borrows more than he would be able to return, in consequence of his utilizing only a very small portion of the loan.

Sidis=an 'Ománee dry measure equal to a Bombay *páti*. *Jaree*=30 *sidis* or *pátis*.

الْبَجْمَةُ أَرْوَحُ مِنِ الْفَلْعَةِ 34

A bruise is lighter (to bear) than a laceration.

A broken arm is better than a broken head.

بَجْمَةً، 'Om. =a tumour due to a contusion.

الْبَخْتُ إِلَّا جَادَ قَالُوا صَاحِبُهُ أُسْتَادٌ وَالْبَخْتُ إِلَّا بَارَ قَالُوا 35

صَاحِبُهُ عَيَّارٌ

When fortune is propitious, they say the possessor of it is a master (in the art), but when fortune is adverse, they say the possessor of it is a cheat.

Eng. eq. He dances well to whom fortune pipes.

بِالْمَرْزَقِ لَا بِالْمَحْدَقِ 36

By means of good fortune, and not by means of cleverness.

Wealth is not acquired by being clever but by having a good fortune.

بِرْ قَافَ لَا تَسْتَخِيلُ وَلَنِ اسْتَخِيلَ لَا تَلْجِعُ عَلَيْهِ 37

Do not think of lightning behind you, but if you think and prognosticate rain do not go in that direction.

Against paying any attention to backbiters or taking any measures against them.

بِرْمَةُ الشَّرْكَ مَا فَتُورٌ 38

A pot in partnership does not boil.

Eng. eq. A pot that belongs to many is ill stirred and worse boiled.

بِرْمَةُ 'شَارٍ' Om. = an earthen cooking pot. 'شَارٍ' Om. for 'فَارٍ' = it boiled.

بَعْرَةُ يَكْسٍ فِي دَبْرَةِ سَمَادٍ فِي أَرْضَهِ 39

Its (the donkey's) dung is sprinkled over its own ulcer ; the bullock's manure is in its own pasture land.

Applied to one who wastes nothing, or as in the proverb, utilizes the dung of his animals for their own purposes.

The dried dung of donkeys is often pounded and dusted over their galled backs as a remedy in 'Omán.

تَبْغِي تَرْعِلُ مَا مُتَفَقِّيَةٌ مِنْ شَغْلَانَ بَيْتَهَا 40

She wants to be angry, but is not free from her household duties.

Applied to a person who wants to undertake a profitless task, when his or her hands are already full of more important matters.

زَعَلٌ 'شَغْلٌ' زَعِلٌ 'شَغْلٌ' مُتَفَقِّيَةٌ 'شَغْلٌ' زَعِلٌ 'شَغْلٌ' 41
sure, free. 'شَغْلٌ' Om. pl. of work, business.

تَبَغَّا مِنْ تِبْيَهَا وَاعْنَابَهَا وَحَاتِمٌ عَلَى بَابِهَا

You want figs and grapes out of it (the garden), whilst Hátim is at its gate (as gardener in charge). It would be impossible for one

to have the product of a garden whilst a liberal man like Hátim is in charge of it.

Applied in the sense of two incompatible things or two opposite elements not being able to exist together.

بَكَايَةٌ وَمَأْيَاتٌ بِنَهَىٰ 42

A professional crier and her son is dead.

Applied to a person who meets with circumstances favourable to his or her design.

In every village and town in 'Omán there are certain women who, though not paid for their trouble, visit the houses of mourning to help the women there in crying loudly.

بِمَا يَبْيَعُ الْلُّصُونُ مُخَالِفٌ 43

A thief can afford to sell (a stolen thing) at whatever price he may do so. He incurs no loss.

Said of a person who parts with a thing easily after having obtained it without any trouble or expense.

Lightly come, lightly go.

بِنْتُ الصَّابِعِ تَشَقِّي الصُّوْغَ وَبِنْتُ الْبَسَاجِ عَرْيَانَةً 44

The goldsmith's daughter pines for (*lit. desires*) ornaments and the weaver's daughter is naked.

Eng. eq. The cobbler's wife is the worst shod.

بِنْيٰ بِالْفَضَّةِ وَغَابَ بِالدَّهَبِ 45

Build with silver, and cover with gold.

On the advisability of making a good show.

بُو يَاقِي مِنْ بَطَنِ بَيْرَبِي أَغْمَ بَطَنَةً 46

He who begets (a child) from his loins (*lit. belly*), will rear it whether he wishes or not.

One is bound to defend his own action, or to preserve what he has created, even against his will.

أَغْمَ بَطْنَهُ ' Om.=nolens volens.

بُو يَا كِل حَلَواهَا يَصْبُر عَلَى بَلَواهَا 47

He who eats her *halwā* must (also) patiently endure her misfortune.
Eng. eq. There is no joy without alloy.

بُو ' Om. for الَّذِي =who, which, &c. Conf. F. A. P., Caput XXIV,

No. 457.

بُو امْهَا فِي الْبَيْتِ مَا تَقْحَبُ 48

She whose mother is in the house is not called a whore.

A person who has a good protector is not likely to be abused or suspected of an evil action.

بُو يَعْفَى لَبَنَهَا يَتَرَقُ فِي وَجْنَهَا 49

He who wants her (the cow's) milk must look carefully at her face.

On the advisability of examining a thing carefully before buying or receiving it.

بُو يَجِي إِلَى مَغَارَةِ يَلَّا مَأْكُلهُ وَأَدْمَارُهُ 50

He who comes to the house (*lit.* cave), when he has eaten, causes its ruin.

Applied in the sense of self-defence and also ingratitude. An enemy ought to be kept at a distance.

بُو يَجِي مَا مَنْهُوم يَجِلس بِلَا فَرَآشٍ 51

He who comes uninvited sits (on the bare ground) without a mat.

Eng. eq. Uninvited guests sit on thorns.

بُو يَخَجِل مِنْ بَنْتِ عَمَّ مَا يَجِيبُ أَوْلَادُ 52

He who is shy of his wife (*lit.* cousin) does not beget children.

Eng. eq. Faint heart never won fair lady. Conf. B. A. P., No. 620.

بُو تَخِيْس نَعْقَدَه مَا يَقْصُهَا 53

He whose nose stinks does not cut it off.

On the advisability of using gentle means to reclaim a lost child or friend.

بُو خَاس نَعْقَة Om. = it rotted. ' Om. = nose.

بُو يَد وَالْحَالَ بِتَجِيْهِ الْعَلَ 54

He who wanders about the town, draws upon himself misfortunes.
By misfortunes are here meant diseases, accusations of crime, &c.

On the advisability of not visiting suspicious and dangerous places.

بُو حَال Om. pl. of حَالٌ = a quarter of a town.

بُو بِرِّيهَا فِي ثَبَانَه تَلَكَّغَ فِي لَسَانَه 55

It (a viper) bites him in the tongue who rears it in the lap.

On ingratitude and returning evil for good.

بُو يَرْضَى فِي جَارَه تَخْرَب دَارَه 56

He who rejoices over (the misfortunes of) his neighbour will have his house in ruins.

On the advisability of taking a lesson from the misfortunes of others and not rejoicing over them.

بُو يَزَعُ الْجُودَات يَسْتَأْنَى الْجَمَادِيل 57

He who sows generous actions reaps (lit. is rewarded with) good actions.

Eng. eq. The hand that gives gathers.

بُو شَالَه اَشْلُول كُلَه مَا يَغْلِبُهَا مُؤْخَل 58

A she-camel which carries a whole load is not overcome by (the weight of) a sieve.

A person accustomed to undertake great affairs is not likely to be overburdened by a little more responsibility.

مُو خَلْ 'Om. for مدخل=a sieve.

بُو يِشُور بِعَمَرَة يَكْسِل 59

He who offers advice of his own accord has to look small.

On the advisability of not offering advice unasked.

بِعَمَرَة 'Om. =by himself, of his own accord.

بُو يِصْبَر وَيَتَأْنِي يَلْقَى مَا يَتَمَنَّى 60

He who has patience and waits gets what he desires.

Eng. eq. Everything comes to him who can wait.

بُو يَضْرِب عَمَرَة مَا يَنْكِي 61

He who beats himself ought not to cry.

One who brings a misfortune upon himself ought not to lament over it.

بُو فِي الْقُلُوب مَا فِي الْكُرُوب 62

What is in hearts is not (to be said) on the roads.

Secret things must not be talked about excepting in secret places

بُو يَفْخَمْهَا الْذِي يَبْ مَا تَعَدُ 63

A she-goat which has been once attacked by a wolf will never improve.

A tribe which has been once attacked by an enemy does not return to its original prosperous condition owing to the constant dread in which it is.

بُو يَفْخَمْ دَبَّة مَا يَكْهُرَة حَبَّة 64

He who jumps over a sand-hill will not be caused to tumble by a grain.

He who is in the habit of performing great actions successfully is not likely to fail in doing a small and unimportant thing.

‘قَمَ’ Om. = he jumped. ‘تَكَفَّرَ’ Om. = he stumbled.

65 بُو يَلِدْ غَهُ الْغَولِ يَهَابُ مِنَ الْجَبَلِ

He who has been (once) bitten by a snake is afraid of (even) a rope.

Experience makes one cautious.

Eng. eq. Burnt child dreads the fire. Once bitten twice shy.

‘غُولُ’ Om. = a snake.

66 بُو مَا يَنَادِرُ بِنَفْسِهِ مَا يَعَادُ رُبُّهُ غَيْرُهُ

What one does not arrange for himself will not be arranged for him by others.

On the advisability of exerting oneself in doing one's own work and not depending upon others for it.

Eng. eq. Never trust to another what you should do yourself.

67 بُو مَا يَحْمِي دَارُهُ وَيُؤْخُذُ ثَارُهُ يَكْثُرُ مَعيَارُهُ

He who does not protect his house and take his revenge increases in blame (*lit.* his blame increases). ‘يُؤْخُذُ’ Om. for يَأْخُذُهُ.

On guarding one's interests and taking revenge when necessary.

68 بُو مَا يُزُورُنِي وَالَّذِي أَرَ مُخْيِفَةً لَا مُرْحَبَّاً وَالَّذِي أَرَ آمَانَ

He who does not visit me when the country is in a state of alarm is not welcome when it is tranquil.

Eng. eq. Peril proves who dearly loves.

69 بُو مَا شَأْيَفَ اللَّحْمَ يَسْتَعْجِبُ مِنِ الرِّيرَةِ

He who has never seen meat is pleased with lungs. Conf. F. A. P., Caput XXIV, No. 474.

70 بُو مَا يَعْرُفُكَ مَا يَشْنُكَ

He who does not know you, does not value you.

The worth of a thing is only known to those who know it well.

بُو مَا يَدِي فِي قَفْعَةٍ مَا تَهْمَيْ صَفْعَةٌ 71

I am not concerned about his slapping (me) whose bag I have not my hand in.

Eng. eq. A clear conscience fears no accusation. قَفْعَةٌ 'Om.=a large bag made of date-palm leaves for bagging dry dates, limes, &c.

الْبَيْتُ يَدْخُلُ مِنْ بَابَهُ 72

A house is entered by its door.

Applied in the sense of everything having its proper way.

بَيْتٌ طِينٌ مَا يَعْدُمُ مِنَ الطِّينِ 73

A house built of clay cannot be without any flour in it.

It is expected that a great man must possess all ordinary things or good qualities.

A house built of clay means a substantial one in contradistinction to a hut.

بَيْتُ الظَّالِمِ خَرَابٌ 74

The house of a tyrant is a waste (in ruins). Conf. F. A. P., Tom. III, No. 265.

الْبَيْتُ كَبِيرٌ وَالرَّبُّ خَبِيرٌ 75

The house is big, but the Lord knows (what it contains).

A person may appear to be good and great, but his real qualities may not be seen.

Eng. eq. A fair face may hide a foul heart.

بَيْضَةٌ الْيَوْمَ وَلَا فَرْخٌ بَالْغَدَرِ 76

Rather an egg to-day than a chicken to-morrow.

Eng. eq. One to-day is better than two to-morrow. A bird in the hand is worth two in the bush.

بَيْنَ الْحِبَابِ تَسَاقَطُ الْأَدَابِ 77

Among friends ceremonies are not observed (*lit.* are dropped).

Friends need not observe any formalities or ceremonies among themselves.

تَرَكَ الدَّنْبُ وَلَا تَعَالَجْ تَوْبَةً 78

Leave off sinning and do not try to show repentance.

Prevention is better than cure. Conf. B. A. P., No. 155.

الْتُورِيَانِ فَدَعَى الْسَّكَرَ 79

Toriyan is the ransom of sugarcane.

Toriyan is planted in the same field as sugarcane and round about it, so that should any animals or disease attack the field, the *toriyan* may be lost but the sugarcane is saved. The vanguard of an army, which in 'Omán generally consists of slaves or unimportant persons, often saves by its destruction the main body.

تُورِيَانُ، Om. from H. قُورُ = *Cajanus arabicus*.

ثُورِيَانُ دُرْبُ وَأَرْجُرُ 80

A gardener's bullock, beat and drive (him).

Applied to a lazy person who cannot be made to work without being constantly urged. 'Om.=a gardener. زَجَرٌ Om.=he drove a bullock in the pit before a well, called the *khabb*, for the purpose of drawing water.

الْجَرْفُ بُوْمَلْدُ وَغِنْمَهُ لَا تَدْخُلْ يَدَكِ فِيهِ ثَانِيَةً 81

Do not put your hand a second time into the hole you have been bitten or stung in before.

On being cautious from past experience.

Eng. eq. Confide not in him who has once deceived you.

الجَلْبُ بَعْدَ الْمَعْيَدِ 82

Bringing the goats (to the market) for sale after the 'Eed festival.

Eng. eq. A day after the feast. After death, the doctor.

الجلب Om. = bringing goats to the market. A few days before the two 'Eed festivals, the people of the villages near Maskat and Matrah bring in their goats for sale in large numbers.

جُذْدٌ فَارٌ مَا يَسْتَوِي مِنْهُ طَبِيلٌ 83

A drum cannot be made of a rat's skin.

Applied to inappropriateness of things or persons.

Eng. eq. You cannot make a silk purse out of a sow's ear.

الْجُودُ بِالْمَأْجُودِ وَكُفُّ الْخَالِيِّ بِمَا يَجُودُ 84

Generosity if there is anything (in the hand), but what is an empty hand to be generous with? **ما يجود** stands for مَوْجُودٌ and for مَوْا.

What is one to be generous with if he has nothing in his hand to give away.

جُوعَانٌ فِي الْمَقْيَضِ وَعَطْشَانٌ فِي الشَّرِيعَةِ 85

Hungry in a summering place and thirsty in a watering place.

Generally applied to a person who is lazy. During summer or rather the date season, dates are so plentiful in the plantations that even beggars and poor people are allowed to have them as food for the mere trouble of picking them.

Eng. eq. To starve in a cook shop.

جِيدُرُ لَهَا تَيْسٌ مِنْ هِيلٍ 86

Bring for her (a she-goat), a ram-goat from Heel.

Applied to a person who is not satisfied with the arguments of the company he is present in, this proverb being employed to express a desire that other and cleverer persons may be called in to satisfy him. **Heel** is the name of a place near Simail, and Heel goats are remarkable for their power.

٨٧ تَحَاسِبُوكْلُ يَوْمَ تَكُونُ خَرَا دُومٌ

Settle accounts every day that you may be always brothers.

Eng. eq. Short reckonings make long friends. خوا stands for

أخوان

نَحْسَبْ خُضْرَةُ بَلَدٍ وَهِيَ مَقْرَفَاعُ وَمَجَاجُ ٨٨

We believed *Khudreh* to be a town, but it is only (full of) *makurkā'a* and *majāj*.

Applied to a person or thing not answering one's anticipations.

مَقْرَفَاعُ = *Abutilon tomentosum*. مَجَاجُ = *Physalis flexuosa*. Both of them are wild plants common in certain parts.

٨٩ حُسْنُ السُّوقِ رَلَ حُسْنُ الْبَضَاعَةِ

Better to have a good market than good merchandise.

A brisk market would bring in more profit than the mere possession of superior kinds of goods.

٩٠ حَصَلَ حَصْلَةً يَهُودِيٌّ فِي الْمَسْجِدِ

He fell into the embarrassment of a Jew in a mosque. A Jew would not know what to do with himself in a mosque.

Eng. eq. Fish out of water.

حَصْلَةً 'Om. = embarrassment, hence حَصَلَانْ 'Om. = confused, embarrassed, the latter word being often applied to a person in a dying state.

٩١ مَعْلَأُ الْحَرْبِ عَلَى الْمُتَسَرِّينَ

Pleasant (sweet) is a war for the peace-makers or lookers on. The lookers on enjoy the fun of a war without being interested in the issues of the conflict. تَسْفَرُ 'Om. = he enjoyed himself.

Eng. eq. Lookers on see more than players.

الخَلْفَةُ مَا تَمْكِبُ جَحَّةً 92

A colocynth gourd can never be transformed into a water-melon
الخلفة stands for the الخلة.

Eng. eq. You cannot wash the blackamoor white.

What is bad in nature can never be transformed into a good thing.

الجِيَّةُ غَالِبَةُ الْفُوْتَةِ 93

Stratagem overcomes strength.

Policy often effects what force cannot.

حِيلَةُ نُصْفِ مُرْجَلَةِ 94

A stratagem is half manliness. Stratagems, which in 'Omán often mean wily tricks, are lawful for the accomplishment of an object.

أَحَانِي حَمَدْ لَأْجَلِ مُحَمَّدٍ 95

I salute Hamad for Muhammad's sake.

Eng. eq. Many kiss the child for the nurse's sake.

حَيِّي مَالِكَ بِمَالِ 96

Revive your property with other property.

If one's property is in a bad state, it is advisable for him to spend more money on it to restore it to its proper condition.

الخَابُورَةُ مَخْبُورَةٌ 97

(The town of) *Khaboreh* is well known.

Applied to a thing which is well known or to any information which is not new.

Eng. eq. "Queen Anne is dead."

خُدمٌ فِي الشَّمْسِ رَكِيلٌ فِي الظَّلَّةِ 98

Work in the sun and eat in the shade.

Eng. eq. Make hay while the sun shines.

خُذْ مِنَ الرِّخْيَصِ نَهَارًا (مِنَ الْغَالِي عَشَاءً) 99

Buy (*lit. take*) out of things which are cheap as much as you like, but out of those that are dear just enough for your evening meal.

On the advisability of observing economy.

الخَسَارَةُ مَعَ بَعْضِ النَّاسِ عِيدٌ 100

The loss (of some) is an occasion for rejoicing (*lit. 'Eed festival*) with others.

The death of the wolf is the life of the lamb.

خَلْفَهُ لَعْدَكَ دَلَّا تَحْتَاجُ لِجِبَابٍ 101

Better to leave it (after death) for your enemies than to want (in your life-time) from your friends.

Eng. eq. Better spare of thine own than ask other men.

خُنْفَسَانَةٌ فِي عَيْنٍ أَمْهَا غَزَّالَةٌ 102

The black beetle *khunsásáneh* in the eyes of its mother is a gazelle.

Every one likes his own production or thing however bad or ugly it may be in the estimation of others. 'خُنْفَسَانَةٌ' Om. for *خُنْفَسَانَةٌ* = *Adesmia cothurnata*. Conf. B. A. P., No. 60.

الخَيْرُ فِي بَطْنِ الشَّرِّ 103

Good is (sometimes) produced by (*lit. inside*) evil. What may be considered as a calamity may be productive of good.

Sweet often comes from sour. Conf. F. A. P., Caput I, No. 12.

الخَيْلُ وَلَوْ هُزِّلَتْ مَا يَسْاقُ عَلَيْهَا السَّمَاءُ 104

Manure is not carried on horses, even if they have become lean.

A man with a good origin, however poor he may be, will not descend to do a mean thing. In 'Omán the task of carrying manure is allotted to donkeys.

دَافَعَ اللَّقَمَ بِاللَّقَمِ 105

Ward off anger or punishment by means of a morsel.

On the advisability of paying a bribe or making a present to another person in order to escape the effects of his anger.

دَانْ دَانْ عَلَى النَّعَالِ 106

All the drumming for a date of the kind called *nagál*.

This proverb may be employed in two senses : (1) to express that all the fuss that is being made is not for nothing, and (2) to express that so much fuss is being made over only a trifling thing.

Eng. eq. (In the first sense) Where much smoke is there must be some fire. (In the second sense) Great cry and no wool.

‘ دَانْ دَانْ ’ Om. = a musical party at which women generally hired on festive occasions, such as marriage, &c., sing. نَعَالْ = the commonest variety of dates in ‘ Omán.

يَدِ عِي الْحَاصِلِ وَيَتَبَعُ اللَّاصِلِ 107

He leaves off what is found and follows what slips off.

He leaves the substance for the shadow.

Eng. eq. Catch not at the shadow, and lose the substance.

ذَخْرِ دَكْ وَلَا لَكْ 108

Treasure earth instead of *lacs*.

On the advisability of investing money in land instead of storing it up.

يَدَكْ عَلَى الْحَرْبِ مِنْ لَا يَعِينُكِ 109

He shows you the way to war who will not help you.

Persons who are not likely to give any help, or who are not interested, are the very ones most forward in advising one to go to war or to engage in any conflict.

يَدَكْ عَلَى الْكُونِ مِنْ لَا يَكَوْنُ 110

He shows you the way to fight who will not fight (with you, i.e., on your side).

كَوْنْ ‘ Om. = he fought. كُونْ ‘ Om. = a fight.

Same in application as the last proverb.

الدُّورُمُ الْحَبَلُ يَقْصُ الْحَجَرُ 111

(If) always, (even) a rope cuts through a stone.

Eng. eq. Constant dropping wears the stone.

يَدُوُرُ الْبَلْدَانُ جَاتٌ قِيقَا مُدْرَلَةً 112

They are talking of towns and cities, and (suddenly) mention is made of the troops of Kaiká. Kaiká is an unimportant place in 'Omán.

Applied when a person makes mention suddenly of an unimportant matter while people are talking over serious affairs.

ذَمَّةٌ رَأْسُ السَّالِ 113

Credit is capital. ذَمَّةٌ 'Om. = credit.

To a merchant credit is as good as capital.

رَأْبُ الْكَدَابِ لَأْيِ رَزَّ الْبَابِ 114

Accompany a liar to the threshold of the door.

If one takes the trouble of following or examining a liar, the falsehood of his statement will soon become apparent.

Eng. eq. Pretenders should be put to the test. Conf. B. A. P., No. 99.

رَاعِي الطَّبِيعِ مَا يَصْبِرُ عَنْ طَبِيعَهُ وَلَوْ يَقْصُ صَبَعَهُ 115

A person endowed with a particular kind of nature cannot hide it even if his finger is cut off. (Lit. he is impatient to show it.)

Nature will assert itself.

رَجُلٌ بِلَا حِيلَةٍ كَمَا تَفَقَّدَ بِلَا نِيَّةٍ 116

A man without machination (cunning) is like a matchlock without a match.

رَجُلٌ 'Om. = a matchlock, a gun.

أَكْثَرُ عَنِ الصَّفْرَةِ أَبْرَدَةٌ ١١٧

A purse-net (*raddeh*) may catch more (fish) than a seine (*dagweh*). A *ruddeh* is a small supplementary net attached to the *dagweh* to catch such fish as may escape the latter.

A small dependent person may sometimes accomplish more than a big and independent one.

رِزْقُ الْكِلَابِ عَلَى الْمَجَانِينِ ١١٨

Dogs are dependent for their food on madmen.

Applied to persons who waste the good things of this world. Conf. B. A. P., No. 293.

رَكْبُ الْهَزِيلَةِ تَلْحِقُ السَّمِينَةَ ١١٩

Ride the lean one (she-camel) that you may overtake the fat one.

It is better even to ride an emaciated camel for the purpose of overtaking a good one that has been lost than to go on foot without any chance of meeting it.

On the advisability of taking advantage of an opportunity even if it be a weak one.

الرِّزْنُ غَرْقِيٌّ وَالْكَبِيلُ عَوْرٌ ١٢٠

The rice is damaged (*lit.* such as has been in water) and the measurer blind.

A double calamity; also employed in the sense of two bad things matching each other. Conf. B. A. P., No. 618.

رَوْحَكْ قَدْوَرْ عَجِيلَاتِ بِالشَّفْ ١٢١

You yourself hunt after (*lit.* try to find) calves by halves.

Applied to a person who brings a misfortune on himself by his own act.

It is usual in 'Omán for the owner of a calf or a kid to make it over to another person for rearing it, and when the calf or kid has grown, the person rearing it shares half the proceeds of its sale with the real owner.

تَزْكِيَةُ النَّفْسِ قَبِيلَةً ١٢٢

Self-praise is disdainful (ugly).

Eng. eq. Self-exaltation is the fool's paradise.

زَمَانٌ تَشْكِي مِنْهُ تَنْتَيْ تَبْكِي عَلَيْهِ ١٢٣

When the times you complain of (*lit. turn aside*) pass away, you will cry (wish) for them.

Better to be contented than to grumble about the times we are living in for fear of falling upon worse ones.

رِيدَ الْبَلَاءِ بِالْبَلَاءِ أَمَا زَادَ وَامْأَنَجْلَى ١٢٤

Add trouble to trouble, it will either grow or go.

Eng. eq. Without danger, danger cannot be surmounted.

سَارَتْ تَبْغِي قَرْوَنْ جَاتْ بَلَادَنْيَنْ ١٢٥

She (she-goat) went to get horns and returned without ears.
 Om. for دَنْيَنْ = two ears.

Applied to a discontented person who in attempting to overcome a supposed misfortune meets with a more serious one, or in trying to get more loses what he has.

Eng. eq. Many go out for wool and come home shorn.

سَارَتْ تَبْكِي صَوْتَ جَاتَهَا عَدْرَةً ١٢٦

She went only to sing (*lit. cry*) a tune but (actually) shed tears.

Trifles lead to serious matters.

A joke or what may be only affected may sometimes end seriously or in reality. In ‘Omán women paying visits of condolence are supposed to join the female mourners in crying to an air or tune in praise of the deceased person without actually feeling for his death.

سَارَتْ تَبُولُ نِحْتَ تَحْتَ الطَّبُولَ ١٢٧

She went to micturate, but turned up where the drums were beating.

Applied to trivial pretexts made for attaining important objects.

سَيِّرَةٌ تَبَنَى إِلَذَّارًا جَاهَا إِلَبْرُدٌ مِنْ وَرَاءِ

128

She went to build protection or shelter (from before), but the cold came in from behind.

Applied to a person whom misfortunes befall notwithstanding his efforts to surmount them. It is also applied to one who does exactly opposite of what he ought to do.

سَيِّرَةٌ تَرِبِي نَحْتَ فِي الْغَيْرِ

129

She went to be confined, but turned up in al-Gabbee. Al-Gabbee is the name of a place in the Dáhireh at a distance from 'Omán Proper.

Applied to a person who employs a pretext of some kind for going away. It may also be used in the sense of proverb No. 127.

سِجْلَمَا وَلَا تَفْسِلُ

130

You had better prop it up (a female date-palm) than plant a new one (in its place).

This is generally given as advice to one who is impatient with his wife. It is better to put up with her weaknesses than to commence life anew by taking a new one.

Eng. eq. Better to bear with the adversities you have than to fly to others ye wot not of.

سِجْلَةٌ 'Om. = a prop generally made of the trunk of a date-palm and a cross-stick to support a falling palm.

سِكِّنْ عَلَى الْمَاءِ وَلَا تَسْأَلْ عَنْ رِزْقٍ

131

Live near water and ask not about sustenance.

Wherever there is fresh water there is sure to be enough of food.

سَلَمْ دَاعِي الْمَصْرِيَّةِ وَطَاحَتْ فِي رَاعِي الْقَضَاعِيَّةِ

132

The man with the donkey escaped, and she (the female spirit) seized the man of Kadá'iyeh. Origin of the proverb.—A man went out one night riding a donkey and met a female spirit, who also mounted the donkey behind him. The man was frightened and could not even stir in his seat. The spirit then dismounting led the donkey about here and there during the night until they arrived near Kadá'iyeh, where

a man was engaged in drawing water. The spirit screamed out loudly at the place, upon which the man at the well shouted out عَظَمْ حَلْقَشْ (May a bone stick in your throat!). She thereupon left the man on the donkey, and proceeding to the man at the well slapped him in the face, the latter immediately falling down and dying on the spot.

Applied to one who escapes a misfortune or calamity at the expense of another person.

Kaddá'iyeh is the name of a place near Bidbid in the Simáil Valley.

(السَّمَا مَا تَخْطَلْ بِمُوْخَلْ) ١٣٣

The sky cannot be hidden with a sieve. مُوْخَلْ Om. for مَنْخَلْ = a sieve.

Applied in the sense of inappropriateness of things and also of an impossibility.

Eng. eqs. Murder will out. He draws water with a sieve.

(السَّمَا رَعَتْهَا الْخَصْفْ) ١٣٤

The (proper) patch for mending a date-palm mat is a piece of a date-palm bag.

Lowly pursuits become lowly men.

(السَّمَا وَمَنْجَانْ قَالُوا صَعْنَ — بَيْت لِجَعَارِيفْ قَالُوا حِصْنْ) ١٣٥

A date-palm leaf mat and a staff with a hooked head :—they said, "household furniture." A nest of black ants :—they said, "a fort."

To a goat-herd his staff with the bent head for drawing down branches of trees and a palm leaf mat for collecting leaves upon, are his household furniture, whilst to the black ants their ant-hill of earth is a fort.

Every one has things in proportion to his position and capacity.

جَعَارِيفْ مَنْجَانْ stands for pl. of جَعَارِيفْ مَنْجَانْ Om. = the black ant (*Componotus compressus*).

(سِيرْ بَعِيدْ رَتَّاعَلْ سَالْمْ) ١٣٦

Go by a distant way, but come safe.

Eng. eq. Better go about than fall into the ditch,

السيف قبضه ضاربٌ ١٣٧

Hand over the sword to its striker.

Applied in the sense of entrusting an affair to a proper or capable person.

Eng. eq. Every man to his trade.

سيما خت مقرّح ١٣٨

Seimá is the sister of Mukazzah. أخت خت for

Applied to two things or persons much about the same in appearance or quality.

Seimá and Mukazzah are two small villages in the valley of Beni Ruwáheh in 'Omán Proper, and are close to and like each other.

شاة من قادها وغويز من ردى ١٣٩

A she-goat whom anybody can lead, or a small water channel which anybody can turn.

غيز غويز dim. of 'غيز Om.=a water channel.

Applied to a person who can be easily led astray, or one who is not of a firm mind.

شاردة ولاقية مهبط ١٤٠

She (a she-camel) wanted to run away and (in the meantime) came on a slope.

Applied to a person who meets with circumstances favourable to his design.

الشاكري جنبي والقاضي محروقى ١٤١

The complainant is a Jineibee and the judge a Mahrookee.

Where the complainant and the judge belong to the same tribe, the result may be expected to be in favour of the complainant. *Al-Maháreek* is a *fakheedeh* or sub-tribe of the *Jineibeh*.

شَاهِيْفِينِ مَسْكَ وَ فَرَضُهَا مَا نَسْعَجَبُ مِنْ مَصْرِيَّةِ تَسْجَبُهُ غَرْضُهَا ١٤٢

We have seen Maskat and its custom houses, and are not (therefore) astonished at the sight of a female donkey dragging her girth.

Employed when a person has seen more wonderful things than those he is shown as objects of admiration. Conf. Nos. 24 and 25.

شَهْرَةً مَا تَظَلُّ عَزْفُهَا أَوْلَى قَصْهَا ١٤٣

It is better to cut off a tree which does not shade its own rootlets.

On the advisability of giving up the friendship of a person who does not give any protection or help.

شَرَاطَةٌ عِنْدَ الْهِيَاسِ وَ لَا نِزَاعَةٌ عِنْدَ الْكُوَسَةِ ١٤٤

Conditions ought to be made at the time of ploughing, so that there may be no quarrelling at the time of treading out (grain).

It is better to have a distinct understanding between all parties at the commencement of a business than to quarrel needlessly in the middle of it or afterwards.

الشَّرْطُ غَالِبٌ إِسْلَافَةً — الشَّرْطُ يَغْلِبُ السَّالَفَةَ ١٤٥

A condition outweighs a rule or custom.

If two persons have agreed upon a condition contrary to a rule or custom of a place, the arbitrators must decide between them according to the condition.

[؟] سَالَفَةُ 'Om.=a rule, a truce.

إِشْتَرِيْ فُضَّةً رَغَفَ ذَهَبٌ ١٤٦

Buy silver and cover (it) with gold. Conf. No. 45.

شِلُّ الزَّادِ إِلَى تَوْصِلِ الْبِلَادِ ١٤٧

Take sufficient provisions (to last you) till you reach the town or country.

On the advisability of making the necessary preparations before commencing a business,

شَلْ فِي الِّدِيكِ قَبْلِ مِنْ تَجْيِي أَذِي وَأَذِيكِ 148

Be warned by (the loss of) a cock before this or that (misfortune) attacks (you).

هَذِيكِ هَذِي وَأَذِيكِ أَذِي and هَذِي and أَذِي stand for 'هَذِيكِ هَذِي' Om. *fem.* forms for *this* and *that*.

Be warned by a small misfortune before greater ones befall you.

شَمْجَ وَلَا بَنْ عَمْ 149

Better (to have) a brother-in-law (or a wife's relation) than a cousin (or a blood relation).

A person is likely to get more assistance from the former, because he would be interested in the welfare of his sister.

شِيٰ شِيٰ نَاقَةٌ حَتَّىٰ وَلَدَ غَيْرُهَا 150

No she-camel yearns for the young one of another.

Every one for himself.

شِيٰ شِيٰ 'Om. = no, not any.

شَيْلَا بَيْلَا لَا بِيَادَيْلَا وَلَا بِيَادَيْلَا 151

Mixed up, neither with these nor with those.

Used to express an affair or a thing mixed up, neither good nor bad; also applied to persons.

شَيْلَا بَيْلَا is a common mercantile expression in seaport towns, applied chiefly to grain, such as rice, wheat, &c., meaning that the commodity is mixed up, the purchaser not having the option of selecting the good part and rejecting the bad one. It is evidently derived from Gujarati એળ સોળ=commixture or એણા=last and બેળા=mixed.

بِيَا is the 'Om. form of بِ=with. دَيْلَا stands for هَدَيْلَا 'Om. =these.

صَبْرَ عَنْ مَجْنُونَكَ أَنْ يَجِيكَ أَجَنْ عَنْهُ 152

Be patient with your madman lest you may have one madder still.

Bear your misfortunes patiently, for in attempting to overcome them you may meet with worse ones.

صَدِيقُ أَبُوكَ لَا تَعَادِيٌ or لَا تَعَادِيٌ ١٥٣

Do not offend or injure your father's friend.

A young man whose father is dead is generally advised to be guided by the advice of his father's friend and not to offend him in any way.

صَدِيقٌ مُخْسِرٌ عَلَى وَصِيلَتِنِي ١٥٤

A friend that causes a loss is decidedly an enemy.

A foolish friend may prove to be worse than an open enemy.

صَغَارُهُمْ فَلْفَلٌ وَكَبَارُهُمْ زَنْجِيلٌ ١٥٥

Their little ones are pepper and their elders ginger.

Applied to people noted for their courage and power.

ضَارُبٌ فِي الْعِزِّ وَذُلٌّ مَذْرُوكٌ ١٥٦

Fight for honour, for disgrace can be obtained (at any time).

A person is advised to fight or exert himself for some object which will bring him glory, whilst disgrace can be gained without any exertion.

Eng. eq. (of the latter part). From fame to infamy is a beaten road.

ضَرَبْتُنِي وَبَكَى سَبَقْتُنِي وَشَكَى ١٥٧

He beat me and cried out and preceded me and complained (against me).

Applied to one who is himself the cause of a complaint, but is foremost in accusing others.

Eng. eq. The offender never pardons. Conf. B. A. P., No. 385.

الضَّرْبُ فِي غَيْرِكَ كَشْقٌ فِي الْجِدَارِ ١٥٨

The beating which another person receives is (to you) like a cleft in a wall.

What pains others does not pain you.

Eng. eq. None can feel the weight of another's burden.

ضُرُبَ كَلْبَكَ يَعْرَفُ جَارِكَ

159

Beat your dog, so that your neighbour may know (your wish).

If one is pestered by visits from a person whom he does not want, an indirect expression of anger used to a servant or other attendants, would be a sure means of getting rid of the unwelcome visitor. Conf. F. A. P., Caput I, No. 187.

مُصْرُوبٌ فِي الرَّاسِ طَشٌّ الْمُخُّ مِنَ الْرُّكْعَةِ

160

He was beaten in the head, but the brain came (*lit. jumped*) out of the knee.

Applied to a sudden or an unexpected event. Thus when a person suddenly or unexpectedly startles with an unimportant proposition or piece of news, a company who are deliberating over a serious affair.

مَخُّ رُكْعَةٍ مُصْرُوبٌ طَشٌّ Om. = brain. Om. = a knee. Om. = he jumped.

صُمْ مَاكَ وَلَا تَهْمِمْ جَارِكَ

161

Take care of (*lit. conceal*) your property, and accuse not your neighbour.

Place your property in a safe position, so that there may be no occasion for accusing anybody of having stolen it.

Eng. eq. Safe bind, safe find.

طَالِبَةُ الْوَاحِدِ كَلِيلَةُ الْمَرْيَةِ

162

The pregnant one (woman) asked for it, but the confined one ate it.

On the misapplication of things. **وَاحِدٌ** Om. = pregnant. **الْمَرْيَةِ** Om. = she was confined.

طَالُعُ مِنَ النَّحْبِ طَاحُ فِي الطَّوْرِ

163

He came out of the *khabb*, but fell into the well.

النَّحْبُ Om. = the inclined plane before a well over which a bullock goes up and down in drawing water.

١٦٤ طَائِعٌ مِّنَ الْقَوْمِ مُرْتُبٌ مِّنَ الْفَزَايَاةِ

He escaped from the main body of the troops, but was plundered by a party of raiders.

‘الْقَوْمُ’ Om. = a large body of troops. It is usual for them on a march to plunder everybody they come across, unless he belongs to one of the tribes to which they belong or is protected by a man of one of the friendly tribes.

١٦٥ طَائِعٌ مِّنَ الْمَوْتِ طَاحٌ فِي حَضْرَمَوْتٍ

He escaped from death, but fell into Hadramaut.

All these three proverbs (Nos. 163, 164, and 165) are similar to one another in application.

Eng. eq. From the frying pan into the fire.

١٦٦ مَطْرُدٌ مِّنَ الْبَلَادِ كَيْفَ يَسْكُنُ فِي الْفَوَادِ

Driven away from the town or country, how can he be quiet in his heart.

A banished person is not likely to remain quiet in his banishment.

١٦٧ الطَّيْرُ يَحْطُطُ عَلَى الْحَبَّ مَا يَحْطُطُ عَلَى الْقَبْ

Birds alight on grain and not on a staff.

Take by persuasion, not by force.

١٦٨ الظَّالِمُ مَا يَفْلَحُ

A tyrant does not prosper.

Similar in application to No. 74.

١٦٩ ظُرْصٌ خَصِينَهُ وَبَطْنٌ مَّحْصِينَهُ

His tooth is his axe and his stomach his store basket.

فُرْسٌ stands for ظُرْصٌ and مَحْصِينٌ stands for مَحْصِينَه

Applied to one who possesses nothing.

عَدْ مُوجُ الْبَحْرِ الْجَائِيَاتِ أَكْثَرُ عَنِ السَّابِرَاتِ ١٧٠

Count the waves of the sea, the comers are more than the goers.

Employed in the case of a person who has committed a fault and on behalf of whom pardon has been asked but refused ; this proverb is then used as a last argument to obtain pardon for that occasion, as chances for punishment are sure to present themselves again. It is also used as a consolation to a person who has lost any valuable thing.
Conf. F. A. P. Tom III, No. 1937.

الْعَطْشَانَةُ تَكْسِرُ الْحَوْضَ ١٧١

A thirsty one (she-camel) breaks the tank of water (to get at it).

Applied in the sense of want of patience on the part of a needy person.

Eng. eq. A hungry man, an angry man.

عَطِيَ الْمَرِيضُ شَهْوَتُهُ وَقُولَةُ عَافَاكَ اللَّهُ ١٧٢

Give the sick man what he desires and say, " May God give you health!"

Used by a person when he is in great need of a thing and asks it as a favour.

عَقَ حَصَّةً إِلَى طِبَاحَهَا فَلَكَ ١٧٣

Throw a stone ; (perchance) by the time it falls (to the ground) the wheel of fortune will have revolved.

Employed in consoling persons who are found in deep and anxious thoughts. Origin of the proverb.—It is related that Nu'mán bin Mundhir used to consider a certain number of days unlucky and the others lucky, and that it was his habit during the unlucky period if anybody spoke to him to order his head to be cut off. Now, Nu'mán had an intimate friend living at some distance from him ; he died leaving a son, who in order to ingratiate himself into the favour of the king used to send him costly presents. This young man having been advised by his mother to visit the king personally repaired to him, but was not aware of his custom of beheading everybody that spoke to him on his unlucky days. It happened that the day on which the young man visited the king was one of his unlucky days, and the latter therefore ordered his head to be struck off when he saluted him. After a great deal of entreaty the young man obtained a respite of a certain

number of days to enable him to arrange his affairs before dying, on condition of his giving a security who should undergo the penalty in the event of his not returning within the time. An old man stood as his security, and the young man went away to arrange his affairs. On the last day of the respite the young man not having returned, the old man was ordered to undergo the punishment, but he asked as a favour that it may be put off till sunset and said, “ Throw a stone ; (perchance) by the time it falls (to the ground), the wheel of fortune will have revolved.” A stone was therefore thrown up, and by the time it could come down to the ground, the young man returned and also the sun set, and as that was the last day of the unlucky period, both the men escaped with their lives. Conf. Al-Meydánee’s version of the narrative, F. A. P., Caput I, No. 361, and Sale’s Translation of the Kurán, Preliminary Discourse.

١٧٤ تَعْلَمُ الْحَسَانَةَ عَلَى رُوْسِ الْمَجَانِينِ

Learn to shave on the heads of madmen.

Applied in the sense of experimenting first on valueless or worthless things.

^{حَسَنٌ} Om. = he shaved.

١٧٥ عَلَيْكَ بِالبَرِّ وَلَا هِزْلٌ

You have (only) to look to the purity or good origin (of a thing) even if it be thin or emaciated.

On the principal point to be borne in mind in selecting a wife or an animal.

١٧٦ عَلَيْهِ سِتٌّ وَكَبْشَةٌ بِسْتٌ

There are six (dollars) against him and his sheep is worth six (dollars).

Eng. eq. Six of one and half-a-dozen of the other.

١٧٧ عَنْدَ الْحَصَابِ يَدُورُ الْقَصَابِ

At the time of harvest he goes about singing songs.

Applied to one who wastes his time in vain and frivolous things when there is an important business on hand.

عَنْدَ الْخُطْبَةِ لِلْسَّانٍ رُطْبَةٌ وَخَلَافٌ تَبَيَّسٌ كَمَا الْحَطَبَةِ ١٧٨

At the time of asking in marriage the tongue is moist, but afterwards it dries up like wood.

While one is in need of a thing sweet promises are made, but directly the object is gained they are all forgotten.

Eng. eq. Vows made in storms are forgotten in calms.

عَنْدِي اللَّحْمُ مَا أَصْبَدَ الرُّخَيْبَ ١٧٩

I have meat ; I shall not hunt vultures. Said by a person who has good things in his possession and need not therefore trouble himself about getting any inferior ones.

عُورَا تَقُودُ زَمَادَةً ١٨٠

A blind woman leading one suffering from ophthalmia.

The blind leading the blind.

الْعَيْرِيَّةُ تَزَهَّا وَلَا تَدُومُ ١٨١

A borrowed thing may appear beautiful, but (the possession of it) does not last.

Ever so beautiful a borrowed thing may be, it must sooner or later pass away from the possession of the borrower of it.

الْعَيْرِيَّةُ [العَارِيَّةُ] stands for = a loan.

الْعَيْشُ فِي مَزْوِدِنَا وَالنَّارُ فِي مَضْرِبِنَا وَالْمَاءُ فِي قَرْبِنَا وَنَجْبِي ١٨٢

عَنْدَ النَّاسِ عَلَى هَوَانَ وَطَرْبِنَا

We have food in our food-bag, fire in our pouch, and water in our water-skin, and we come to people just as we like and please.

Applied to persons who can afford to be independent of others.

عَيْنِي غَرِيَّةٌ مِنْ مَرْقَ الْبَرِّيَّةِ ١٨٣

My eye is satiated with (the sight of) the gravy of anchovies.

Applied to one who is sick of a thing from an excess of it.

بَرِّيَّةٌ Om. = anchovy. *Engraulis commersonianus.*

عَيْنٌ مَا شَاءَ فَتَكَ مَا لَمْ تَكَ 184

The eye that does not see you does not blame you.

Eng. eq. What the eye sees not the heart rues not.

غَابَتِ السُّكُرَةُ وَجَاءَتِ الْفَكْرَةُ 185

The intoxication has passed away and anxiety has come.

Applied to pain after pleasure and penury after plentifulness. Conf.

B. A. P., No. 292.

الْغَارِيِّ مَا يَتَّبَعُ مَرَّتَيْنِ 186

What is dear (in price) cannot be sold twice (at the same high price).

This proverb is generally used in reply to a shopkeeper who says that he himself has purchased a certain thing dear.

غَصَّا بِيَدِكَ وَلَا نَصِيبَجَّا بِيَدِ غَيْرِكَ 187

Better a raw thing with your own hands than a ripe one with the hands of another.

On the advisability of accomplishing a thing oneself, however clumsily it may be done, instead of depending upon others to do it in a clever manner.

الْغَلْبُ طُوعٌ 188

He who is defeated obeys. Conf. F. A. P., Caput XXV, No. 166.

الْفَعْلُ فَعْلُ النَّدَالِ وَيَطْبِعُ الْقَضَى فِي الرَّجَالِ 189

The act is that of the mean, but its consequences fall upon the great man.

The sheikh of a tribe or the elder of a family is held responsible for the acts of persons belonging to the tribe or family, however low or mean they may be in position.

نِندَالِ دَيْوَلِ قِيسِيَّةٍ وَشَبْرِيَّةٍ 190

A Deiwal sweet potato, compare it (with others) and measure it with the span. A woman is supposed to be about to buy a sweet potato and does not know which one to select.

Applied to a person who is confused and unable to decide what course to adopt.

Deiwal is the name by which the town of Tatta in Sind is known to the 'Ománees, who apply the name Deiwalee Banyans to the Hindus of that province. It is possible that sweet potatoes were imported from Sind in old days, and that they were very irregular in shape and difficult of being measured or compared with one another.

نِدَالٌ 'Om. = sweet potato.

في طرِيقِ رَابِعٍ مِنْ أَذْرَبِ عَنْكِ 191

On the road take for a companion (*lit. accompany*) one who is stronger than yourself.

On the advisability of having a strong protector on a journey or in any important undertaking.

رَابِعٌ 'Om. = he accompanied.

قاْرُوتُ العَالِيِّ إِذَا طَلَعَ الْفَلَجُ قَاتَ حَارِي 192

(Like) Károot al-'álee which whenever a new spring is discovered (*lit. comes out*) says, "It is mine."

Applied to a person who grabs everything he can get hold of, even on the ground of a fictitious claim.

Upper Károot is a village in the valley of the Beni-Ruwáheh, the people of which lay a claim to every spring that is found in its vicinity on the ground of its being a feeder of their own springs which, they allege, would dry if the new one is utilized in any other direction.

قَبْ وَحِزَاقْ وَالرَّبْ رِزَاقْ 193

A club and a waist-wrapper, and the Lord is the provider.

Applied to an improvident person who does not care or trouble himself about earning his livelihood.

حِزَاقْ 'Om. = a waist-wrapper.

قَدْ يَمِّ الْبَرِيسْ وَلَا جَدِيدَ الصَّوْفِ 194

Better old silk than new wool.

It is better to have a valuable friend or thing though old than a valueless friend or thing though new.

قرین وَازع مُغْتَلٌ عَلَى سِمَايِلٍ 195

Karein Wásu'a overshades *Simáil*.

Applied to a defect or a drawback in a person or thing.

Eng. eq. One scabbed sheep mars a flock.

Karein Wásu'a was a lofty fortified building on a hill in the town of Simáil, and used to overshadow all the date-palm plantations underneath it, thus preventing the trees from having a vigorous growth. It was pulled down in 1876 by an order of the late Sultan of Maskat.

كَانَ يَبْغِي تَصْلِي مَا تُغْلِبُ مُغْتَلٌ from 'Om. = it shaded or overshadowed.

كَانَ يَبْغِي تَصْلِي مَا تُغْلِبُ or مَا تَعَاىَ 196

If you want to pray, you cannot be prevented (*lit.* overcome).

Eng. eq. Where there is a will there is always a way.

كَانَ يَبْغِي يَمُوتُ وَسَمَةً 197

If he wants to die, brand him. كَانَ stands for إِنْ كَانَ = if.

Said of one who is already suffering from an affliction, and to whom any additional pain would be a sure cause of his ruin or death. Branding is a common remedy in 'Omán and is resorted to even for trivial complaints.

كَانَ بَغَيْتَ الْوَلَدَ نَقِيًّا لَهُ حِدَّاً وَخَالٌ 198

If you want a good son, select for him a good (maternal) grandfather and a good (maternal) uncle. نَقِيًّا 'Om. = he selected.

On the selection of a good wife.

كَانَ تَجِي عَقِبَةً وَكَانَ تَجِي ظَبْيَتَ مِلْنَقًا فِي رِيَامٍ 199

Whether you come by the pass or over the rocks the meeting place would be Riyám. عَقِبَةً 'Om. = a pass. ظَبْيَتُ = a rock. Both the roads mentioned in the proverb on the way from Matrah to Maskat meet at Riyám.

Said when the result is likely to be the same whichever way a thing is done.

كَانَ مُسْتَضْرِمٌ جَبْرُوكَيْفٌ يَشْبَعُ لَهُ فِي رِيَامٍ 200

If he has been attacked by an evil spirit at Jabroo, how can the remedial measures be adopted in Riyám? *Jabroo* is a suburb of Matrah, and *Riyám* a village on the way from Matrah to Maskat.
 مُضْرَّةٌ 'Om.=condition of a person attacked by an evil spirit. شَبَعَ لَهُ 'Om.=an offering of food and incense was made to an evil spirit.

On the unsuitableness of two things to each other.

كَانَ مَا شَيْ طَحِينٌ عَصْدَهُ 201

If there be no flour, prepare '*aseedeh*' of it. '*Aseedeh*' is a sort of thick gruel the principal constituent of which is wheat flour.

Applied to a person who asks for a greater thing than the one for which his request has been already refused. It is generally applied to an impudent beggar.

Refused a crust, he demanded a loaf.

كَبِيرٌ كَبِيرٌ نَخْلَةٌ وَعَقْلَهُ عَقْلٌ سَخْلَةٌ 202

His size is that of a date-palm, but his reasoning (intelligence) that of a kid.

Applied to one who has a large body but a small brain,—a fool.
 Conf. F. A. P., Tom. III, No. 1856.

الكُثُرَةُ تَعْلَمُ الشَّجَاعَانَ 203

Numbers overpower the brave.

كَثِيرٌ فِي الْعِزَافِ غَمٌ فِي الْبَطِنِ 204

Plenty on the table, but sadness in the stomach.

Applied to a thing which is plentiful but profitless. Quantity without quality. *Sadness in the stomach* on account of the food being plentiful but not of the quality to benefit the person eating it.

عِزَافٌ 'Om.=a small round mat on which the tray containing the several articles of food is placed. It is called also in some parts سُفْرَةٌ and in others كِفَارٌ.

كَدِّي يَا غَزَّالَةَ وَلِي يَا سِبَّالَةَ 205

Toil away, O Gazelle, and eat away, O Monkey.

Used when a good person of rank works hard, and a wretched worthless fellow enjoys the fruit of the work; for instance, the master or lady of a house may work hard to earn money, whilst a slave or a lazy worthless member of the family derives the benefit of it.

كَدِّي سِبَّالَةَ 'Om. = a monkey.

Eng. eq. Masters are generally the greatest servants in the house.

كَالسَّيْفُ فِي قَطَاعَتِهِ وَالرَّجُلُ بِيَارَبَّعَتِهِ 206

Like a sword in its scabbard or a man with his friends.

Applied to an untried person or thing.

Eng. eq. Judge not a ship as she lies on the stocks.

كَعُورُ بِيَاقٍ يَمْكُرُ رِشْبَتَهُ وَيَلْوَحُ عَسْقَتَهُ 207

Like the blind man of Biyák who is always replenishing his hookah with water and waving the date-stalk about (to kindle a fire). رِشْبَةٌ

'Om. = a hookah. Biyák = a village in the valley of Beni-Ruwáheh.

Eng. eq. Many sift night and day, and yet get nothing but bran.

كَفٌ وَاحِدٌ مَا يَصْقَقُ 208

One palm of the hand does not cause a clapping of hands.

Eng. eq. 'Tis the second blow that makes a fray.

كَلَامُ الْوَطَأٌ أَحْسَنُ مِنِ الْعَطَا 209

Humble words are better than a gift. وَطَأٌ pl. of طَيٌّ 'Om. = low.

كُلْبٌ بَيْنَ كُلَّبَيْنِ ذَلِيلٌ بَيْنَ ثَلَاثٍ قَتِيلٌ 210

A dog between two dogs is a coward and among three dogs is killed.

The greater the number is of rivals in a field, the less the chance is of a man being bold or successful.

كُلْبَ دَابِرٌ وَلَا أَسَدٌ رَّاقِدٌ 211

Better a roving dog than a sleeping lion.

Eng. eq. A living dog is better than a dead lion.

كُلْ تَعْسِيرٍ ظَفَرَهَا خَيْرٌ 212

In every difficulty there is a blessing.

Used in the sense of consolation when one meets with a difficulty or disappointment.

كُلْ حَدٌ كَسَاحَةٌ قَدَّامَ بَيْتِهِ 213

Everyone has his sweepings in front of his house.

Every one has his faults and defects before him. كُلْ حَدٌ stands for كَسَاحَةٌ and كَسَاحَةٌ كُلْ أَحَدٌ for كَسَاحَةٌ.

Eng. eq. Every light has its shadow.

كُلْ حَلَةٌ فِيهَا عَلَةٌ 214

Every quarter (of a town or village) has some drawback or another.

Eng. eq. Every bean hath its black.

كُلْ مَحْصُورٌ مَا خَوَذُ 215

Everything or everyone that is besieged is taken or conquered.

A besieging enemy has only to wait patiently for a besieged place to fall.

كُلْ ذَنْبٌ عَلَى جَنْبَةٍ 216

Everyone has (the responsibility of) his crime upon himself.

Everyone must himself suffer the penalty of his fault.

Eng. eq. Every herring must hang by its own head.

كُلْ سَاقَةٌ إِلَّا رَاقِطَةٌ وَكُلْ عَاجِزَةٌ إِلَّا بَحْتٌ 217

For everything that drops there is a picker-up and for every spinster there is luck.

رَاقِطَةٌ stands for رَاقِطةٌ لَّا رَاقِطةٌ for لَّا، عَاجِزَةٌ perhaps for عَاجِزَةٌ، غَازِبةٌ for غَازِبةٌ.

Eng. eq. No pot is so ugly as not to find a cover.

كُلْ شَارِبٌ لِّهِ مُؤْصَشٌ 218

Every moustache has its scissors.

Applied to the adaptation of things.

كُلْ بِعْقَلَةٍ رَاضِيٌّ وَعَمَّا مَالَ لَا 219

Everyone is pleased with his reasoning (intelligence) but not so in regard to his wealth.

Everyone is contented with his intellectual powers but not with the wealth he possesses.

كُلْ كَمَا كُلْ جَاهَبُوبٌ وَشَلَّهٌ 220

All (the dust) is alike ; the wind came and took it away. هَبَوبٌ
Om. = wind.

Applied to persons or things all equally bad.

كَلْمَةُ اتَّيٍ تَخَجَّلُ مِمَّا بَدَيَّا قَبْلَ 221

Mention first the word you are ashamed or shy about.

All disagreeable conditions ought to be settled before commencing a business.

Eng. eq. A word before is worth two behind.

كُلْ يَمْكُح سوقًا (بعْ فِيهِ 222

Everyone praises a market in which there is a profit (for himself).

كَمَا بُو يَدُور جَمِيلٌ خَالِتُهُ مِنْ لَقِيَةٍ رِكْبٌ وَغَنَّى وَمِنْ مَا لَقِيَهُ 223
مشَى وَغَنَّى

Like one who searches for his aunt's camel ; if he finds it, he rides and sings ; and if he does not find it, he walks and sings. منْ
stands for لَذَا.

Applied to a person who is sent in search of a thing or to do a business in which he takes no interest.

كَمَا سُتُورُ آدَمِ مِنْ شَلَيْتَهُ مِنْ وَمِنْ دَرَنَهُ مِنْ 224

Like the cat of Adam which if you lifted up was a maund in weight and which if you left alone was (still) a maund in weight.

This proverb can be used in two senses. First, in the sense of the Eng. eq. A rolling stone gathers no moss. Secondly, in the sense of an ungrateful or a naturally bad person who is not affected by the kind of treatment he receives at the hands of people.

Adam is the name of a town in 'Omán Proper, where a lean and miserable cat once lived ; it used to go about in the town, and whether it was fed well or not it never changed in its weight.

كَمَا ضَاصُوْةُ الْعُورَا يَجِيئُهَا الرِّزْقُ إِلَى مِنْقَابِهَا 225

Like the blind Roller to whose beak food finds its way.

Applied to a person who cannot exert himself and has to depend upon others for food.

كَمَا فَأْسُوْةُ 'Om.=Indian roller—*Coracias indica*.

كَمَا قَصَّابُ نَزْوَى 226

Like a butcher of Nazwá.

Applied to a discontented person who always complains of a loss in his business or other matter.

The butchers of Nazwá are noted for complaining of a loss, though there may be an undoubted proof of the case being the opposite of it.

One of them was once given a bullock for nothing and told to slaughter it and sell the meat for his own benefit. On being questioned as to the result, he complained of having suffered a loss though he had not to pay anything as the price of the bullock, and explained that the wear of his knives had also to be taken into consideration. Nazwá is a large important town in 'Omán and was at one time its capital.

لَا تَأْمِنْ مِنِ الظُّرُورِ وَلَوْ رَأْسَهُ فِي التَّنَورِ 227

Do not trust a bull even if its head be in an oven.

A caution against trusting a dangerous enemy even if he has fallen.

لَا حَامِضٌ يَجْلِي الْكِبْدُ وَلَا لَأَحْمَرٌ يَفْرُحُ بِهِ الصَّغِيرُينَ 228

Neither an acid thing to clear the liver, nor a red thing to gladden children.

Said of a useless thing or person.

لَبِيْكَ يَا نَافِعٍ وَلَوْ سَاحِرٍ 229

Here I am, O (my) benefactor, even if you are an enchanter (oppressor). In ‘Omán enchanters are looked upon as oppressors of mankind.

The call of one's benefactor is readily answered even if he be a wicked man.

اللَّهُمَّ حَالَ السَّاحِرُ وَالْكُوْنَاعُ عَلَى الْمَطِيْطُورَةِ 230

The meat is for the sorcerers or enchanters, whilst the curse falls on the (poor) lapwing. ‘Om. = a lapwing—*Lobivanellus goensis*.

The people of ‘Omán generally have a firm belief in sorcery or enchantment, which is supposed to be in many instances the cause of disease and death. Enchanters are supposed to have three animals in their service, namely, ضَبَّاعُونَ *sem.* (hyena), مَقْعَادَةً *مَقْعَادَةً* (fox), and مَطِيْطُورٌ (lapwing), which last acts as their messenger. The cry of this bird is looked upon as a very inauspicious omen, and the hearer of it always curses the bird with the phrase عَظَمْ حَلْقَشْ (May a bone stick in thy throat!). The cries of certain other animals are also looked upon as omens. Thus the cry of a cow is considered an inauspicious one, and is replied to by the curse عَلَى قَرْوَنْشْ (On thy horns may the danger fall!); the cry of a donkey is auspicious, and is replied to by the benediction خَيْرٌ يَا بُو خَضِيرٌ (Mayest thou prosper, O harbinger of plenty!); the cry of a camel is judged according to its nature; if affectionate and tender it is considered auspicious, and if it be like a groan inauspicious, the phrase used in either case in reply being حَذِينَشْ وَلَا نَيْنَشْ (Let us have thy affectionate cry but none of thy groaning).

In the proverb the poor bird is cursed as being the messenger of the enchanters, who are supposed to be at a distance enjoying themselves on meat and unaffected by the curse.

The carrier of a disagreeable message is exposed to ill-treatment whilst the sender of it is safe at a distance.

لِيَدَ خَلْ بَيْنَ الْبَصَلِ وَالثُّومِ يَطْلَعُ خَارِسٌ وَمَكْحُونٌ 231

He who enters among onions and garlic comes out stinking and in a contemptible plight.

Eng. eq. He that lies with dogs must expect to rise with fleas.

لَقْمَةٌ وَلَا بُرْمَةٌ 232

Better a morsel (ready cooked) than an (empty) earthen cooking pot.

It is better to have something which is likely to be of immediate use even if it be a little, than to have much of what is useless.

بُرْمَةٌ 'Om. = an earthen cooking vessel.

Eng. eq. A bird in hand is worth two in the bush.

لَوْ سِنْدٌ فِيهَا خَيْرٌ سَتَ دَرَاءٍ وَيُشَهِّدُ أَنْ كَفَتْ سِنْدُوهَا 233

If there was any good in Sind, it (Sind) would have been enough for its Darweishes or Sindees.

Applied to a useless person who is not able to help himself for want of good qualities in him, much less those who depend on him.

لَوْ تَرْجَضُ رَكَضُ الْوَحُوشِ غَيْرِ رِزْقَكَ مَا تَحْوُشُ 234

Even if you run at the rate that wild animals do, you will not get more than your (predestined share of) means of sustenance.

Applied in the sense of the preponderance of one's luck over his exertions.

لَوْ مَا لَكَ هُوْجٌ مَا نَفَقَتْ الْخَامَةُ 235

If there were no fools, rubbish (sweepings) would not be sold (*i.e.* spent or used up). Conf. No. 118.

لِيْ يَجْرِي عَلَى التَّعِيَّةِ يَجْرِي عَلَى الْمُتَهَبَّةِ 236

What happens to one in poor or embarrassed circumstances happens also to one in easy circumstances.

لِي مَا يَادُهُ أَهْلُهُ يَادُهُ الْزَّمَانُ 237

He who is not taught (discipline) by his people, is taught by fortune (time).

Experience of the world and vicissitudes of fortune soon teach one how to behave himself, if he has not already learnt to do it.

مَا بَادَلَ بِمَحْبُوبِ الْحَشَّا جِنِّي 238

One does not exchange a sweetheart for a *jinnée* (evil spirit).

One does not exchange a good thing or a favourite person for one that is bad and disliked.

مَاتَتِ الْحِمَارَةُ وَانْقَطَعَتِ الزَّوَارَةُ 239

The donkey is dead and the visiting is over.

Applied to an ungrateful person who ceases paying visits when his purpose is gained.

مَا يَحْكُ شَفْرِي إِلَّا طَفْرِي 240

Nothing or nobody can scratch my lip but my own nail.

Nobody can do one's work so well as himself.

مَادَامْ زَاجِيَةً بِنَزِيجِهَا وَيُومْ تَرْجِي شِي حَمْجِي شِي 241

While it passes (can be palmed off), we shall make it pass ; but when it won't pass (cannot be palmed off), we shall not come.

Origin.—It is related that an uneducated man once went to a village and set up there as a teacher. A short time after, an educated man happening to come there too, the villagers asked him to examine the boys, but he found that they knew nothing, and on his asking the teacher as to how he had taught them, is supposed to have received the above reply.

Applied to one who tries to serve for a time without knowing much about the work he has to do.

‘Om.=not بَ and حَ are both used in the ‘Ománee dialect to indicate the future tense.

سَادَمُ السَّيْلَ يَسْكُبُ الْحَصَى رُطْبٌ 242

While the rain pours, the stone is moist.

While fortune smiles, everything that one does is admired. Conf. No. 35.

الْمَازِيدُ عَلَى الطَّحِينِ 243

Water more (in proportion) than the flour (in the preparation of dough).

Applied in the sense of want of proportions.

Eng. eq. Make not your sail too large for your ship.

مَا سَادَةُ حَالٍ بِنَهَا يَجِدُونَ مِنْهَا 244

It (milk) is not enough for her (the cow's) calf, and he wants to make cheese out of it. 'Om. = It was enough.

Applied to one who wants to venture beyond his means.

245 مَا يَسْتَوِي الْحُسْبُ فِي الْحَيْلِ وَالْمَحْبُوبُ رَأِكُبُ خَيْلٍ or فِي الْعَبْرَةِ

It cannot be that the sweetheart should be in Hail and the lover on horseback or at Gobreh. المُحْبُ stands for المُحْبُوتُ اَلْحُسْبُ

On the necessity of certain conditions being present for certain matters ; thus, according to 'Ománee ideas, it would be difficult for two lovers to love each other when they are at a distance from each other.

مَا يَسْتَوِي سَيْقَيْنِ فِي قَطَاةٍ وَلَا سُلْطَانَيْنِ زَبَاعَةً 246

Two swords cannot be (contained) in one scabbard, nor can two sultans (reign) together.

Eng. eqs. Two stars cannot shine in the same hemisphere. One nail drives out another. Conf. F. A. P., Caput XXIII, No. 365.

مَا يَسْتَوِي وَدَرِي بَنِشْ وَشَلَى بَنِينَا 247

"Leave off your child and take up our children," is a thing that cannot be (done).

Applied to one who proposes an unnatural course, or asks another person to do his work when that other person has his own work to attend to. وَدَرٌ 'Om. = he abandoned or left.

248 مَا يَشْتَقُ ثُوبَ بَيْنِ عَاقِلَيْنَ

Cloth cannot be torn between two wise men.

Friendship between two wise men is not easily broken off.

ما شئ شرجة ضاقت بسيلها 249

There is no watercourse or rivulet which is ever choked by its own flow (water).

No difficulty can be found in adapting two things to each other when they are intended or made for that purpose.

مَا شَيْءَ صَدَقَ نَجْتَ مِنْ حَشْفٍ 250

There is no heap (of dates) free from dry and shrivelled ones.

There are black sheep in every flock.

ما يضارب القوم غير بمحاتي اللوم 251

Nobody fights an army but he who is afraid of blame.
‘Om.=he was afraid.

Nobody goes willingly to a war. It is the fear of being blamed afterwards as a coward that induces one to do so.

مَا طُرْفَةٌ بِأَطْنَبَةٍ فِي غُرْفَةٍ 252

A Bátineh woman in a room is no wonder.

The women of the Bátinéh coast are looked upon as common, and therefore the fact of one of them being in a room (probably as one's wife) is not a matter of wonder.

ما تطير الصديقة or السقيفة الباقي or على رأس الضعيفة 253

A misfortune or a roof does not fall on the head of any but an unfortunate (weak) person. مَلَأَهُ 'Om.=a calamity.

This proverb is used in the sense of misfortunes generally befalling persons who are already unfortunate or unable to bear them.

Eng. eq. Misfortunes seldom come single.

ما نعْرَفُ مِنْ حَيٍّ عَاصِمٌ لِجَرَادِ يَهَا 254

We do not know Haya 'A'su n from Jarádee.

Applied to two things which cannot be distinguished from each other on account of there being very little difference between them. *Haya* 'A'sum and *Jarádee* are two places on the Bátineh coast so close to each other, that it is difficult to tell the boundary line of one from that of the other. Conf. No. 138.

ما يَعْرَفُ رَطْنِي إِلَّا وَلَدْ بَطْنِي 255

Nobody knows my secret language but my own son.

Eng. eq. The wearer best knows where the shoe pinches.

ما يَغِيبُ دُبُّينَ غَيْرِ يَلْهَ طَلَابٌ 256

No debt or claim is lost ; it is sure to have its demanders (sooner or later).

Generally applied to a case of blood revenge.

Origin.—The 'Ománees attribute this proverb to the time of the Prophet 'Eesá (Jesus) who, it is related, one day climbed up a tree on a bank of a river and sat there, when a horseman also happened to come there, and having dismounted from his horse and undressed himself jumped into the river for bathing. After bathing he remounted his horse and went away, forgetting to carry with him a bag of money which he had deposited on the bank of the river. He was shortly after followed by another man, who also selected the same spot for bathing, and on redressing having discovered the bag of money took it away with him. Soon after this a third man came to the same spot, and while he was in the act of bathing, the horseman having by this time discovered his loss returned galloping to the tree and demanded his bag back from the man who was actually bathing at the time. He, however, denied all knowledge of it, and an altercation took place between them, whereupon the horseman drew his sword and slew the other man. "'Eesá, who had been quietly watching all these events, was greatly astonished and perplexed, upon which a voice from Heaven said, "'Eesá, do not be astonished ; the forefathers of the horseman were great tyrants and used to force labour from people, while the second man's forefathers were among the labourers who were unpaid, and he had therefore a claim which has now been paid. In the case of the third man one of his forefathers had killed a forefather of the horseman, who has now in retaliation for it killed him. Thus no claim is lost. Sooner or later it is sure to have its demanders.'" Conf. story 120th in "نواذر احمد شهاب الدین القليوي"

الْمُغَسِّلُ مَا يَضْمَنُ بِالْجَهَةِ 257

The washer of the dead does not guarantee Paradise (to the dead).

Applied in the sense of means to obtain a thing not necessarily meaning success. A person helping one is not bound to bring the thing to a successful issue.

صَاكُلٌ مَرَّةٌ تَسْلِمُ الْجَرْبَةِ 258

Not every time is the jar saved.

Eng. eq. A pitcher goes often to the well but is broken at last.

مَالُ الْجَبَلِ حَالُ الْجَمَلِ وَمَالُ الْبَيْحَابِ مَوَاهَةً ذَهَابِ 259

The date-palms of a mountainous country belong to the camel, and the date-palms watered with a leathern bucket are in danger of perishing.

Applied to labour without profit, and also to a person between two misfortunes. The first part of the proverb is expressed figuratively, the expense of bringing down the produce of a mountainous country on camel-back being too great to allow of any profit. مَال = property which in 'Omán being composed principally of date-palms, is the name now commonly applied to them. الْبَيْحَاب = Om. = a skin, pl. بَيْحَبٌ

مَالُ الْقَرَاحِ مِنْ طَاحَ رَاحَ 260

Date-palms planted in sand, when they fall down, are lost. قَرَاحٌ Om. = Sandy soil.

Everything founded on unstable ground is in danger of being lost. A weak foundation destroys the superstructure.

مَانِكْ تَدْقُنِيْ قَالْ دَأْيَةً تَشَقِّنِيْ 261

"Why do you beat me?" He said, "Because the cartilages of the breast are splitting me."

Applied to a person who revenges himself upon others than those who have injured him.

٢٦٢ مَالِكٌ تَصْبِحُ قَالَ فِي بَطْنِي رِيحٌ

"Why do you bawl out?" He said, "There is wind in my stomach."

Nobody complains without a reason.

٢٦٣ مَالٌ مَالٌ أَبُوهَا وَيَزُودُ وَهَا فِي سِعِنَةٍ

The property is her father's, and yet they give her food for the journey only in a palm-leaf basket.

Applied to one who has no control over his own affairs.

٢٦٤ مَا يَنْفَعُكَ غَيْرَ دَمَ عَقْبِيكَ او شَوَادَ رَهْمِيكَ

Nothing will benefit you but the blood of your heel (your son), or the purchase of your money (your slave).

It is only those who are interested in a person's welfare that help him.

٢٦٥ مَا عَلَى الْكَرِيمِ تَشَرِّطٌ

There are no conditions binding on the generous.

Whatever a generous man gives ought to be taken without restricting him to any conditions.

Eng. eq. Never look a gift horse in the mouth.

٢٦٦ مَا قَاصِرٌ عَلَيْنَا لُومٌ بَعْصُرٌ شَرْجَانٌ

We are not short of limes that we should squeeze *sharjabán* (*Solanum violaceum*).

On substituting a bad thing for a good one which is in abundance. Limes are abundant in 'Omán, and it would be preposterous to substitute for them a fruit which only somewhat resembles them in appearance.

٢٦٧ مَالُ الْبُخَلَاءِ يَأْكُلُ الْبُطْلَاءِ وَمَالُ الْبُطْلَاءِ حَالُ الشَّيْطَانِ وَالْمُخْزَأِ

The vain and the useless enjoy the wealth of the stingy, while the property of the idle and useless belongs to the devil and the vile or contemptuous.

A miser hordes his wealth to be wasted in immoral and vain purposes by his heirs who are generally idle and worthless.

Eng. eq. The devil lies in the miser's chest.

مِنْقَالٌ مِنْ الْحُكْمِ وَلَا بَهَارٌ مِنْ الْمَرْوَةِ 268

A *mithkál* in weight of authority is better than a *bahár* of kindness.

Acts in obedience to orders of persons in authority are more readily performed than those prompted by kindness.

Eng. eq. A friend at court is better than a penny in the purse.

Mithkál=the smallest weight known to the Arabs, equal to a dirham and three-sevenths of a dirham.

Bahár stands for *buhár*=the largest weight known to the 'Ománees, equal to 200 Maskat maunds.

الْمَنْجُورُ يَصْبِحُ وَالْمَاشَالَهُ رَيْحٌ 269

The bucket pulley makes a noise, but the water is carried away by the wind.

Eng. eq. Much ado about nothing.

‘*Manjúr*’ ‘Om.=a pulley fixed over a well, over which a rope passes for drawing water. Conf. F. A. P., Caput XII. No. 81, and Caput V., No. 13.

صَرِيمُوا إِذَا سَدَّتْ بَابَهَا بَابَ اللَّهِ مفتوحٌ 270

If Mureimo closes her door, the door of God is open.

This proverb is used when a person tries to put off giving help or a gift, by stratagem.

Mureimo was a wily and cunning woman who lived in Wadi Akk in the reign of Sayyid Sultán bin Hamad.

مسْعُودَةٌ تَأْتِي الْخَبَرَ غَيْرَ مَسْعُودَةٌ 271

Mas'oodeh brings news without being asked. ‘*Nashd*’ ‘Om.=he asked. Applied to a meddlesome person who interrupts others in conversation.

صِرَاجٌ مَعْنَا الْقَمَرُ عَنْ صِرَاجِ الْبَانِيَانِ 272

We have the moon instead of the Bányán's lamp. ‘*Om.*, stands for *صِرَاجٌ*=a lamp.

A Bányán's lamp is supposed to last much longer and to give brighter light than an Arab's; hence the comparison with it in the proverb, that being the best lamp that an Arab can think of,

مِنْ آدَمِي الْحَرْكَةٌ وَمِنْ اللَّهِ الْبَرْكَةُ 273

Action is expected from man and blessing from God.

Eng. eq. Use the means and God will give the blessing.

مِنْ الْبَرْوَا حَرْقَةٌ وَمِنْ الْبَحْرِوَا غَرْقاً 274

In the direction of land there is fear of being burnt, and in the direction of the sea there is fear of being drowned.

Between two difficulties.

مِنْ يَبْيَعِ الْفِجْلِ يَسْتَأْفِي الْعَبْسِ 275

He who sells radishes is paid in date-stones.

Eng. eq. As you sow, so you shall reap. مِنْ 'Om. stands for مَنْ = who. 'Om. = date-stones. Radishes are generally sold by gardeners, who take payment for them in date-stones on which they feed their cattle. As the selling of radishes is considered a vulgar occupation, so is also the kind of payment for them.

مِنْ جَادَ عَادَ 276

He that gives (anything) out of generosity has it returned.

"He that hath pity upon the poor lendeth unto the Lord ; and that which he hath given will He pay him again." Proverbs, XIX, 17.

مِنْ بَغْيَتْ تَذَكَّرْ فَعَلْ زَيْنَ وَلَا شَيْنَ 277

If you wish to be remembered do good or otherwise evil. مِنْ stands for اِنْ = if, and وَلَا = otherwise.

مِنْ بَغْيَتْ عَوْنَاهَا بَرْقَ فِي لَوْنَاهَا 278

If you want the milk a pot full, examine her (the cow's) state (*lit.* colour). Conf. No. 49.

On the advisability of examining a thing or animal carefully before making a purchase.

مِنْ بَنَىٰ عَلَىٰ يَدِهِ قَصَّتْ 279

He who has (a wall) built over his hand must have it cut off.

He who meddles with the business of others must suffer for it.

Eng. eq. He that blows in the dust fills his eyes.

مِنْ جِيَتْ مَا بِكَ فَرَحٌ وَمِنْ سُرْتْ مَا مَفْقُودٌ 280

When you come nobody is glad, and when you go away you are not missed.

Applied to a useless person.

مِنْ حَبِّتْ طَبِيتْ وَمِنْ بَعْضَتْ قَاعِتْ الْعَيْوَنْ 281

You consider him agreeable whom you love, whilst you pull out the eyes of him whom you hate.

Applied to a person who winks at the faults of those whom he likes and is ready to find fault with those whom he hates.

Eng. eq. (Of the first part.) Love is blind. (Of the latter part.) Faults are thick where love is thin. Conf. F. A. P., Caput XXIV., No. 283.

مِنْ حَشَتْ تَعَشَّتْ 282

If you cut (grass), you will get your dinner.

On the advisability of working to obtain one's livelihood.

مِنْ يَخْرُجْ وَلَا يَحْسُبْ يَعْلَمْ وَلَا يَدْرِي 283

He who spends and does not calculate, becomes bankrupt and is not aware (of it).

Eng. eq. Who spends before he thrives will starve before he thinks. Conf. F. A. P., Caput XXIV., No. 491.

مِنْ خَصَمَكَ الْجَارَ أَشْتَلَ مِنَ الْكَارَ 284

If your neighbour is your enemy, remove from the house.

On avoiding quarrelsome neighbours and keeping aloof from disagreeable things. Conf. B. A. P., No. 9.

مِنْ رَأَيْتُ صَاحِبَكَ يَعْجِسُ بِلِّ 285

If you see your friend being shaved apply water (to your own head).

Used in the sense of being warned by the calamities of others.

Similar to "مِنْ حَلَقْتَ لَحِيَةَ جَارِهِ — فَلِيُسْكِبْ اَسَا عَلَى لَحِيَتِهِ" Let him who has his neighbour's beard shaved pour water over his own beard." Conf. B. A. P., No. 10.

مِنْشَ رُوحُشْ تَدُورِي الدَّقْ وَلَقْيَتِي 286

You yourself are the cause (of the misfortune) ; you hunt after beating and have got it.

Said to one who has brought a misfortune on herself and complains of it.

مِنْكَ رُوحُكَ خَسُوفِيَّكَ جَرْحَةَ يَدِكَ 287

You yourself are the cause of your injury, the wound of your hand.

Similar to the last one.

مِنْ شَافِ بَعِيلَهُ صَاقَ ضَيْلَهُ 288

He who sees with his eye is straitened in his heart. Om. = مُصْبِنْ

Eng. eq. What the eye sees not the heart rues not.

مِنْ ضَرَبَ قَبَهُ خَذَ حَبَّهُ 289

He who strikes his staff gets his (share of) wheat.

At harvest time the people that help in beating corn are paid for their trouble in grain.

Eng. eq. No gains without pains.

مِنْ طَبَعَ طَبَعَ 290

He who covets sinks or is drowned. Om. = it (a ship) sank.

Eng. eq. The covetous man is his own tormentor. Conf. F. A. P., Tom III., No. 1829.

291 مِنْ عِنْدِ الْحَبِيبِ وَلَوْ حَبَّةً زَبِيبٌ

From a loved one or friend, even if it be a raisin.

A gift from a friend is highly appreciated, even if it be a trifling one.
Conf. B. A. P., No. 387.

292 مِنْ غَابٍ عَنِ الْعَيْنِ غَابٌ عَنِ الْقَلْبِ

He who is not before the eye is absent from the mind.

Eng. eq. Out of sight out of mind.

293 مِنْ غَلَبَشَ حَبَشَ كِيلِيَّهُ

Owing to the victory (of the times) over you, measure out your grain
(to yourself).

Applied to a dull market or want of work owing to hard times. In
the proverb the shopkeeper is supposed to be a woman, and is told to
amuse herself by measuring out grain to herself for a want of pur-
chasers. شِمْ is the pronominal affix of the second person fem. sing. in
the 'Ománee dialect. حَبْ =wheat.

294 مِنْ كَانَ لَهُ حِيلَةً فَلِيَحْتَالَ لَنْ الْحِيلَ مِنْ شِيمِ الْجَالِ

Let him who has means of employing a stratagem (to gain his
object) do so, for stratagems are (reckoned) among the qualities of
good and brave men.

295 مِنْ لَمْ يَفْكُرْ فِي الْعَوَاقِبِ مَا لَهُ فِي الدَّهْرِ صَاحِبٌ

He who does not think of consequences has no friend in the world.

296 مِنْ نَاخَ الْجَمَلِ كَثُرَتْ مَعَالِيَّهُ

When a he-camel lies down its loads increase.

Eng. eq. All lay loads on the willing horse.

297 مِنْ يَنْكِلُ عَلَى غَيْرِهِ يَقُولُ حَيْرَهُ

He who depends upon another loses his wealth (*lit.* his wealth
diminishes).

Eng. eq. Trusting to others' care has been the ruin of many.

مُو بِرْدَه عَلَى الْبَلَاد لَا مَالٌ وَلَا أَوْلَادٌ 298

What would bring him back to the country or town? He has neither property nor children.

Applied to one who has left a place and has no interest in it.

مُو 'Om. stands for ما = what.

مُو عَلَمَكَ بِالْقِسْمَةِ قَالَ بِمَانِي وَجْهَ الْذِي يَبْ 299

"What has taught thee (O fox,) to make a proper distribution?" It said, "What the wolf has (received) in its face."

Applied in the sense of taking a warning from the fate of others.

Origin.—It is based on a very old fable, in which a lion is supposed to have asked a wolf to distribute some meat between all the animals, and the latter having kept the best portion for itself, the lion was enraged and slapped it in the face. A fox having been next asked to do it, took for itself the worst part, whereupon the lion is supposed to have asked the fox the above question. Conf. story 101, Chap. I, "Nafhat-al-Yaman."

النَّار تَخْلُفُ الرَّمَادَ 300

Fire leaves (behind it) ashes.

Fire is here compared allegorically to a good and great man and ashes to a worthless son.

نَارُ السُّمْر تَخْلُفُ الْجَمَرَ 301

The fire of the gum acacia tree leaves behind it cinders.

This proverb like the last one is also used allegorically, the cinders being compared to a son who is likely eventually to develop into a great man like his father.

النَّار مَا يُنْكَبُ عَلَيْهَا السِّدِيسُ 302

Fire cannot be put out with a *sidis* measure (*lit.* a *sidis* measure cannot be placed over fire). *Sidis* 'Om.=a wooden dry measure.

Eng. eq. Fire is not to be quenched with tow.

نَازَعَ وَلَا تُخِيبَ عَسْلَى يَلْكَ فِي النِّزَاعَةِ نَصِيبُ الْمَوْرَةِ وَلَا الْجِمَارَةِ 303

Dispute and be not disappointed ; by disputing you will meet with luck—you will get either the woman or (at least) the she-ass.

Origin.—It seems to have originated from a very curious story. It is said that a man and his wife were one day on their way to another village, the woman riding a female donkey and the man walking by her side. On the road they met an old blind man, who was also proceeding in the same direction. They pitied him and asked him to ride the donkey. When they neared the place of destination, the owner of the donkey asked the old man to alight and go his own way, upon which the latter turning round said, that both the animal and the woman belonged to him and refused to give them up. The owner argued in vain with the old man, and the matter had eventually to be referred to the village authorities, who decided that either the woman or the donkey must belong to the old man. يَلْكَ stands for لَكَ and وَلَا for وَلَا

نَاقَةُ الْكَدَابِ رِزْمَاتٌ 304

The she-camel of a liar must tire (in the end). Conf. No. 114.

مَنْقَى مِنِ الصَّبَّةِ فَسُ فِي النِّضَدِ 305

Selected out of the heap it (a date) went bad in the bag. نقى

‘Om.=he selected. صَبَّةٌ ‘Om.=a heap of dates before they are packed. فَسٌ ‘Om.=it rotted dry so that it crumbled as a fine powder. نَضَدٌ ‘Om.=a heap of date bags arranged one over another with the object of draining off the treacle which oozes out of the dates.

Applied to a favourite thing or person not answering one's expectations.

وَأَخْرَابُ الدَّارِادَأْ تَعَامِلُوا اسْتُورَ وَالْفَارَ 306

Alas for the country when the cat and the rat join together in working !

Remedy worse than the disease.

This proverb seems to be based on the version of the destruction of the great *sadd* (dyke) of Márab in Yaman, given by al-Bagawee in his معالِم التَّنزِيلِ Conf. F. A. P., Caput I, No. 453.

تَوَدَّرْ بِنَهَا وَتَرَبَّى عَيْنَهَا 307

She leaves off her (legitimate) child and brings up her bastard one.

Applied to a person who gives up a real claim and fights for an imaginary one.

Eng. eq. Catch not at the shadow and lose the substance.

وَلَّا فِيهَا وَلَّا فِي النَّيْنِ 308

Either it (the stick) will hit it (the ball) or fall in the straw.

A contest has only two ends ; one can either win or lose.

This proverb is based on a certain game of children in which the player has to hit a ball with a small stick.

وَيُشْ دَرَى الْحِمَارِ بِأَكْلِ الْكَنَّارِ 309

What has taught the ass to eat jujubes ?

كَنَّار from P.=jujubes. وَيُشْ stands for أَيْشْ

Eng. eq. To cast pearls before swine.

هَزَّةٌ مِّنِ الْمَزَّةِ وَضَرَطَةٌ مِّنِ الْعَافِيَةِ 310

Shaking is the result of cheerfulness, and breaking wind with a sound is the result of good health.

Applied to one who is insolent or proud on account of wealth or any other cause.

هِيَ تَرَقَصُ وَمِنْ عُمُرِهَا يَنْقُصُ 311

She (a she-goat) dances, but her life-time is becoming shortened.

Applied to the unsuitableness of an action, dancing being an expression of joy, whilst life becoming shorter is a matter for sorrow or grief.

هِينَ بَعْلَةٌ ضَاقَتْ بِكَفَّهَا 312

What *bagleh* ever becomes straitened on account of its own mast ?

Bagleh=a kind of small sailing vessel. Conf. No. 249. هِينَ stands for بَعْلَةٌ =what ?

يَا سَارُقُ الْدِّيكِ فُوقُ رَاسِكِ الرَّبِّيْشِ ٣١٣

O stealer of the cock, on your head is the feather.

Eng. eq. The guilty conscience is its own accuser.

يَا غَرِيبَ كُونَ أَدِيبٍ ٣١٤

O stranger, be well-behaved.

Advice to a stranger in a foreign place.

يُومٌ سُكُنْتُ كَلْنِي اسْسَكْ وَيُومٌ غَفَقْتُ كَلْنِي الطَّيْرِ ٣١٥

When I sink fish eat me and when I float birds eat me. سَعْ ‘Om.

=it sank to the bottom. غَفَ ‘Om.=it floated.

In a dilemma. Conf. No. 274.

يُومٌ الشَّرَاطَةِ مَا شَبَعَانِ لِيفِ ٣١٦

Even on the day of cleaning the date-palms, he is not satisfied with their fibres.

Applied to a discontented man who is not satisfied even when he has plenty.

شَرَاطَةً ‘Om.=the operation of pulling out the bottoms of date-palm branches, which remain attached to the trunks after the branches are broken off, with an iron instrument named مَخْلَب. During this operation a considerable quantity of the fibrous tissue of palms is torn off and scattered about.

يُومٌ يَطِيعُ شُوبَ الْكِنَارِ وَيَرْوَحُ الْكَعْكَ يَتَوازَنَ لَيْلٌ وَنَهَارٌ ٣١٧

When the jujube fruit falls and the cake of bread begins to smell, night and day become equal. This happens in spring, when jujubes becoming overripe fall off, and new wheat of which the cake of bread is supposed to be made is collected, the smell of the cake evidently referring to its being baked. بَوْمٌ ‘Om.=when,

318 يوم مَارِمَتْ عَلَى الْجَرَابِ دَارَثْ عَلَى الْجِزَّلَةِ

When she (a she-camel) could not carry a large bag of dates, she turned to a half one.

Every one must work according to his capacity.

رَام *aor.* ‘**بِرْوَم**’ Om.=he was able. **جَرَاب** a large mat bag containing preserved dates.

جُزْ جُزْ 'Om. = half a *jarāb* or any piece cut off from a *jarāb*.

٣١٩ يُوْمٌ مَا عَرِفْتُ تَلْعَبْ قَائِتْ مَلْعَبْ ضَيْقٌ

When she did not know how to play, she said that the play-ground was narrow.

Eng. eq. A bad workman quarrels with his tools

320 يُوم النَّاسِ يَخْيَطُونَ ثُوبَ السَّوَاحِلِيَّ أَنَا مُحَرَّبٌ الْتَّكَارِيرُ فِي

الجُوُنِيَّةُ or في المَرْحَلَةِ

Whilst people sew *Suwáihilee* cloth, I have been braiding the edges of a gunny bag or a date basket.

Applied to inappropriateness of things, and also to one who wastes both a good thing and his time in trying to decorate a thing which is originally bad or ugly.

نُوب السُّوَايْلِي 'Om.=a fine kind of long-cloth.

تکاریز 'Om.=a kind of braid made from two silk strings of different colours, generally sewn on to the neck or front of a shirt.'

جوبية 'Om.=a gunny bag or sack. **مرحلاة** 'Om.=a bag made of palm leaves.

ART. XV.—*The Oriental Congress at Hanoi.*

BY PROFESSOR M. MACMILLAN, F.A.

[Read 17th January 1903.]

THE Congress of Orientalists at Hanoi or, as it is to be entitled in future, *Le Premier Congrès International des Etudes d'Extrême-Orient*, will be remarkable in the history of Oriental learning as being the first Congress of Orientalists held in the East. This fact gives it a distinctive character and some obvious advantages. However industrious and keen-sighted and sympathetic an Orientalist may be, he cannot learn as much from books and such fragments of monuments as may be transported to European museums as he can by visiting the countries that he studies, conversing with the people, inspecting with his own eyes architectural and other monuments in their proper surroundings, and absorbing into his soul the 'genius loci.' This amounts to saying that the Orientalist ought, if possible, to perfect himself by travelling to the East, and it may be urged that savants can and do travel to the countries in which they are specially interested, even without the inducements offered by Congresses. This is true. But, on the other hand, Congresses held in the East would undoubtedly attract savants who would probably never leave Europe without such an inducement. It is probable, for instance, that the representatives of Italy, Austria, Germany, Norway, Japan and many other delegates who attended the Congress of Hanoi, would never have visited Indo-China, if they had not been invited to attend the Congress, and had their way to the Far East smoothed for them by the liberality of the French Government. Further, even if they had by any chance done so, they would not have derived so much advantage from an ordinary visit as they must have derived from seeing and hearing everything in the company of their compeers, by discussion with whom they could mutually solve each other's difficulties and arrive at clearer and more correct conclusions. Another great advantage of such a Congress is that it can pronounce judgments with the authority due to its collective wisdom. The importance of this is exemplified in the question of the transcription of Annamite into Roman characters, which has hitherto been conducted according to an illogical and misleading method, or want of method, different from that followed in the transcription of other Oriental languages. But this method has been in existence for a long time, and in accordance with it have been published many books, the authors and publishers of which are, as might be expected, strongly opposed to

any change. It would probably have continued in use indefinitely to the great prejudice of the study of the language and the education of the Annamite people. Now however that it has been unanimously condemned by the Congress, there is every reason to hope that an improved method of transcription will be adopted.

In response to the invitations sent out, thirty-six delegates were appointed by various Governments and learned societies. It is remarkable that no delegate was appointed to attend the Congress by Russia or England or by any learned body in Russia or England. Nor was any delegate appointed by the Indian Government or by the Calcutta Branch of the Asiatic Society. The Government of Austria-Hungary and the Imperial Museum of Natural History in Vienna were represented by Councillor Heger; the Royal Museum of Ethnography in Berlin by Dr. Stoenner; the Italian Government by Professor Nocentini of the University of Rome, by Count de Pullé, Professor at the University of Bologna, and by Signor Volpicelli, Consul-General of Italy at Hongkong; the University of Christiania by Professor Lieblein. There were also five delegates from Japan—three of whom were Germans—one delegate from the Dutch Indies, one from Siam, and one representative of the Yale University. The delegates chosen by the Geographical Society of Amsterdam, the University of Helsingfors in Finland, the Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, and one or two others did not put in an appearance, so that, though thirty-six delegates were appointed, only twenty-seven attended the meetings of the Congress. There were also more than fifty 'membres adhérents au Congrès,' some of whom were present and read papers or sent papers to be read there.

A preliminary meeting was held on Wednesday, December 3rd, under the presidency of M. Finot, President of the Committee of Organisation and Director of the Ecole Française d'Extrême-Orient, who was, as a matter of course, elected president of the Congress. Presidents and secretaries were also elected for the three sections into which the Congress was divided, namely, (1) India, (2) China and Japan, and (3) Indo-China. Three Commissions were also appointed. The first Commission was to report on the subject of the transcription of Annamite, Thai and the other languages of Indo-China. The second was to consider the plan on which a manual of Indo-Chinese philology should be prepared. The third was to report on the Buddhist Sanskrit-Chinese dictionary being prepared by three Japanese scholars with the collaboration of the French School of the Far East. Finally it was determined to follow the example of the Congress of Hamburg, and publish only summaries of the papers read and of the remarks made in the discussion of the papers.

On the morning of December 4th the Congress was formally opened by M. Beau, Governor-General of Indo-China, who commenced the proceedings by welcoming the Congress in a short speech. M. Finot, the president of the Congress, and eight of the leading delegates made appropriate replies, the most striking of which was that of the Count de Pullé, one of the Italian delegates, who in an eloquent and impassioned speech showed how such Congresses of learned men, assembled from different parts of the world, promote international sympathy and do much to remove the mutual distrust of nations. His oration was much applauded, in which he expressed an earnest hope that the Congress at Hanoi would forge an additional link of sympathy between the great nations of France and Italy already united in sentiment by the consciousness of their common Latin origin and by the fact that they shared the blessings of living under free Governments. The regular business of the Congress began the same afternoon after the usual interval of three hours for *dejeuner* and repose that is kept sacred in the French cities of Indo-China. The Congress, either collectively or in its separate sections, had nine sittings on December 4th, 5th, 6th and 8th, at which nearly fifty discourses were delivered. Owing to the number of papers, only a very limited time could be allowed to each and to the discussion of the questions treated in the papers. Most of them were in French, but the Japanese, American, and English delegates were allowed to address the Congress in English. A great variety of Oriental subjects were expounded and discussed. Professor Lieblein, the veteran Egyptologist, who had come all the way from Norway, gave two discourses—one on the name of Amenophis IV, the other on the myth of Io. He also took part with the Count de Pullé in an erudite duet on the Egyptian ‘Puni,’ meaning Phœnician, and the Sanskrit ‘pani,’ meaning the people, especially the mercantile class, tending to show that there was once a Phœnician colony in India in whose hands was the commerce with Egypt mentioned in the Bible. Dr. Cordier, of Pondicherry, gave an account of a large number of Sanskrit works on medicine recently discovered by himself or others pursuing the same line of investigation. Shams-ul-Ulama Jivanjee Jamshedjee Modi’s paper on the references to China that are to be found in the ancient books of the Parsees was read before the Indian section. M. de Fontainieu read a paper on the pagotins and puranas of Southern India, the pagotin being the embryonic form which developed into the pagoda, while the Southern India puranas contain the legends connected with the origin of the pagotins. Captain Pfoundes, an Irish captain, who was old enough to have taken part in the war with China due to the Arrow incident, explained the symbolism of Buddhist ceremonies and showed

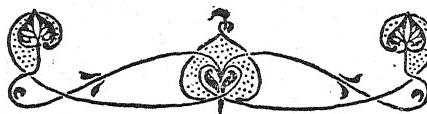
various vestments, scarfs, and rosaries that he had received as marks of his position in the hierarchy of Buddhist free-masonry; for he had settled in Japan and turned Buddhist, and thus been initiated into many of the inner mysteries of that religion unknown to scholars who studied the subject from the outside. The veteran Dupois, who distinguished himself by his intrepid explorations in Tonkin thirty years ago, did not read any paper, but took part in the discussions. Many papers were read on Indo-Chinese ethnography, philology, geography and archæology, those being naturally the most interesting subjects to the French colony at whose capital the Congress held its sittings. To us in India especial interest must attach to the account given by the Count de Pullé of his researches in Indian cartography. In his address he gave a summary of the contents of the third part of his work on the ancient cartography of India, of which the first part, presented to the Congress of Rome, has already been published in the fourth volume of the 'Studi Italiani di Filologia Indo-Iranica,' and the second part, presented to the Congress of Hamburg, is now passing through the press. This third part comprehends the period of the Renaissance and the first century after the voyage of Vasco da Gama. The Count de Pullé remarked that even before Vasco da Gama's famous voyage some positive knowledge of Indian geography had reached the West, and had gradually modified the representation of India in certain maps. It was interesting to follow the development of Indian cartography up to the middle of the seventeenth century and to observe that different representations of the shape of the peninsula characterised the schools of cartography in different nations. He insisted on the fact that the knowledge of the ideas formed by ancient geographers was indispensable for the identification of names and other geographical facts, so that cartography was indispensable as the first chapter of all historical geography. The address was illustrated by a magnificent display of maps. It will be interesting to the Indian public to know that the learned Count is coming to India with his boxes full of these maps, and that he will presently repeat his discourse in Calcutta and, if possible, in Bombay.

The final session of the Congress was held on the afternoon of December 8th. At this meeting it was first resolved that the Congress should be entitled "Le Premier Congrès International des Etudes d'Extrême-Orient." It was further resolved that the Count de Pullé, being exceptionally qualified for the work by his study of Indian cartography, should be invited to undertake a work on the ancient topography of Indo-China; that the adoption of a more rational method of transcription of Annamite on the basis proposed by the Transcription

Commission of the Congress should be recommended ; that a system of transcription for Thai should be presently determined by the Ecole Francaise d'Extrême-Orient ; that European Orientalists should be invited to make such suggestions as might aid Messrs. Nanjio, Takakusu, and Tokiwai in the compilation of the Buddhist Sankrit-Chinese dictionary they are preparing, and that the Japanese Government should be asked to encourage by all means a work destined to be an honour to Japanese science ; and that the plan of a manual of Indo-Chinese philology, which was being prepared by Colonel Gerini, should be approved by the Congress. Such were the main results of the Congress, which was concluded by a final address given by M. Finot, the President.

The regular meetings of the Congress were agreeably varied by two banquets and by two interesting and well-planned excursions. One banquet was given to the Congress at the Metropole Hotel by the official members ; the other was given by M. Beau at Government House. At the former banquet the foreign members of the Congress returned thanks for their hospitable entertainment in thirteen different languages. The excursions enabled the Congress to see not only archæological monuments but also something of the life led by the natives and the French settlers in the country districts of Tonkin. In the first and shorter excursion the members of the Congress went by the early morning train to the small station of the pagoda of Lim. A short walk took us to the municipal hall of the small village community, where we were received with dragon standards and flags and other symbols of honour. After taking refreshment we walked to the pagoda preceded by the flag of the Irish Buddhist, which represented rays of light proceeding from the mystic svastica in the centre. When we reached the pagoda we found a service going on. It was strange to see the impassive faces of the priests, who composedly chanted their hymns and took not the slightest notice of the strangers assembled in their temple from the farthest parts of the earth. Behind the altar there were numerous images of Buddha. In the back part of the temple building there were cloisters full of images of Buddha and his disciples, many of which looked as if they might be good likenesses of real persons. At a little distance was an enclosure devoted to the memory of a past benefactor of the place. It contained a large stone chair for the man and a smaller one for his wife, and before the chairs were images of men and horses sculptured in stone. From the height on which this mausoleum was built a good view could be obtained of the surrounding country, the most remarkable features of which were the villages enclosed in great hedges of bamboo. These high hedges were dangerous obstacles to the French troops

when they were effecting the conquest of the country. They must in the present days of peace prove very useful means of keeping undesirable visitors, human or animal, out of the villages. When they had seen all that was to be seen at Lim, the Congress returned to the train, which took them back as far as Phu-tu-Son on the way to Hanoi. Here they had 'dejeuner' and saw more Buddhist temples and memorials of old dynasties of kings. The second excursion to the frontier of China was on a large scale and took two days. The party had the satisfaction of setting foot in the Celestial Empire, where they were entertained at tea by the Chinese colonel in command of the frontier fortress. The hilly scenery on the border was very beautiful, and there was a large grotto to explore. This expedition was the last event on the programme of the Congress. After returning to Hanoi, the members set about preparing for their departure to their respective homes, delighted with the hospitable reception they had received and the many wonders they had seen, and not dissatisfied with the results of their learned labours.



ART. XVI—*A Śilār grant of Śaka 1049.*

BY K. B. PATHAK, B.A.,

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(Communicated, March 1903.)

This copperplate grant has been obtained by me through the kindness of a friend at Poona. It belongs to a blacksmith of Vadavali near Thana. It consists of three plates. The first and the last have rims to protect the writing and are inscribed on one side only. Each plate measures $10\frac{3}{8}$ " by $8\frac{1}{4}$ " and has a hole in the lower part for a ring to connect them. The ring was lost when the grant came into my hands. The inscription is written in Nâgari characters and the Sanskrit language. It is in prose and verse. Like other grants of this line it frequently uses s (॒) where we should expect s (॒॑) or sh (॒॑). It records that in Śaka 1049 expired, the cyclic year being Plavamga, on Friday, the 15th of the bright half of the month Kârtika, the great feudatory king Aparâdityadêva granted to a Brahmin of the Vâji-Mâdhyandina Śâkhâ the village of Vadavali together with fields in the village of Môra.

This inscription is very interesting. It clears up many obscure points in the history of the Śilâr or Śilâhâr Kings of Thana. The king calls himself Aparâjita or Aparâditya, the son of Anantadêva and the grandson of Nâgârjuna. The date of the grant being Śaka 1049, or A.D. 1127, it is plain that this is the Aparâditya, "the Lord of the Konkan," who is mentioned in Mankha's Śrikanthacharita as sending Têjakantha from Śûrpâraka or Sopârâ to the literary congress held at Kashmir in the reign of Jayasimha whose period appears to be A.D. 1129 to 1150.¹

There were frequent wars between the Kâdambas of Goa and the Śilâhâras of Northern Konkana. We learn from old Kanarese inscriptions that Jayakêsi I, King of Gova, invaded and conquered Kavadidvîpa and slew its king who is believed to have been the Mummuṇi of the present grant and the uncle of Anantapâla, the father of Aparâditya. Kavadidvîpa is easily identified with the kingdom of the Thana Śilâhâras, so named after Kapardi I or II mentioned in the present inscription. However, Anantadêva, the father of Aparâditya, seems to have retrieved the fortune of his family.²

¹. J. Bom. Br. R. A. S., 1877, pp. 50, 51.

². Bombay Gazetteer, Vol. I, Part II, p. 544.

In ll. 32—35 of the present inscription we read :—“ There arose a demon by name Chchittukka, a very god of death, to destroy the world. Then the whole confederacy of his feudatories thus assembled. The religious forest being devastated, the elders having perished, the treasury being empty, the prosperity of the country having waned in which townspeople and their followers greatly suffered, there remained only one horse, his two arms and a sword. Drawing it quickly Aparāditya boldly faced the enemy. The latter was at a loss to know clearly whether to fight or take to flight, and through fear of him sought refuge in the territory of the Mlechchhas.” Chittukka or Chhattuga³, being a well-known Kâdamba title, we can easily conclude that the enemy mentioned in the foregoing passage was no other than Jayakêsi II. He is described, in an inscription dated Śaka 1048, as ruling over Kavadidvîpa and some other provinces, while in another inscription dated six months later Kavadidvîpa is omitted from the list of possessions belonging to Jayakêsi II.⁴ From these facts it is easy to infer that between Śaka 1048 and 1049 Aparāditya inflicted a heavy defeat upon Jayakêsi II. and recovered the territory that once belonged to his ancestors. It is highly probable that on this occasion Aparāditya received assistance from Vijayâditya, his kinsman of the Kolâpur branch, who is said to have reinstated the fallen lords of Thana in their kingdom.

This grant is also of interest in furnishing a correct interpretation of the date of the inscription in the temple of Ambarnâth near Kalyâna which has formed the subject of controversy among scholars. The date consists of three decimal figures, the first of which closely resembles the modern Nâgari 7. Dr. Bhau Daji read the date as Śaka-samvat 782. Dr. Bhagavanlal Indraji, on the other hand, interpreted it as Śaka-amvat 982 because a figure closely resembling the modern Nâgari 7 really stands for 9 in the Vallabhi grants and in an inscription of Bhôjadêva at Gwalior, dated in the Vikrama year 933. Dr. Fleet has contributed an elaborate paper⁵ in which he upholds Dr. Bhau Daji's reading on the grounds (1) that in the Vallabhi grants we are concerned with numerical symbols and (2) that we are dealing with very different parts of the country in respect of the Ambarnâth and Gwalior inscriptions. These objections are removed by the present grant⁶ in which the last figure in the date closely resembles the modern Nâgari 7 though its value is distinctly given in words as 9. This affords an interesting confirmation of Dr. Bhagavanlal's reading of the date in the Ambarnâth inscription as Śaka 982.

³. *Idem.*, p. 559.

⁴. *Idem.*, p. 568.

⁵. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 94.

⁶. The present paper is accompanied by an impression of the original plates, which has been kindly prepared by Mr. H. Cousins, the Superintendent, Archæological Survey, Western India.

TRANSCRIPTION.

(1st PLATE,)

१. उँनमो विनायकाय ॥ लभते सर्वक(का) येषु पूजय(या) गणना यकः । विद्वां(भान्)
निन्द्रन्स वः पायादपाया-

२. दणनायकः ॥ स वः पातु शिवो नित्यं यन्मौलौ भाति जान्हवी । सुमेशशिखरोहच्छ-
दच्छचंद्रकलो-

३. पमा । जीमूतकेतुतनयो नियतं दयालुर्ज्ञमूतवाहन इति त्रिजग[त्]प्रसिद्धः । देहं
निज(जं) तृष्णमि-

४. वाकलयन्परार्थं यो रक्षति स्म गहडात्वलु शंखचूडम् । तस्यान्ये निखिल-
भूपतिमौलिल-

५. परत्नयुतिच्छुरितनिर्भलपादपीठः । श्रीसाहस्रं इव साहस्रिकः कपर्दी शीलार-
वंशतिलका (को)

६. वृपतिर्बं (बं) भूव । तस्मादभूच्च तनयः पुलशक्तिनामा सीमासमः सुरगुरुदितराजनीतेः ।
निजि(जिं)-

७. व्यं संगरमुख(खे) उद्धिलवैरिवर्गं निष्कंटकं जगति राज्यमकारि येन ॥ ततश्च
समभूसुतो नृप-

८. सि(शि)रोविभूषामणिः शितः शृणिरिवापरोऽरिकरिणां कपर्दीं लघुः । यदीयथ-
स(श)सा जगत्यति-

९. शयेन शुङ्कीक्रते न भाति सुरवारणो न च शसी(शी) म(न) हुङ्घांबुधिः ॥
तस्मादप्यभवद्विभूतिपदवीपात्रं

१०. पा(प)विचीकृताशेषक्षमावलयो महीपातिलकः श्रीवपुवज्ञः सुतः । संग्रामांगण-
रंगिणाऽसिलत-

११. या लूनैकदन्ता हठात्सर्वे येन विनायका विरचिता विहि(द्वे)विणा दन्तिनः ॥
तस्माज्ञातस्तनु(नू)जो र-

१२. जनिकर इवानंदिताशेषलोकः श्वाद्यः श्रीझंजराजो दिवसकर इव ध्वस्तनिःशेषदोषः ।

१३. शंभोयौ द्वादशापि व्यरचयदिवरात्कीर्तनानि स्वनाम्ना सोपनानीव मन्येत्र(प्र)-

पततुभृतां स्व-

१४. गर्भमाण्या(गर्भो)यतानां ॥ ध्राता तस्य ततस्ततोऽज्व(ज्व)लयश्वरासिः(शिः)
प्रकासी(शी)कृताशेषक्षमावलयो व(ब)ली व(ब)ल-

१५. वतां श्रीगोग्गराजोऽभवत् । चापाकर्षणकर्मणि प्रगुणतां तस्मिन्यते भूपतौ भीषम-
द्रोणप्र(पु)-

१६. थासुतप्रभृतयः सर्वे चमत्कारिताः ॥ तस्माद्विस्मयकारिहारिचरितप्रख्यातकिर्तिः
सुतः श्री-

१७. मान्जजडेवभूपतिरभूद्धूचक चूडामणिः । दोईऽडैकव(व)लस्य यस्य सहस्रा सप्तमरं-
गाणे राज्यश्रीः ॥

१८. स्वयेमत्य वशसि रतिं चक्रे मुरोरिव ॥ जयन्त इव वृत्रारेः पुरोरिव लण्मुखः
ततः श्रीमानभू-
१९. तुवः सम्प्रतापोऽपराजितः ॥ स(श)रणागतसामन्ता अपेरपि हि जगति राक्षिता
येन । स जयति
२०. यथार्थनामा स(श)रणागतवज्ञापंजरो देवः ॥ श्रीमानभूतदनु वज्ञाडेवनामा भूपालम्
२१. स्तकमणिस्तनयो नयसः । अथापि यस्य चरितानि जनाः समस्ता रोमांचकंचुकितगाव्र-
(2nd PLATE, a.)
२२. लता स्तुवन्ति । तद्राताथ ततोऽरिकेसरिण्यः जातः सतां सम्मतो दृष्टारातिक(कु)-
लाचलैकदलते दंभो-
२३. लिलालौं दधत् । गत्वा सै(शै)शव एव सैन्यसहितो द्वद्वा च सौमेस्व (श्व) रं तस्यामे
पितुराचया जगदलं यः
२४. कीलयित्वागतः ॥ तद्रातृजो वज्ञाडेवमूनुः श्रीच्छित्तराजो नुपतिर्व(बं)भूव ।
शीलारवंशः शिषु(शु) नामि
२५. येन नीतः परामुक्तिमुक्ततेन ॥ दृष्टारातिसु(षु) कोपकालदहनः सौभाग्यनारायणो
वारस्त्रीषु ततोनुजः
२६. समभवत्रागार्जुनक्षमापतिः । यस्याऽमातुषमूर्जितं भुजबलं दूरात्रिस(श)म्य द्विषा
निद्रातीव रणांगणव्यस-
२७. निनी दौर्विष्टकण्डलता ॥ तदनु तदनुजन्मा मूर्त्तिमान्मीनकेतुः क्षतरपुविभौभू-
मुमुक्षिक्षेणिपाल-
२८. : । विवृतधनुषि यस्मिन्वाजिनीराजनान्ते व(व)लभिदपि व(व)लीयान्वार्षिकं चाप-
मौड़द्वा । तस्मिन् (श्व) ये प्रवरकी-
२९. तिस(श)रीरमाजि नागार्जुनस्य तनयो नयचक्रवर्ती । भूपोभवत्परमधर्मविसु(शु)द्व-
देहः शीलारणोत्तर-
३०. परत्नमनन्तपालः ॥ श्रीनामार्जुनर(रा) जसूनुतनयो जित्वा ततो भूतलं स श्रीमान-
पराजिताख्यनृपतिः पाठुं
३१. समर्थोऽभवत् । पुण्यस्त्रासितं थिया विकासितं तैजोभिरुजं (जूं)भितं शौ(शौ)-
र्थे(र्थे)पोदितमुच्छ्रितं गुण [ग]पैर्यस्मि-
३२. न्महीं शासति ॥ आशी(सी)कोप्यसुरो जगदलयितुं च्छुक्कनामान्तकस्तस्यैवं
समस्तमेव मिलितं सामन्त-
३३. चक्रं ततः । ध्वस्ते धर्मवने गतेषु गुरुषु लिष्टे विभासंश]ये ॥ श्रीर्णे जीर्ण-
पुरजापरिज्ञने नष्टे च राष्ट्रोद-
३४. ये॥ एकचैकतुरंगमश्च भुजयोद्धृद्धृच खड़श्च तं द्राक्षद्वा कठ(ठि)ने रणे सरभस
तस्मन्मु(म्मु)खं धावितः ॥ नायो-
३५. दुः न पलायितुं किमपि वा ज्ञातंच तेन स्फुटं संग्रामं परिहृत्य यस्य च भिया म्लेच्छा-
श्चये संस्थितः ॥ धैर्यों(यैं)दार्य-
३६. विवेकविक्रमविधिर्गर्भार्थ्यमुद्रांबुधिः सौभाग्यैकविधिः प्रसिद्धविलसत्संगीतविद्यावधिः ।
शश्वाणा

३७. सगुणार्जुनप्रतिनिधिर्जीर्णात्सहस्रं समाः स श्रीमानपराजितो निरवधिः सौ(शौ)र्येण
सत्सविधिः ॥ अ-
३८. थ स्य(स्व)कीयपुण्योदया [त] समधिगतपंचमहाशब्दमहासामन्ताधिपतितगरपुर-
परमेस्व(इव)रशीलारामरं (ईं) द्र-
३९. जीमूतवाहनात्वयप्रसूत मुवर्णगरुडध्वज ३. भिमानमहोदधित्यागजगजं(जङ्गं)परायपि-
तामह शरणागत-
४०. वज्रपंजेरेत्यादिनिखिलराजावलीसमलंकृतमहामण्डलेस्व(इव)रशीमदपरादित्यदेव(वे)
कल्याणविजयराज्य-
४१. निजभुजोपार्जितानेकमण्डलसमेतपुरीप्रमुखचतुर्दशग्रामस(श)तीसमन्वितसमस्तकोंक-
णभुवं समनु-
४२. शासति ततैतत्प्रसादावाप्तसमस्तराज्यचिन्ताभारं समुद्रहति महामात्यश्रीलक्ष्मणनायकः
महासान्धि-
४३. विग्रहिक श्री श्रीकरण भाण्डागारे प्रथमच्छेपाटी महाप्रधानश्रीलक्ष्मणैयप्र[भु]स्तथा
द्वितीयच्छे-
- (2nd PLATE, b.)
४४. पाटी प्रधान श्रीच्छित्तमैय प्रभु इत्यादि श्रीकरणे सत्येतस्मिन्काले प्रवर्त्तमाने सति ।
महामण्ड-
४५. लेस्व(इव)रशीमदपरादित्यदेवराजः सर्वान्ये (ने)व स्वसंबद्धमानकानन्यानपि समा-
गमिराजपुत्रमंत्रि-
४६. पुरोहितामात्यप्रधानाप्रधाना नियोगिकां स्तथा राष्ट्रपतिविषयप्रतिनगरप्रतिभासप्रतिनि-
४७. युक्तानियुक्तराजपुरुषजनपदास्तथा हंजमननगरपौरात्रिवर्गप्रभृतीश्च प्रणतिपुजासत्कृतिस-
४८. मादसै॒(शै) संदिशत्यस्तु वः संविदितंयथा ॥ चला विभूतिः क्षणभांगि यौवने कृतांत-
दंतान्तरवर्त्ति जीवितं ।
४९. तथायवज्ञ परलोकसाधने नृणामहो विस्मयकारि चेष्टितं ॥ तथा चोक्ते भगव-
त्य (ता) व्यासेन ॥ समाग-
५०. मा: सापगमा: सर्वमुन्पादि भंगुरं कायः सन्त्रिहितापायः संपदः पदमापदां ॥ मातुष्ये
कदलीसंरंगे
५१. निःसारे सारमार्गं । करोति यः स संमूढो जलबुद्धसत्रिभो(भे) ॥ अतिदानं तु सर्वेषां
मूमिदानमि-
५२. होच्यते । अचला ह्यक्षया भूमिः सर्वान्कामान्प्रयच्छति ॥ अग्निष्ठोमादिभिय(र्य)-
ज्ञैरिष्टा विपुलदक्षिणैः । न
५३. तत्फलमुवाप्नोति यदह्न्वा वसुधां नृप ॥ इति धर्माधर्मविचारचतुरचिरन्तनमुनिवचना-
न्यवधार्य
५४. मातापित्रोरात्मनश्च श्रेयोर्धिना मया महामण्डलेश्वरश्रीमदपरादित्यदेवेन शक्तवृपक-
(का)लाती-
५५. तसंवत्सरशेतषु दशस्त्रेकोनप(पं)चाशद्भ्यधिकेषु लक्ष्मणस(सं)वत्सरान्तरगांतकार्त्तिक-
शुद्धपंचदशया(रया) त्रुक्ते य-



७५. पि समागामिभिरस्मद्दंशजैरन्यैर्वा भूपालैः पालनधर्मफललोभ एव करणीयः । न
पुनस्तत्त्वो-

७६. पतपापकलंकाग्रेसोण न केनापि भवितव्यं ॥ यस्त्वेवम्यर्थितोपि लोभादज्ञान-
तिमिरपट्टला-

७७. वृत्तमतिराच्छिद्यादाच्छिद्यमानमनुमोदेत वा पंचभिरपि पातकैरूपपातकैश्च लिपो रौरव-

७८. महारौरवावतामिक्षादिनरकांश्चिरमनुभविष्यति । यथोक्त (क्तं) भगवता व्यासेन ।

स्वदत्ता(ता) पर-

७९. दत्ता(ता) वा यो हरेत वसुंधरा(रा) । स विशायां कृमिर्मूल्वा कृमिभिः सह पञ्चते ॥
विःयाटवीष्वतोयासु

८०. शुष्ककोटरवासिनः । महाहयो हि जार्यते भूमिदानं हरन्ति ये ॥ यथा चैतदेवं तथा
शासन-

८१. दाता लेखकहस्तेन स्वमतमारोपयति । मतं मम महामण्डलेश्वरभीमदपरादित्यदेवस्य

८२. महामण्डलेश्वर श्रीमदनन्तदेवराजमूर्णोर्यदत्रशासने लिखितं । लिखितं चैतन्मया श्रीम-

८३. द्राज्ञा (जा) नुज्या ॥ भण्डाग (गा) रे प्रथमच्छेपाटी महाप्रधान श्रीलक्ष्मणैयैन यदत्रो-
नाक्षरमधि-

८४. काक्षरं वा तत्संवं प्रम(मा)णमिति ॥ मंगलमहाश्री [:]

TRANSLATION.

Hail, salutation to Vinâyaka. May Gananâyaka, removing obstacles, protect you from harm, who obtains respect by worship in all undertakings. May that S'iva ever protect you, on whose crest shines the Ganges resembling the bright digit of the moon rising on the top of good Mêru. In the line of him who was the son of Jimûtakêtu, really merciful and well-known in the three worlds as Jimûtavâhana, and who, indeed, accounting his body as straw for the sake of others, protected S'amkhachûda from an eagle, there was born King Kapardi, an ornament of the S'ilâra family, who was as brave as the prosperous Sâhasâmka and whose stainless footstool was variegated by the lustre of the gems set in the crests of all kings. To him there was born a son by name Pulas'akti who attained the highest proficiency in politics taught by Brihaspati, the preceptor of the gods, who, having vanquished the multitude of all his enemies, reigned unmolested in the world; and from him sprang Kapardi the younger, who was the crest-jewel of kings, who was, as it were, another sharp goad to his elephant-like enemies and whose renown illuminating the world, neither the elephant of the gods, nor the moon nor yet the milky ocean shone any more. And to him there was born a son, the glorious Vappuvanna, an ornament of kings who had purified the circle of the whole earth and occupied a position of affluence and, who delighting in the battlefield cut off with a creeper-like sword, the principal tusks of all the elephants of his enemies and deprived them of their drivers suddenly. To him was born a son Jhamjharâja who like the moon had delighted the whole earth, who was praiseworthy and who was free from all defects like the sun which dispels all night, and who quickly built twelve temples of S'iva in his name, which I regard as flights of steps for religious men desirous of attaining to heaven. Next came his brother of still more brilliant fame, the glorious Goggarâja, who had lighted up the whole circle of earth and who was powerful among the powerful. When the king acquired proficiency in the matter of drawing the bow, Bhîshma, Drôna, Arjuna and others were all filled with admiration. After him came his son the prosperous King Vajjadadêva, a crest-jewel of the circle of the earth, whose fame was distinguished by conduct which evoked admiration and was charming. On the breast of him whose sole power lay in his arm, as on that of Murâri, the goddess of sovereignty coming suddenly and of her own accord into the battlefield, disported herself. As Jayanta was born to Indra and as Kârtikêya to S'iva, so there was born to him (Vajjadadêva) a son glorious and of good progress, Aparâjita.

Victorious is he, rightly named King S'aranâgatavajrapamjara, because he protected in the world other feudatory kings who sought refuge with him. After him came his glorious son named Vajjadadêva, well versed in politics and crest-jewel of kings, whose actions are to this day praised by all people whose creeper-like bodies have their hair standing on end. Then his brother Arikêsari became king, highly respected by the good and acting as a thunderbolt in destroying thoroughly his insolent foes resembling great mountains. Accompanied by an army, while still a child, he went and visited Sômîs'vara, and in his presence, at the command of his father, he firmly fixed the world (*i.e.* offered it) and came away. His nephew and the son of Vajjadadêva, the glorious Chittarâja became king, by whom eminent, though a child, the S'ilâra line was raised to a high pitch of eminence. Next came his brother King Nâgârjuna, who was a wrathful and destructive fire to insolent foes, and a Nârâyan in beauty to dancing girls. Having heard at a distance the prowess of his arm which was exalted and superhuman, the eagerness of his foes for fighting, goes, as it were, to sleep, being distressed in the battlefield. After him reigned King Mummuni, an incarnation of the god of love, who had put an end to the prosperity of his enemies. When he drew his bow after the worship of his horses, Indra, powerful though he was, abandoned his rainbow. That king having assumed the form of bright fame, Anantapâla, the son of Nâgârjuna, jewel among the kings of the S'ilâra line, an emperor in politics, whose body was purified by the highest religious performances, became king. After him, the well-known and prosperous king named Aparâjita, the son's son of the glorious Nâgârjuna, after conquering the world, became able to protect it. While he was ruling over the earth, worth, prosperity, beauty, heroism and a multitude of virtues shone forth. There arose a certain giant by name Chhittukka, a very god of death, to destroy the earth. Then the whole confederacy of his feudatory kings thus assembled. The holy forest being devastated, the elders having perished, the treasury being empty, the prosperity of the country having waned in which towns, subjects and retainers were destroyed, [there was left] only one horse, his two shoulders and his sword. Drawing it quickly in the dreadful battlefield he impetuously faced him [the enemy]. He did not know clearly whether he should fight or take to flight and avoiding the battle, he took refuge with the foreigners through fear of him [Aparâjita]. May that glorious Aparâjita live a thousand years, who is a Brahma in bravery, liberality, wisdom and valour, an ocean in the gravity of his face, the sole repository of good luck, an expert in the well-known and luminous science of music, an image of the virtuous Arjuna in the use of weapons, of limitless heroism and

attended by saints ! While the glorious Aparâdityadêva, the great feudatory king adorned with all kingly titles including the following—he who, through the rise of his own merit, has acquired the five great musical instruments, the lord of great feudatories, the lord of the city of Tagara, the great king of the S'ilâras, sprung from the line of Jimûtavâhana, he who has a banner of a golden eagle, a great ocean of pride unsurpassed in liberality, a Brahma among kings, a cage of adamant to those who sought refuge is ruling over all the Konkana District together with fourteen hundred villages the chief of which was Puri, and several kingdoms won with his arm in his auspicious and victorious reign, there the burden of all the cares of the government obtained through his favour is borne by the glorious Lakshmananâyaka the great minister for peace and war ; and the great minister of the first rank at the Treasury is the Lakshmanaiyaprabhu, and the minister of the second rank is the glorious Chchhitamaiya-prabhu. When they formed the ministry at the present time, the great feudatory king the glorious Aparâdityadêva issues the following command with a respectful bow to all persons whether they are his own relations or others, including future princes, ministers, priests, officers in towns, districts and villages, &c., &c., and the three classes of people in the town of Hamjamana.

May it be known to you, prosperity is fickle ; youth is momentary ; life is at the mercy of the god of death ; nevertheless indifference prevails as regards securing a better world. How astonishing is the conduct of mankind ! It is also said by the venerable Vyâsa—Unions are attended by separations ; everything born is liable to die ; the body is in imminent danger of perishing ; riches are a source of distress. He who seeks for stability in unstable human life resembling the trunk of a plantain tree and bubbles on the surface of water, is greatly deceived. Here the gift of land is spoken of as the highest of all ; for imperishable and stable land yields all wishes : one does not obtain by the performance of Agnishtôma and other sacrifices with liberal offers of money to Brahmins, that fruit which is the reward of a gift of land, O King ! Reflecting on these sayings of the ancient sages well-versed in discriminating between what is religious and irreligious, and seeking my own salvation and that of my parents, I the great feudatory king the glorious Aparâdityadêva, took a bath in sacred waters when one thousand and forty-nine years of the era of the S'aka kings had passed away, on Friday the fifteenth of the bright half of Kârtika, in the cyclic year Plavamga, in figures also, S'aka year 1049, on Friday the 15th of the bright half of Kârtika, the full moon being the most auspicious day ; made an excellent offering of flowers of various kinds to the venerable sun,

the lover of the lotus-creeper and the crest-jewel of the sole expanse of the sky, worshipped the venerable S'iva, the lord of the three worlds and the father of all the gods and demons, and granted to Trivikrama Yâjnika, the son of Ananta Agnihôtri, of the Vâji-Mâdhyandina S'âkhâ and of Vârêshagana Gôtra the most eminent Brâhmaṇa, well versed in sacrificial ritual and devoted to the performance of six religious acts such as sacrificing, helping in sacrifices, learning, teaching, &c., and also for bali, &c., for the support of guests and his own maintenance the village of Vadavali in the district of Varakûta together with all the king's dues such as houses, trees, &c., &c., and its boundaries are :—To the east, the royal road and the limit of Vâdani ; to the south, the field of Nêhâ and a cart road ; to the west, the Ghôrapada river and the glorious god Samgamêsvara ; to the north, the Movvali river; and also a salt marsh in the village of Môra in the district of Khajjana-Vanêtikâ ; and its boundaries are :—To the east, the limit of the field of the god ; to the south, the limit of the grove ; to the west, the limit of the cows' grazing pasture ; to the north, the limit of the tank. Thus bounded on four sides they were given up to their own limits, as a namasya grant, not to be entered by the king's officers, together with grass wood and water, with fines levied on offences, with all their productions, excepting taxes levied from merchants, &c.

and gifts formerly made to the gods and Brahmins, with libations of water and great devotion. While he together with his relations is enjoying or is allowing others to enjoy it, nobody shall rob him, since it has been already said by great sages : the earth has been enjoyed by many kings beginning with Sagara. Whoever is possessed of the earth, enjoys the fruit of it for the time being. What good man will ever resume gifts which were formerly made by kings, which are calculated to promote religious merits, wealth and fame and which are regarded as leavings ? Having made a gift of land Râmabhadra entreats future kings over and over again “ This bridge of religion is common to all kings ; you should protect it from time to time. Having remembered these utterances of ancient sages well versed in discriminating between what is religious and what is not, all future kings, whether of our line or others, should take delight in acquiring the reward of religious act of preservation. On the other hand nobody should take the lead in the simple act of destroying this grant. But though thus entreated he whose mind is obscured by the cloud of darkness of ignorance and who should destroy or consent to destroying it, would be guilty of the five great sins and minor sins and would long feel the torments of hells such as raurava, &c., &c. as is said by the revered Vyâsa : He who

resumes a grant made by himself or others will be born as a worm in ordure and will be tormented with worms. For they who resume a gift of land will be born as large snakes living in the dry hollows of trees in the waterless forests of the Vindhya. As is described above so the grantor of this edict commits his opinion to writing by the hand of a scribe. Whatever is written in this edict is the opinion of me the great feudatory king the illustrious Aparādityadēva, the son of the great feudatory king the glorious Ananta dēvarājā. And this is written at the command of the illustrious king by me, the glorious Lakshamanaiya, the great minister of the first rank at the treasury. Whatever may be superfluous or wanting here, this is all authoritative; auspicious, great prosperity.



ART. XVII—*Matheran Folk Songs.*

By PROFESSOR M. MACMILLAN, B.A.

(Read 7th April 1903.)

SOME years ago, in the leafy glades of Matheran, my old friend Mr. Douglas heard the labourers at work on the road beguiling their toil with a song in which the name of Bombay appeared to be of frequent occurrence. This excited my curiosity to know what these poor native workmen had to say and sing about this great city. I determined to investigate the matter ; and the result of my enquiries was the discovery of the following song, which as far as I know had never before been printed. I have translated it into English in the metre of the original, except that I have not managed to keep the same double rhyme all through. In the original as you will see the double rhyme often consists in the repetition of the same word at the end of the verse—a liberty which is sometimes taken by Spenser in the "Fairy Queen" and by Italian poets. An extra treble rhyme that appears in the first half of one verse is omitted in the translation of that verse, but partly compensated for by the insertion of a double rhyme in the same position in another verse of the translation :—

SONG IN MARATHI.

Mother. Leka, Bombechi nawri || karun dein tula,
Ghodachi gadi madhye || nein tula.

Son. Bombechi barfi || pahije tila,
Amadabadi lugade || ti magil mala.
Jarichi choli ata || kothun anu tila ?
Bombechi bayko || nako ge mala ;
Char dodayachi pan-supari || magate khayala.

Mother. Leka, khasil ka ? || nahito marin tula,
Sarkari kothari madhye || ghalin tula.

Son. Ai, Jeengi bayko || karun de ge mala,
Na karsil tar, ai || palun jain deshala.
Bombechi bayko || nako ge mala ;
Char dodayachi pan-supari || magate khayala.

Mother. Leka, char paise || dein tula,
Karchyala || pan-suparila.
Talawar malawar || nein tula,
Jambul Peru || charin tula,
Khurchi tablewar || baswin tula.

Son. Bombechi bayko || nako ge mala ;
Char dodayachi pan-supari || magate khayala.

ENGLISH VERSE TRANSLATION.

Mother. My son, a wife in Bombay || I've ready for your marriage,
To Bombay I'll take you || with a horse and carriage.

Son. She'd live on Bombay sweetmeats ; || her I'll never marry,
She'd be always wanting || from Ahmedabad a sari,
And how am I to get her || a bodice of phulkari ?
No wife from Bombay || will I ever marry,
She'd want each day an anna || to buy pan-supari.

Mother. My son, I'll beat you || if you more gainsay me,
Or have you put in prison || if you won't obey me,

Son. Mother, my Jingi || you must let me marry,
If you don't here I won't || any longer tarry.
No wife from Bombay || will I ever marry,
She'd want each day an anna || to buy pan-supari.

Mother. My son, an anna || I'll give you when you marry,
To pay your expenses || and buy the pan-supari.
To a lovely garden || near a tank I'll lead you,
Where with jambul berries || and guavas I'll feed you.
A Bombay bed to sleep on || I, my son, will get you,
And beside a table || on a chair I'll set you.

Son. No wife from Bombay || will I ever marry.
She'd want each day an anna || to buy pan-supari.

The song appears to be a Koli song, that is to say, a song composed by a poet belonging to the large caste called Kolis, who have given their name to the two promontories called Colaba near Bombay, and from whom the English word cooly used in Bombay in the sense of porter or bearer of burdens and in the West Indies and South Africa in the sense of labourer imported from the East is generally supposed to be derived, although the derivation is doubtful. The members of the caste are engaged in fishing and agriculture. The fishermen belonging to it are easily recognisable in Bombay by their red caps. They have a natural fondness for composing and singing songs in which they set the fashion to the Marathas in Bombay and elsewhere. Last November Mr. B. L. Welinkar kindly brought some Maratha mill hands to sing before me the song I am bringing to your notice. Two of them danced and marked the time by their steps and by rhythmical movements of their umbrellas. When asked why they waved their umbrellas, they replied that the umbrellas represented oars, thus indicating that the song and the dance originated among Koli fishermen.

The song, as you see, is a dramatic lyric in the form of a dialogue. Inasmuch as it is a dialogue between a mother and son, it rather closely resembles the Scotch ballad song "Oh, where have you been, Lord Ronald my son?"

It is not however the subject but the metre which is the chief point of interest in the song. On examination it will be found that some of the verses exactly conform to the scheme of the Latin Saturnian metre, while all the verses by their trochaic character essentially resemble that old type of verse. Read for instance the fifth verse with the metrical accent as intoned by the natives, and you will see that it consists of six trochees preceded by an extra syllable or anacrusis just like "Dabunt malum Metelli || Naevio poetae," or "Gnaivod patre prognatus || fortis vir sapiensque," or like the nursery rhymes which Macaulay gives as specimens of English Saturnian verse—

The queen was in her parlour || eating bread and honey,
The king was in his counting house || counting out his money,

between which and the Indian verses on account of the double rhyme there is a still closer resemblance than between the Italian and Indian measures.

Only the first, fourth, fifth and eleventh lines of the song before us fit exactly into the Saturnian metrical system. In the fourth line the thesis of the fourth trochee and in the eleventh the thesis of the first trochee are omitted; but this is in accordance with a license permitted by the rules of Saturnian prosody in all feet but the last, as for instance "Runcus atque Purpureus filii terras." All the other lines resemble the Saturnian verse by their trochaic rhythm, and produce much the same metrical effect as the Saturnian verses, although the number of feet is reduced to four and five and the extra syllable at the beginning is in some cases omitted. As in Saturnian verse, the music of the metre depends upon the metrical accent, which entirely disregards the quantity and the natural accent of the words, so that syllables naturally short and unaccented are accented in the verse just as is done in the recitation of English poetry by many an English schoolboy who would read Milton's line "Burnt after him to the bottomless pit" with heavy accents on "the" and "tom" so as to make it perfectly iambic. The conflict between the metrical and the natural accent of the syllables is less harsh in this song than in the Latin Saturnian verses, because in Marathi, as in Indian languages generally, all syllables are accented about equally. When the song is chanted by Kolis and Marathas the strongest accent is laid upon the first syllable of the last foot, which is further emphasised by the time taken to pronounce it, and this is why the easily prolonged

liquid "u" is the consonant that appears in the rhyming syllables all through. I find the occurrence of such penultimate syllables in "u" not only in the song before us but also in other Koli songs contained in the two song books procured for me by Mr. Mogre. It is interesting to notice a corresponding feature in the Saturnian verse. In the extant specimens of that metre we find that in the body of the verses the metrical accent often leaves unaccented syllables which would naturally be long and accented and falls heavily on what would naturally be the shortest and least accented syllables, as for instance in the line of Naevius which we have already quoted, "Runcus atque Purpureus filii terras." But this is not the case in the last foot, which in almost every extant Saturnian verse has for its arsis a syllable which would be long and accented without being subject to the stress of the metrical accent. Thus in the 21 extant lines of the first book of the Punica of Naevius all the penultimate syllables except one would be long according to the strictest rules of prosody. The first four verses for instance end with "sorores," "Anchises," "ponuntur," "pulcrum." This indicates that there was an extra stress laid on this penultimate syllable in the Saturnian verses also, and that they were chanted like our Indian song.

It has been remarked before, on the strength of European examples, that the trochaic beat of the Saturnian metre is natural to primitive peoples. We find it not only in Italian verse but also in old English nursery rhymes, in the Cid and in the Nibelungen Lied; and now from the instance before us it would appear that its range is extended to Asia, and that it may be heard in the songs that the natives of India sing at their work or at their play.

I do not like to leave the subject without pointing out an analogy that has been suggested to me between the early development of metrical composition in Italy, India, and perhaps in Greece. In Italy and India we find in the primitive folk songs the prevalence of the Saturnian metre or similar metres in which the rhythm is determined by the metrical accent with little or no regard either to the natural accent or the quantity of the syllables. Afterwards when the art of poetry was established, an elaborate metrical system dependent on quantity was established in both countries. An ingenious English scholar conjectures that the same process of development from metre determined by the metrical accent to quantitative metre also took place at an early age in Greece. In Italy this change was due to the introduction of foreign Greek metres at the time when "Graecia capta ferum Victorem cepit." We may conjecture that the similar change in India was due to a similar cause, namely, the introduction of

quantitative metre by the Aryan conquerors of India, the main difference being that in the case of India the foreigners were victorious not only over the arts but also over the arms of the dark-skinned aborigines of Ancient India.

I subsequently discovered two other songs sung in Matheran, which are more distinctly fit to be called Matheran songs than the one you have just heard, inasmuch as they are not only sung in Matheran but also are inspired by Matheran. They both give more or less elaborate accounts of the characteristic features of the hill as seen from the point of view of the poorer native inhabitants. As I have not succeeded in getting sufficiently accurate versions of the original songs, I content myself with giving English translations. The first song may be rendered in English prose as follows, leaving one or two gaps where there are omissions in the original or words that I could not make out :—" Matheran is wondrous beautiful ; it is the abode of joyful people. They spend money with pleasure. All kinds of pleasure are enjoyed there by the merchants. They let their houses for money, and show themselves off on horseback. They shout aloud to one another, and delight in going about in palkis and tonjons. The people of the bazaar look on at the fun. I will tell the names of point after point ; so pay attention. Beautiful is Panorama Point ; on this side of it is Hart Point. Near the gymkhana is Artist Point, Porcupine, Louisa, and Landscape Point. By Echo Point there is a footpath. Go along it, and you will find the lake. Its situation is dangerous. By the lake are great numbers of people, crowds of bheesties. The *bails* jostle each other to get to the water. Their drivers have sticks in their hands, and twist their tails. Dhobis and more dhobis assemble there. What shall I say ? It is very beautiful. Below they make gardens and plant all kinds of vegetables, parsley, celery, cabbage, French beans, nolkol, cauliflower, peas. They pour water out of water-pots on the herbs. The rabbits eat the vegetables at night. The malis take great pains in watching them. By day the monkeys give trouble. From there goes a footpath to Danger Point. Beyond that is Chowk Point and Chilka Point with its iron mines. On this side of it is the road to the Rambagh, and beyond that is Alexander Point." The line about spending money with pleasure is repeated at irregular intervals as a refrain. I believe that vestiges of the iron works near Chowk Point mentioned in the song may still be detected by the careful observer. The song ends at Alexander Point, which gives a rather lame and impotent conclusion.

The other metrical description of Matheran that I have to bring to your notice appears to me to be better constructed. I have translated it into anapaestic verse as follows :—

O ! Matheran Hill is fair to behold,
Its water is pure and its breeze is ice-cold.

 The views from the Points well deserve admiration,
And the English delight in this lovely hill-station.

 That wonderful people in proof of their skill
Have raised mighty works on the top of the hill.

 Before the gymkhana are mango boughs swaying,
Within are wide spaces devoted to playing.

 On Saturday always at four by the clock,
You may see how the *sahib log* thitherward flock.

 Fair ladies and gentlemen eager to play,
Whose ponies and tonjons encumber the way.

 In the season of May from the dust in the air,
And the hubbub of voices you'd think 'twas a fair.

 By the banyas and shopkeepers plying their trade
Of buying and selling great profits are made.

 There's the Seth Motiram of his trade at the top,
Who has lakhs upon lakhs of rupees in his shop.

 On Sunday what crowds to the temple repair,
Where the white people gather for sermon and prayer !

 The bazaar has for master a gentleman grand,
And all in the hill must obey his command.

 Then kind doctor Suntaram ! Well do we know
That he loves his best drugs on the poor to bestow.

 There are taxes for sweepers, for houses, for grounds,
With police at his back Keshorao goes his rounds.

 The policemen have sticks and they carry away
The chatties of all who their rents fail to pay.

 Poor folk on the hill little work can procure,
And cruel oppression they're doomed to endure.

 Day by day they're in trouble, oppressed by the fear
That their children must starve e'er the end of the year.

 Yet the Sirkar shows mercy to young and to old,
And the water is pure and the breeze is ice-cold.

 Each Englishman here eats the air like a king,
Go and see for yourselves if you doubt what I sing.

Go, visit the bungalow built of black stone,
And breathe the fresh air to our mountain that's blown.

Pisurnath the great king—to his shrine by the lake,
The people must always their offerings take.

Springs cooler than Malet's can nowhere be found,
Which flows in a plentiful stream from the ground.

A sepoy so stern is on guard at the place,
That all who go there hate the sight of his face.

Clever folk, who the market of Matheran throng,
Would you know who's the poet that made you this song?

Rajaram is his name ! When he roams o'er the hill,
The women all greet him with hearty good-will.

In the above verses the bungalow built of black stone is the house that once belonged to Mr. Latham, and is now occupied by a sisterhood. The shrine of Pisurnath by the lake is one of the most striking scenes in Matheran, though many visitors never discover its whereabouts. You turn away from the bund by a woodland path on the Chowk side, and suddenly see before you a wooden frame resembling a gibbet, surrounded by weird standing stones and pillars besmeared with red spots which look like clots of blood, and suggest human sacrifice to the imagination, especially if you see it all at the hour of sunset in the dim twilight of the sacred grove. From one of these stones auguries of good and bad fortune are taken by the worshippers of Pisurnath, who sacrifice cocks in his honour. In the middle of the song the poet seems distracted between a desire to conciliate the powers that be, including Suntaram, the Assistant Superintendent, and sympathy with the woes of his neighbours, so that he becomes somewhat incoherent and inconsistent. At the end of the song he works his own name into the verse according to the common practice of Oriental song-makers. His roving about the hill is a reference to his profession of a barber, which he still pursues on the hill and probably finds more remunerative than verse-making. The way in which he reveals his name and prides himself on the favour he has found in the eyes of the fair sex may remind us of the similar but more elaborate verses in which the author of the Homeric hymn to Apollo claims a place in the memory of the Delian ladies who have heard his song :—

Now be Apollo kind and Dian too ;
And ye, fair Delian damsels, all adieu !
But in your memory grant me still a home ;
And oft as to your sacred isle may come.
A pilgrim, care-worn denizen of earth,
And ask, while joining in your social mirth,

" Maidens, of all the bards that seek your coast,
Who sings the sweetest and who charms you most?"
Then answer one and all with gracious smile—
" A blind old man who lives in Chios' rocky isle."

Nor need we be surprised at finding analogies between the verses of Rajaram, the Matheran barber, and the famous Homeric hymn to Apollo composed by the blind old man of the rocky isle of Chios. For in spite of differences of time and place and race, the verses of Rajaram and the Homeric hymns resemble each other in being songs composed by men of the people to be sung at popular festive gatherings. They were not intended to be printed in books with the authors' names in gold letters on the binding, but to be recited from mouth to mouth in different places and by successive generations. Under such circumstances authors who wish to escape oblivion do well to cunningly insert their names or descriptions of themselves in the songs they compose.



ART. XVIII—*References to China in the Ancient Books of the Parsees.*⁽¹⁾

By JIVANJI JAMSHEDJI MODI, B. A.

[*Read, 13th July 1903.*]

Prof. Douglas, in his article on China in the latest edition of The Encyclopædia Britannica,² says :

"The spacious seat of ancient civilization, which we call China, has loomed always so large to Western eyes, and has, in spite of the distance, subtended so large an angle of vision, that, at eras far apart, we find it to have been distinguished by different appellations, according as it was reached by the southern sea-route, or by the northern land-route transversing the longitude of Asia.

"In the former aspect the name has nearly always been some form of the name Sin, Chin, Sinæ, China."

Prof. Douglas then mentions supposed references in Sanscrit and Jewish books to the above names. He makes no reference to the Avesta in the matter, probably because Iranian scholars have not collected sufficient materials about it. The object of this paper is to collect the references to China in the ancient books of the Parsees.

I

The Farvardin Yasht refers to China, and it speaks of it, as Sâini, a name resembling Sin or Sinæ, referred to by Prof. Douglas as an old name of China. It contains a list of the pious departed worthies of ancient Irân before the Sassanian times. As the late Professor Darmesteter said the list is "un catalogue d'Homère du Mazdéisme."³ It is the most ancient "list of canonization" among the ancient Irâniens. At first, some of the worthies of ancient Irân are individually named and commemorated, and then at the end, all the pious worthies of the five countries of the then known world are remembered in general terms, because, as said by Gogoshasp, a commentator of the Vendîdâd, it was not Irân alone that was believed to contain pious holy men. Gogoshasp said :

"Ai dayan kolâ dâd ai mardum âhlôbanghân yehavunêt meman min
'Tuiryanâm dakhyunâm paetâk,'"

¹ This paper was at first read before the International Congress held at Hanoi in December 1902. (*Vide "Compte Rendu Analytique des séances, Premier Congrès International des Études D'Extrême Orient Hanoi (1902)," published in 1903, pp. 76-77.*) I beg to express my best thanks to Principal MacMillan for having kindly read my paper at the Congrès.

² Vol. V., p. 626.

³ Le Zend Avesta, II., p. 504.

i.e., In every created country there are pious persons, as it appears from the passage, "Tuiryanâm Dakhyunâm, &c."

It is not worthy men alone that are thus honoured, but worthy women also. The countries mentioned, as said above, in the list of the Farvardin Yasht are Airya, Tûrya, Sairima, Sâini and Dâhi.¹

Airyâ is the country of Irân; Tuirya is the country of Turkestân; Sairima is the country of Arum (the Eastern part of the Roman Empire) or Asia Minor and Western Asia. Dâhi is the Δάθη of Herodotus and Strabo, and Tahia of the Chinese geographers. It is the country round the Caspian. The remaining country, Sâini, is China.

The passage in the Farvardin Yasht, wherein the departed worthies, both male and female of this country of Sâini (China), are remembered, runs thus:—

"Sâininâm dâkhyunâm narâm ashaônâm fravashayô yazamaidê. Sâininâm dakhyunâm nâîrinâm ashaôninâm fravashayô yazamaidê,"

i.e., "We remember in the ritual, the Fravashis (*i.e.*, the holy spirits) of the pious men of the country of Sâini. We remember in the ritual, the Fravashis of the pious women of the country of Sâini."

The country of Sâini referred to in the above passage, is variously identified by different scholars. Anquetil Du Perron identifies it with the country of Soanes, referred to by Strabo as situated between the Black and the Caspian Seas. He says: "Les Provinces de Saon ne me paroissent pas différentes du País des Soanes, que Strabon (Géograph., L. XI., p. 499) place entre la Mer noire Et la Mer Caspienne. Ptolomée (Géograph., L. V., c. 9. et 12) fait mention d'un fleuve nommé Soana, dont les eaux se déchargeoint la mer Caspienne, au Nord de l'Albanie."² Dr. Spiegel says: "We do not know who the Çânians are."³ Justi thinks it to be the town of Can which Persian lexicographers placed in Bactria. He says: "Besser ist wohl die stadt Çan herbeizuzichen welche nach den pers. Lexicographen in Bactrien oder Kabulistan liegt."⁴ M. Harlez is doubtful and thinks it may be Caucasus.⁵ Dr. West⁶ says it is "probably the territory of Samarkand." Windischmann was the first scholar to identify it with China. Justi thinks, he is wrong in so identifying it. He says: "Windischmann irrt, wenn er in Çâni den Namen der Chinesen erblickt."⁷ M. Darmesteter⁸ supports Windischmann and identifies Sâini with China. I think this identification is correct.

¹ Yasht XIII., 143-44.

² Le Zend Avesta, II., p. 283, n. 3.

³ Bleek's Translation, Vol. III., p. 101, n. 3.

⁴ Handbuch der Zend sprache, p. 293.

⁵ Le Zend Avesta, p. 505, n. 2.

⁶ S. B. E., Vol. V., Chap. XV., 29, n. 3.

⁷ Handbuch der Zend sprache, p. 293.

⁸ S. B. E., Vol. XXIII., p. 227, n. 1; Le Zend Avesta, Vol. II., p. 554, n. 313.

Three facts lead us to identify this country of Sâini with China :—

1. The above five countries mentioned in the Farvardin Yasht are referred to in the Pahlavi Bundehesh.¹ There this country of Sâini is spoken of as Sini, and to point out what particular country is meant by that name, it is added "Zak i'pavan Chinastân," i.e., "that which is in Chinastân." This Chinastân is the country of China.
2. In some Arabic and Persian books, China is spoken of as "Shin." These very names suggest the identity.
3. According to the Shâh-nâmeh of Firdousi, Faridun had divided among his three sons, Erach, Selam and Tur, the five countries referred to in the Farvardin Yasht.

Firdousi's lines are as follow (Mohl, Vol. I, p. 138, ll. 292—299) :

فُخْسَتِينِ بَسْلَمِ اَنْدَرُونِ بَنْ-گَرِيد
هَمِ دَمِ وَ خَاوَرِ مَرِ اوْرَا گَزِيد
دَگَرِ تُورَرَا دَادِ تُورَانِ زَمِينِ
وَرَا كَرَدِ سَالَارِ تُرْكَانِ وَچِينِ
پَسِ آنَّگَهِ نِيَابَتِ بهِ اَبَرَجِ رَسِيدِ
مَرِ اوْرَا پَدِرِ شَهْرِ اَبِرَانِ گَزِيد

M. Mohl thus translates these lines :

"Il jet d'abord les yeux sur Selm, et choisit pour lui Roum et tout l'occident.....Puis Feridoun donna Tour le pays de Touran, et le fit maître du pays des Turcs et de la Chine.....Alors vint le tour d'Iredj, et son père lui donna le pays d'Iran." (Ibid, p. 139.)

Now let us examine the countries named by the Farvardin Yasht, and those named by Firdousi, placing them side by side.

The list of the Farvardin Yasht.

Irân (Airya)
Turân (Tuirya)
Sairima (Rum)
Sâini
Dâhi

The list of the Shâh-nâmeh, arranged in the order of the Farvardin Yasht.

Irân
Turân
Rum
Chin
Khâvar

From this list we see, that the Irân of the Shâh-nâmeh, given to Iredj (Erach), the Airyava of the Avesta, is the country of Airya or Irân in the Farvardin Yasht. The country (Airya) is said to have derived its very

¹ S. B., E., V., Ch. XV., 29.

name from this prince Airyava (Iredj). The Turân of the Shâh-nâmeh, is the Tuirya (Turân) of the Farvardin Yasht. This country also is said to have derived its name from the prince (Tuirya or Tur) to whom it was given. The Rum of the Shâh-nâmeh is the Sairima of the Farvardin Yasht. The Pahlavi Bundeheş¹ identifies Sairima with Rum (Saram matâ ait i Arum, *i.e.*, the country of Saram which is Arum). This country also is said to have derived its name from prince Selam to whom it was given. The Khâvar of the Shâh-nâmeh, which together with Rum (Asia-Minor) was given to prince Selam, is the Dâhi of the Farvardin Yasht.

Now the only country of the list of the Shâh-nâmeh, which remains to be identified with one in the Farvardin Yasht is Chin. It then, is the same as Sâini, the remaining fifth country in the list of the Farvardin Yasht.

II

As to what country constituted Sâini or China in the ancient literature of different nations, Prof. Douglas says :

" If we fuse into one, the ancient notices of the Seres (one of the appellations of the people of China) and their country, omitting anomalous statements and manifest fables, the result will be something like the following :—

" The region of the Seres is a vast and populous country, touching on the east the Ocean and the limits of the habitable world, and extending west to Imaus (*i.e.*, the Pamir) and the confines of Bactria.”²

This is confirmed to a great extent by the Shâh-nâmeh of Firdousi. Therein Turân (Turkestan) and Chin (China) are always associated together. At one time, it is the same ruler who rules over Turân and Chin ; at another time, there are different rulers, but the King of Turân is spoken of as Lord Suzerain over the country of Chin. Again we find that at times Chin had independent sovereigns.

Again it appears from the Shâh-nâmeh that Chin or China was divided into two parts, Chin and Mâchin. Chin seems to be the region near Turân, or Turkestan, and Mâchin, or the greater Chin, the China of the Further East. Again Turân and Chin are generally spoken of together, because the boundary of one began immediately at the place, where that of the other ended. In the wars of Turân against Irân, Chin, *i.e.*, both Chin and Mâchin, generally sided with Turân.

¹ S. B. E., V., Ch. XVI, 29.

² The Encyclopædia Britannica, V., p. 627.

In the half legendary and half historical wars of Afrâsiâb, the king of Turân, with Kaikhosru, the king of Irân, the former, when hard pressed by the latter, looked to his above two neighbours for aid.

Just as Chin or China was known by two names, Chin and Machin, so its monarchs also were known by two names, *viz.*, Khâkân and Faghfour. They were two different individuals. The Faghfour was at the head of the administration and the Khâkân was next to him. At times, one and the same person was spoken of, under both names. When Afrâsiâb, hard pressed by Kaikhosru, seeks aid from Chin, it is the Faghfour that he writes¹ to, and seeks help and support from. On the defeat and capture of Afrâsiâb, the king of Irân asks them to surrender. They both (the Faghfour and the Khâkân) pay homage to the sovereign of Irân.² Kaikhosru went to their country and remained there as their guest for three months.

III

About the derivation of the name Sin, Sînæ, Chin or China, Prof. Douglas³ says: "the name of Chin has been supposed (doubtfully) to be derived from the dynasty of *Thsin* which a little more than two centuries⁴ before our era enjoyed a brief but very vigorous existence, uniting all the Chinese provinces under its authority, and extending its conquests far beyond those limits to the south and the west."

A satisfactory settlement of this question of the derivation of the name Sin, Sînæ or Chin, by scholars of Chinese literature, shall be of great interest and importance to Avesta scholars, because that will supply additional evidence to determine the latest date at which the Farvardin Yasht was written. If it can be satisfactorily settled without

پکی نامه نزدیک فغور چین نبشنند با صد هزار آفرین¹

i.e., they wrote a letter to the Faghfour of China with hundred thousand blessings. (Mohl IV., p. 96.)

بر قتلند فغور و خاکان چین بر شاه با پوزش و آفرین²

i.e., the Faghfour and the Khâkân of China went before the king with excuses and blessings. (Mohl IV., pp. 166-67.)

³ The Encyclopædia Britannica, Vol. V., p. 626.

⁴ The exact date of the foundation of this dynasty is 255 B.C. Prof. Douglas says on this point (*Ibid.*, p. 643):—"As the Empire became weakened by internal dissensions, so much the more did the power of the neighbouring states increase. Of these the most important was that of Thsin, on the north-west, which, when it became evident that the kingdom of Chow must fall to pieces, took a prominent part in the wars undertaken by Tsoo on the south and Tsin on the north for the coveted prize. But the struggle was an unequal one. The superiority of Thsin in point of size, and in the number of fighting men at its command, carried all before it, and in 255 B.C. Chao-seang Wang, having silenced his rivals, possessed himself of the imperial states. Thus fell the Chow dynasty."

the shadow of any doubt, that the country of China derived its name Chin, Sin or Sinæ from the dynasty of Thsin, which flourished 200 years before Christ, then it will lead us to conclude, that the Farvardin Yasht, which contains the name of China as Sâini, must have been written after that date, *i.e.*, after the second century B.C.

On the other hand, a satisfactory settlement of the question of the date of the Farvardin Yasht, may lead to a solution of the doubtful question of the derivation of the name of China. As far as the evidence, presented and traced up to now, goes, it appears, that, though the Yasht itself as a whole may be older, its "list of canonization" was open up to as late as B.C. 195, because the two personages mentioned therein (Yt. XIII, 115) Erezva Srutô Spâdha, and Zrayangha Spento Khratavâo, lived, according to the Dinkard, about 400 years after the traditional date attributed to the age of Zoroaster¹. This date depends merely upon the evidence of a later book. If we accept this date, then there is a difference of about 60 years between the date 255 B.C. when China began to be ruled by the Thsin dynasty, from which it derived its date, and B.C. 195 the latest date, determined up to now, when additions were made to the list of canonization of the Farvardin Yasht. This makes it probable that China may have derived its name from the Thsin dynasty.

But the probability is, that though new names have been added later on, the Farvardin Yasht, as a whole, was older than the second century. We do not find in it, the names of persons like Ardeshir Bâbegân and his Dastur Tansar, who both took an active part, in what is called the Irânian Renaissance of the early Sassanian times. Again, we do not find the name of Valkhash of the Pârthian dynasty, who, according to the Dinkard, played a prominent part in reviving the religion. This shows that the list was closed long before the second century before Christ. It is believed by many scholars, that the theory of Fravashis or Farôhars, which the Yasht treats in its first part, was one, which suggested to Plato his philosophic theory of "Ideas." Now Plato lived at the end of the fifth century and during the first half of the fourth century before Christ (429-347 B.C.). So, if Plato took his philosophy of "Ideas" from that of the Fravashis in the Farvardin Yasht, the Yasht must have been written prior to the fourth or fifth century before Christ. If so, the fact, that the name of China as Sâini occurs in this old document, throws a doubt on the belief, that it was the Thsin dynasty of the third century before Christ that gave its name to China. It appears, therefore, that the name was older than the third century before Christ.

IV.

Coming to the Pahlavi books, we find that, as said above, the Bundehešh refers to the country of Sini, and says that it is Chinistān or China. Again, in the list of mountains given in the Bundehešh¹, a mountain is spoken of as Kuf-i-Chin, *i.e.*, the mountain of Chin or China. It is said to be on the frontiers of Turkestān². It is not certain which particular mountain is meant.

In the Shāyast lā Shāyast, we find a reference to the religion of Sin or China. There the religions of different peoples are spoken of and classed, as it were, into three classes.—(1) *veh*, *i.e.*, good; (2) *gōmizeh* or mixed, *i.e.*, neither good nor bad; and (3) *vadtar*, *i.e.*, worse.

The passage runs thus—

“Avizeh dād veh din lenman hōmanīm va pōryōtkesh hōmanīm va gomizeh dād Sinik vaskardih hōmand va vatar dād zandik va tarsāk va yahud va avārik i denman sān hōmand³.

Dr. West⁴ thus translates it—

“Of a pure law (dād) are we of the good religion, and we are of the primitive faith; of a mixed law are those of the Sinik congregation; of a vile law are the Zendik, the Christian, the Jew and others of this sort.” As Prof. Darmesteter has suggested, the Sinik congregation is a reference to the religion of China. The writer calls his Zoroastrian religion a good religion. He condemns other religions as bad. He does not include the Chinese religion among the bad ones, but he calls it a mixed religion, *i.e.*, a religion containing Zoroastrian elements as well as other foreign elements. This brings us to the question of the influence of Zoroastrian religion upon China.

V.

As pointed out by Prof. Jackson,⁵ M. Chavannes in an article entitled “Le Nestorianisme et L’Inscription de Kara-Balgassoun,”⁶ quotes several passages from Chinese books referring to Zoroaster and the religion of Persia. These references prove clearly, that the Mazdayaçnān religion of Zoroaster had made its way into China. One of the passages that M. Chavannes quotes on the subject is as follows:—“Autrefois Sou-li-tche (Zarathushtra, Zoroaster) du royaume de Perse, avait institué la religion mo-ni-enne du dieu céleste du feu; un édit impérial ordonna d’établir à la capitale un temple de Ta-ts’in.”

¹ Justi Text, p. 22, l.-1. West S. B. E. V., p. 34, Chap. XII, 2.

² Ibid. Chap. XII, 13.

³ MS. of Mr. Edalji K. Antia, f 27 b, l. 11.

⁴ S. B. E. V., p. 296. Shayast la Shayast VI, 7.

⁵ Zoroaster the Prophet of Ancient Iran, p. 279.

⁶ Journal Asiatique, Vol. IX, pp. 43.—

85 Janvier-Février, 1897.

" Pour ce qui est de la religion mo-ni-enne du dieu céleste du feu, autrefois, dans le royaume de Perse il y eut Zoroastre ; il mit en vigueur la religion du dieu céleste du feu ; ses disciples vinrent faire des conversions en Chine ; sous les T'ang, la 5^e année tcheng-koan (631) un de ses sectateurs, le mage Ho-lou vint au palais apporter la religion du dieu céleste ; un décret impérial ordonna d'établir à la capitale un temple de Ta-ts'in "¹.

The work which gives this passage was written between 1269 and 1271 A. D. It says that a Persian temple was established in China in 631 A. D.²

Besides the above two passages, which refer to Zoroaster as the founder of the *mo-ni-enne* religion, M. Chavannes gives eleven other passages, wherein this *mo-ni-enne* religion is directly or indirectly referred to.

Now, what is this religion named *mo-ni-enne*? M. Chavannes says, that the religion generally referred by the term *mo-ni-enne* is the Mussalman or Mahomedan religion. According to this author, in those cases, where it is referred to, as founded by Zoroaster and the Magi, it is the Zoroastrian religion, but the Chinese writer, not being able to draw a line of difference, has used the same word in a wrong sense.

M. Devériâ,³ on the other hand, affirms, that the religion *mo-ni-enne*, referred to in the above Chinese passages, is the Manichean religion or the religion founded by Mani, which was an offshoot of the Zoroastrian religion.

I beg to suggest that the word " *mo-ni-enne* " is a corrupted form of " *Mazdayaçnân*," the appellation, by which the Zoroastrian religion was, and is even now known by its votaries.

It is true, that some of the allusions in the above passages, refer to the introduction of the Persian religion in its Manichean form, but it is possible, that the religion continued to be known by the name of the older parent religion, of which it was an offshoot. Again it is possible, that though the religion of Persia, that was known to China in its early times, was the *Mazdayaçnân* religion, still by the later authors it was called Manichean, because the religion of Mani also came to them from Persia.

¹ Journal Asiatique, Vol. IX, p. 61, Janvier-Février, 1897.

² We must note that this is the time of the Arab conquest of Persia, and tradition says that some of the Zoroastrians of Persia went to China with the son of Yezdejard Sheheriâr, the last king of Persia. (*Vide* Anquetil Du Perron, Zend Avesta, Tome I, Partie I, p. 336, note.)

³ Le Journal Asiatique, Vol X, pp. 445-484, Novembre-Décembre 1897. Article headed Musulmans et Manichéens Chinois."

Among the Chinese passages quoted by M. Chavannes there is the following one, which refers to a king Pirouz III of Persia :—

" Pour ce qui est de l'ancien temple persan à l'est du quartier Li-ts'iuen, la 2^e année i fong (677) Pirouze III, de Perse, demande à établir un temple persan. Pendant la période chen-long (705-707) Tsong Tch'ouk'o sevit designer (ce lieu) par le sort pour y faire sa demeure."¹

With reference to this passage I beg to draw the attention of Chinese scholars to a Persian book called **فیروز نامہ** Firouz-nâmeh. It is not printed as yet. I have seen an old manuscript of this book in the possession of Mr. Manockjee Rustomjee Unwâlâ of Bombay. It is a manuscript of 288 folios or 576 pages having 13 lines to a page. I find the following date at the end :—

آنچه که در کتاب تحریر بود تمام شد نسخه فیروز نامه روز
هرمزد ماه خورداد تاریخ ۲۴ (بیع الاول سنہ الف یک

i.e., Whatever was written in the book—the manuscript of Firouz-nâmeh—is finished on roz (day) Hormazd mâh (month) Khordad (Hijri) date 24 Rabi-ul-aval 1001.

This date shows that the manuscript is more than 300 years old. The date when the original book was written is not known.

Herein, king Firouz is spoken of as Firouz-Shâh, the son of king Dârâb, son of king Bahman, son of king Asfandyâr, son of king Gushtâsp, son of king Lohrasp.² Thus this Firouz is said to be the great grandson of Asfandyâr, who is traditionally spoken of among the Parsees, as having gone to China and established several fire-temples there.

In the commencement of the book, the author of the book is said to be one Shaikh Haji Mahmud, son of Maulana Shaikh, son of Maulana Ali, son of Shaikh Maulana.³

Herein the king is spoken of as Khâkân and as Wâng. We find the latter word in the names of some Chinese kings, such as Wei-lee-Wang and Chaou Seang Wang. This Chinese king is hostile to Firouz and the Irâniens, and is therefore given the abusive epithet of harâm zâdeh حرامزاده i.e., born of illegitimate connection.

¹ Journal Asiatique, Tome IX, Janvier-Fevrier 1897, p. 62.

فیروز شا بن ملک داراب بن ملک بهمن بن شا اسفندیار (۱)
بن شاه گشتاسب بن شاه هوراسپ
شیخ حاجی محمد بن مولانا شیخ بن مولانا اعای بن (۲)
شیخ مولانا

VI

It appears from the Pahlavi epistles of Mânuscheher, that in the ninth century, China was considered to be the furthest place to which one could go to from Persia, to avoid domestic anxieties or troubles. Mânuscheher was the head priest of the Zoroastrians of Persia, especially of the country of Pârs and Kirman, in the third century of Yazdajard (ninth century A. D.). He had a brother named Zâdparam, who was the head priest of the Zoroastrians at Sarakhs in the north-east of Khorasan.¹ This brother was transferred to Sirkhan, where he issued some new decrees about the purification ceremony, which were not in accord with the previous injunctions on the subject. These new ideas were considered to be heretical, and he was believed to have taken them from the Tughazghuz² when he was staying at Sarakhs.

To avoid all the troubles and anxieties caused by the heretical beliefs of his brother, Mānuscheher wishes, he could go away to China.

The passage in the epistle of Mânuscheher referred to above, runs thus :—

Benafshman min airân matâan agvirazidan val dûrtar keshvar aîg sarub madam vad-kardan-i-lakum lâ vashinamunam farvâztan dayan khvishkâriya memanam sukon pavan maya barâ val Chin ayûp pavan bûm barâ Arum farvaztan.³

Dr. West thus translates the passage:—

"And I myself shall have to retire from the countries of Irân and to wander forth to far distant realms where I shall not hear a rumour about your evil deeds. In my occupation, moreover, my fortune may be to wander forth by water even to China or by land even to Arum."⁴

¹ Dr. West, S. B. E., Vol. XVIII, Introduction, p. 25.

² According to Maçoudi (Berbier de Meynard I., p. 274) these Tagazgaz (طغزج) were a Turkish tribe (peuplade turque), and their country was in the regions where the Ganges had its source, and in the direction of China. Further on (I., p. 288) Maçoudi says of this people:—"Les Tagazgaz qui occupent la ville de Kouchan (كوشان) (Kaotchang) située entre le Khorâcan et la Chine, et qui sont aujourd'hui en 332, de toutes les races et tribus turques, la plus valeureuse, la plus puissante et la mieux gouvernée. Leurs rois portent le titre d'Irkhan et seuls entre tous ces peuples ils professent la doctrine de Manès." It is worth noting that the same tribe of Tagazgaz which spread Manichean religion in China began to spread its tenets later on again among some of the Zoroastrians, who came into contact with it.

³ Mr. Tehmuras Dinshaw Anklesaria's ms. p. 461, ll. 1-4.

⁴ S. B. E. XVIII, p. 353.

This passage shows that Persia had an intercourse with China in early times by sea.

The Pahlavi Bahman¹ Yasht refers to China, saying, that according to some, the father of the future apostle, Behrâm Varjâvand will come from the direction of China and according to others from that of India.

In the Pazend Jâmâspi, we find the following reference to China :— “The country of Chinastân is great. It has much of wealth, much of musk, much of jewellery. Its people are under affliction, because among them there is no far-sight as among us.” (*Vide* my Pahlavi Translations, Part III, Jâmâspi, p. 120.)

VII.

The Shâh-nâmeh is replete with references to China. It appears that Persia had a frequent intercourse with China. So it is probable that the religion of Persia may have influenced China.

The fortress of Kanga, referred to in the Avesta (Yt. V. 57), and referred to by Firdousi² as Kang-dez was founded by the Irâanian prince Siâvaksh. According to the Pahlavi Bundehesh³ it was under the jurisdiction of Khorshed-cheher, a son of Zoroaster himself. This fortress of Kangdez is, according to Prof. Gutschmid⁴, the Khang-kieu of Chinese history.

Arjâsp, who declares war against Gushtâsp, the King of Irân, as a protest against his (Gushtâsp's) acceptance of the new religion of Zoroaster, is spoken of both as the king of Turân and Chin.

From the Shâh-nâmeh we learn, that Aspandyâr, the son of Gushtâsp, went up to the frontiers of China. He defeated king Arjâsp, who is spoken of as the King of Turân and Chin, took his castle of “Ruin daz,” and then founded several fire-temples in that locality. Speaking of his conquest of this fortress, Aspandyâr says :—⁵

بر افروختم آتش زرد بشت
که با مسخر آورده بود از بشت

According to Prof. Gutschmid⁶ we learn from Chinese sources that a Chinese tribe named Yue-chi had conquered the Persian territories of Bactria and had come into close contact with the Persians. In Sassanian times we find even an instance of matrimonial alliance between Persia and China. King Chosroes I (Noshirwân) married a daughter of the then Khâkán of China.⁷

¹S. B. E. V., West, p. 220, Ch. III, 14.

²Mohl II, p. 341.

³S. B. E. V., p. 142, Ch. XXXII, 5.

⁴Article on Persia, in The Encyclopædia Britannica, Vol. XVIII, p. 594.

⁵Mohl IV, p. 620.

⁶Article on Persia in the Encyclopædia Britannica, Vol. XVIII, p. 592.

⁷Mohl VI, p. 335.

According to Maçoudi, as late as in the ninth century (264 Hijri) there were Magi مسجوس (مَسْجُوس) in China.¹

Chinese silk was well-known in ancient Persia. The Chinese brocade, دِبَابَىِ چين, is often spoken of by Firdousi as playing a prominent part in Persian decoration.² It appears that the Chinese art of decoration was known in Persia from old times. Sindókht, the mother of Roudâbeh, is represented as decorating a throne in Chinese fashion.

در ایوان یکی تخت زرین نهاد
به آگین و آراپش چین نهاد

i.e., She placed a golden throne in the palace and decorated it in Chinese fashion.³

¹ B. de Meynard I, p. 303.

² Mohl IV, p. 25.

³ Mohl I, p. 340.





10

* fils de Haboub perf.

10 ^{les seuls par} ~~deuxième~~ ^{deuxième}
il faut aller au niveau pour faire apparaître ~~l'ordre~~ ^{l'ordre} de l'
échelle avec un peu de phalange. Je suis parti de pharion
qui fut écrit par aristote; aristote. Ses manières il n'a pas
que moi devait venir. Et trois fois faire prophète.

1. Je m'empêche de bien me y faire. Je vous prie d'agréer
l'assurance de mes meilleures salutations et de la plus cordiale amitié.

... dan berhasil untuknya. Untuk pertama kali dalam sejarah
Ottoman turki berjaya mendirikan kerajaan Islam di Amerika.

ART. XIX—*Notes of Anquetil Du Perron (1755-61)*
ON

King Akbar and Dastur Meherji Rânâ.

BY JIVANJI JAMSHEDJI MODI, B.A.

(Read 13th July 1903.)

I beg to submit this paper as a supplement to my paper on “The Parsees at the Court of Akbar and Dastur Meherji Rânâ” read before our Society on 19th December 1901 and published as Article VIII. in No. LVIII., Vol. XXI, of the Journal of the Society. (pp. 69-245).

In March 1903 I received from Paris, from Miss Menant, who had come to Bombay in 1900-1901 on a scientific mission from the Government of France to study Parseeism, among other papers, a paper marked as “Important,” and with the word “Meherji Rânâ” written on it in red pencil. In it, she said :—

J'ai trouvé en feuilletant à la Bibliothèque Nle les fameux papiers d'Anquetil (No. 18) deux passages curieux que voici. (L'écriture est si mauvaise, l'orthographe si étrange, de plus les lignes sont tellement enchevêtrées que n'ayant pas de loupe, j'ai en quelque peine à les déchiffrer.)¹

A hasty perusal of the passages, as she wrote them, showed, that a careful copy would throw great light upon the subject of “Akbar and Meherji Rânâ.”

So I wrote to her on 10th March, requesting her to send me a fair clearly-written copy of these notes again, and also an English translation of these notes, as understood by her. I subsequently requested her to send me a photograph of the notes.

In compliance with my request she has kindly sent me a photograph of the whole page, containing the passages about Akbar and Dastur Meherji Rânâ. I beg to place that photograph on the table for the inspection of members present. According to Miss Menant, the photograph was taken at the studio of the National Library of Paris on Tuesday, the 31st of March 1903 (faite à l'atelier de la Bibliothèque Nationale, à Paris, le Mardi 31 Mars 1903).² A copy of the facsimile of the photo is attached at the end of this paper.

In a note sent with the photograph she says :—“J'ai trouvé la note par hasard en feuilletant les brouillons d'Anquetil pour revoir ce qui touchait à Surate, lorsque tout à coup ce passage m'a sauté aux yeux.”³

¹ i.e., “In turning over the famous papers of Anquetil (No. 18) at the National Library, I have found two curious passages, which are as follow :—(The writing is so bad, the orthography so strange, and most of the lines are entangled in such a way, that not having a magnifying glass, I had much trouble in deciphering them).”

² Miss Menant's note on the copy made from the photograph.

³ i.e., “I found the note by chance, on turning over the rough note-book of Anquetil to look for what referred to Surat, when suddenly this passage caught my eyes.”

I give here in full what Miss Menant says about this note of Anquetil and about the points which strike her.

"Cette page photographiée provient de la Bibliothèque Nationale, du recueil des mss. d'Anquetil Du Perron catalogués ainsi qu'il suit : LXXIX. Nelles Acquisitions francaises. 8,874. Mélanges sur les Parsis vol. en 4° de 63 pages.

Le page 1^o contient les sujets les plus différents. C'est à partir de : le Mogul Akbar que commence la citation qui nous occupe. Vous pouvez voir aussi—au bas de la page—une remarque sur les mariages des Parsis avec les étrangères qui n'a rien à faire avec Akbar. Souvenez-vous que ce sont de simples notes de voyage recueillies hâtivement.

Toutefois, vu la parfaite bonne foi d'Anquetil, méditez chaque mot.

J'appelle votre attention :

1^o. Sur l'orthographe de Merji Rânâ—elle est très bizarre—mais il n'y a pas lieu de douter de l'identité du personnage.

2^o. Que M. R. (Merji Rânâ) a été le seul qui pût *expliquer la loi*.

3^o. Que c'est d'après son avis qu' Akbar envoya demander à Shah Abbas un dastour du Kerman.

(L'histoire des vers est obscure. . . .)

4^o. Qu'est ce que ce Dastour Schapour-fils de Kekobad ?

Les noms de localités ne soulèvent aucun doute. Nausari (Naucary) est bien lisible. Mais qu'est ce que Kakri-Kari à 1 f $\frac{1}{2}$ de Surate ? Je n'ai rien trouvé dans le Gazetteer.

Ce que je sais c'est que Akbar mit le siège devant Surate le 19 Janvier 1573—le fort ne se rendit qu' au bout de six semaines. Où était le camp de l'Empereur ?

Il est certain que pendant ces six semaines Akbar eut le temps de voir les Parsis et de faire connaissance avec Meherji Rânâ qui habitait une localité si proche voisine."¹

I give at the end, the passages in full, as read and translated by Miss Menant, giving my few suggestions or amendments as foot-notes.

Now let us see what points in my previous paper, referred to above, are corroborated by this new find of Anquetil's notes, and what new

¹ TRANSLATION.—This photographed page comes from the National Library, from the collection of manuscripts of Anquetil Du Perron catalogued as follows :—LXXIX. Nelles French Acquisitions 8,874. Miscellaneous over the Parsees, volume in quarto of 63 pages.

The page 1^o contains most different subjects. It is from (the words) "Le Mogul Akbar," that the quotation with which we have to deal, commences. You can see also at the end of the page, a remark over the marriages of the Parsis with foreigners, which has nothing to do with Akbar. Remember that these are the simple notes of a traveller collected hastily. Nevertheless, considering the perfect good faith of Anquetil, consider well each word,

light is thrown on some of the questions in that paper. In my above paper I tried to prove the following points :—

1. That Ardeshir, who is spoken of by the Dabistân, written long after Akbar's time, as having come to Akbar's Court, had come to India, long after the religious discussions were closed, and long after Akbar had adopted the visible forms of Zoroastrian worship, and Zoroastrian calendar and festivals, and so, he had no hand in influencing Akbar towards these things.

2. That Ardeshir had specially come for the purpose of the dictionary, known as Farhang-i-Jehangiri, and not for the purpose of taking part in the religious discussions at the court, and not for the purpose of explaining to the king, the religion of Zoroaster.

3. That it was the Naôsari Parsees, who had attended the Court of Akbar to take part in the religious discussions, which took place there in 1576-79.

4. That Dastur Meherji Rânâ was a leading Parsee of Naôsari, and that as such, he headed the party from Naôsari.

5. That he explained the Zoroastrian religion to king Akbar.

6. That if king Akbar put on the *sudreh* and *kusti* (*i.e.*, the sacred shirt and thread), as referred to in some of the songs, which spoke of Dastur Meherji Rânâ's visit to the court of Akbar, there is nothing to be wondered at, especially as he had put on the sacred symbols of other religions, such as Hinduism and Christianity.

Now let us examine, how far the above points, which I have tried to prove in my former paper, with the help of old documents and manuscripts, are supported by the manuscript notes of Anquetil, which record the tradition he had heard during the period of his visit to India and his stay at Surat from 1755 to 1761, *i.e.*, about 150 years ago. In my first paper, I rested upon the authority of a book by a Parsee Dastur written in about 1765 A.D., which said, that Dastur Meherji Rânâ had gone to the court of king Akbar and had explained to him

I call your attention to (the following):—

(1) To the spelling (of the name) of Meherji Rânâ. It is very odd. But there is no room to doubt the identity of the person.

(2) That Meherji Rânâ has been the only person who could *explain the Faith*.

(3) That it is on his advice that Akbar sent to ask for, from Shah Abbas, a Dastur from Kerman. (The story of the verse is obscure. . . .)

(4) Who is this Dastur Shapour, son of Kekobad?

The names of the localities do not raise any doubt. Nausari (Nauçary) is very legible. But what is this Kakri-Kari at $1\frac{1}{2}$ f. (furlong) from Surat? I have found nothing (about it) in the *Gazetteer*.

What I know is this, that Akbar laid siege to Surat on 19th January 1573. The fort did not surrender, but at the end of six weeks. Where was the camp of the Emperor? It is certain, that during these six weeks, Akbar had the time to see the Parsis and to make the acquaintance of Meherji Rânâ, who lived at a place in such a close vicinity.

the Zoroastrian religion.¹ Now this discovery of Anquetil's manuscript notes, enables me to place before the Society, the authority of a French author of great eminence, who had specially come to India to study Parseeism in its home. Anquetil left India in 1761 A.D., so these manuscript notes must have been jotted down in this volume, which formed his notebook, some time before that year. So we have now the authority of a writer who wrote at least four years before Dastur Shapurji, the Parsee author.

We will examine Anquetil's notes in the order in which we find them, and see how they support the conclusions I have arrived at, in my first paper. I will give the notes as translated by Miss Menant. The first passage of the notes refers to the Farhang-i-Jehangiri and Ardeshir. Having found nobody in India, either in his court or out of his court, who could help him in the philological work of the dictionary, he sends for a Dastur from Persia.

Anquetil's first important note is on this point, and it runs as follows :—

"The Mogul Akbar finding no Dastur, who had an answer for every thing (sur tout), according to Dastur Meherji Rânâ's² opinion, wrote to Shah Abbas Sophi of Persia to send him one from Kerman. Shah Abbas sent him the Dastur Ardeshir, who began under him the Phar (hang³) finished under Djehanguir and which bears his name. (Hyde, p. 4, says that it is Ibn Fakeruddin⁴ Angjou who wrote it.)"

Now this passage of Anquetil's notes supports the following two facts, which, I have handled in my previous paper :—

1. That Ardeshir was sent for helping Jamáluddin in the work of writing his dictionary, known as the Farhang-i-Jehângiri, and not for explaining to king Akbar the religion of Zoroaster.

¹ Journal, B. B. R. A. Society, Vol. XXI, No. LVIII, p. 114.

² Miss Menant considers Anquetil's spelling of the name of Meherji Rânâ as odd (bizarre). It is difficult to determine how Anquetil has spelt the name, but I think, Anquetil has written the name as "Meherîr fils de Rânâ" i.e., Meheriar, son of Rânâ, which was the Persian form in which some names of Parsees were usually written in former times, e.g., Darab *bin* Rustam, i.e., Darab, the son of Rustam. For a number of illustrations of this kind, *vide* my first paper (Journal, B. B. R. A. S., Vol. XXI, No. LVIII, p. 237). Meherji Rânâ's name occurs again a little lower down (l. 22 of the photographed page), where the form I have suggested appears more distinct. At least the word "fils" appears to me to be clear in the name in both the places. *Vide* Anquetil's Le Zend Avesta Tome I, Part 2, Notices, p. XXVI, where he gives the name of a Dastur as "Darab fils d'Ormuzd." *Vide* also Tome II, pp. 52—53.

³ In the photo, we read as far as "phara." The last two letters seem to have been torn out in the margin.

⁴ This person was "Mir Jamáluddin Husain an Inju Sayyid" (Âin-i-Akbari, Blochmann's translation, Vol. I., p. 450. Blochmann's Text I, p. 226, column 2, l. 4). He was the author of Farhang-i-Jehangiri. Hyde by calling him Ibn Fakeruddin (i.e., the son of Fakeruddin) seems to call him perhaps by his father's name. He is called Angju or Inju, because he belonged to a family of that name.

2. That Ardeshir came long after the discussions of the Ibâdat Khâneh in 1576-79, and long after Akbar adopted the visible forms of Zoroastrian worship.

We will dwell upon these facts at some length.

1. I have handled the first fact at great length in my previous paper (Journal B. B. R. A. S., Vol. XXI, No. LVIII, pp. 85 to 93), and that, on the very authority of Mir Jamâluddin, the author of the Farhang-i-Jehângiri, and therein showed that Ardeshir had come for the purpose of the Farhang-i-Jehângiri. Anquetil's notes support this fact. Not only that, but Anquetil tells us an altogether new thing, which we had not known from any other source. It is this, that it was at the suggestion of Dastur Meherji Rânâ himself, that king Akbar wrote to Persia, to get from there a competent man, who could help in the work of the Farhang-i-Jehângiri. King Akbar wrote accordingly, and Ardeshir was sent to him for the purpose.

To understand this passage clearly, we must read the words of king Akbar as given by Mir Jamâluddin in the preface of his Farhang-i-Jehângiri. Akbar said : " Since the time the Arabs had the hand of authority in the country of Persia, the Persian language having been mixed with Arabic words, most of the Parsee and Dari and Pahlavi words have become obsolete, nay, have disappeared altogether. So the explanation of the books, which have been written in old Persian languages, and the meaning of the poems, which poets of old times adorned with ornaments of poetry, have remained concealed and hidden under the curtain of concealment and the veil of privacy. Therefore, before this time, I had ordered some of the members of this court, which protect learned men, to prepare a book containing all the old Persian words and phrases. No one could perform the work as it should be. It is necessary that in this noble branch of learning, you should prepare a book of good fame and sublime name, so that in consequence of its always being united with my good fortune, its effect may remain permanently on the pages of time for day and night (*i. e.*, the book may be connected with my name and prove useful for ever)." (Journal B. B. R. A. S., Vol. XXI, No. LVIII, pp. 87-88.)

This long statement of Akbar and Anquetil's notes, show that the king was long anxious to get written " a book containing all the old Persian words and phrases." He had ordered the learned scholars of his Court to prepare a book of that kind, but had failed. No learned scholar of his Court could do that work well. He had thought that the Parsee Dasturs might possibly help him in that philological work, but he found that there was, to use the words of Anquetil, " no Dastur who had an answer for everything." He found, that they also could not explain all the old obsolete words in the old Persian literature

required to be explained in the dictionary. Dastur Meherji Rânâ, whose acquaintance he had first made while at Surat, as we will see later on, had advised him to send for a Dastur from Kerman. So, latterly, when he heard that Mir Jamâluddin had made that kind of study his speciality, he encouraged him and ordered the dictionary to be written. To assist him in that subject, *viz.*, in that of explaining all old Persian obsolete words, &c., he sought to get literary help from all quarters. He then remembered the advice which Dastur Meherji Rânâ had given him, some years before, and wrote to the then Shah of Persia, Shah Abbas. In response to this requisition, Shah Abbas sent to him Ardeshir. Anquetil seems to be very careful in jotting down notes of what he had heard and learnt. In this case, the fact of Ardeshir's assisting Jamâluddin in his work of *Farhang-i-Jehângiri*, seems to have been misstated or misunderstood, as that of his writing the whole of the dictionary. So he puts down in brackets what Hyde said about it. The author Hyde, referred to by Anquetil, is Thomas Hyde, Professor of Hebrew languages in the University of Oxford, and his book, to the fourth page of which a reference is given by Anquetil, is the "Veterum Persarum et Parthorum et Medorum Religionis Historia." On the fourth page of the first edition of his book, published in 1700 A.D., and of the second edition, published in 1760, we find the following words on the subject :—

Quod Persæ olim fuerint Sabaitæ, seu Sabii, fidem facit Ibn Phacreddin Angjou Persa in Libro Pharhangh Gjihângiri de Persis Shemi proneptibus loquens in Proœmio suo.

A friend has kindly translated the passage thus for me : " Because the Persians were formerly Sabaitæ Sabii, Ibn Phacreddin Angjou, the Persian, in his book *Pharhangh Gjihângiri* about the Persian descendants of Shemus, speaking in his preface, believes. . . . "

2. Now, as to the second fact of the date of Ardeshir's arrival at the Court of Akbar, I have shown on the authority of the preface of the *Farhang-i-Jehângiri*, that Ardeshir could not have come to the Court at the time, when the religious discussions at the Ibâdat Khâneh were going on (1576 to 1579), and that he came long after that time, and long after Akbar adopted the visible forms of Zoroastrian worship (*Journal B. B. R. A. S.*, Vol. XXI., No. LVIII., pp. 92-93). Now this fact is corroborated by the above passage of Anquetil's notes. We learn from it—and this is a new fact that we learn here—that the Shah of Persia, to whom Akbar wrote on the matter, was Shah Abbas Sophie. This Shah Abbas Sophie was the well-known king of Persia, known as Abbas the Great. He was called Safawi, because he belonged to the Suffavean dynasty founded by Shah Ismail. The dynasty

took its name from one Shaikh-Suffee-u-deen.¹ He came to the throne in 1585 at the young age of eighteen. According to Markham,² "On the death of his wicked uncle, Ismail, in 1577, the incapable father³ was set aside after a few years, and young Abbas was proclaimed Shah of Persia by the nobles of Khurâsân at Nishapur. In the year 1585 he found himself in peaceable possession of the whole of Persia."

So it is quite clear, that Ardeshir could not have come to India before 1585 when Shah Abbas Çafawi came to the throne. And we know that by that time the religious discussions at the Court were over, and Akbar had already adopted the visible forms of Parsee worship, etc. We must remember, that, if it was in 1585 that Shah Abbas came to the throne—and at that time he was only a lad of eighteen—some time must have taken for the news to come to India, and for the young prince to be sufficiently established in power and influence, so as to carry on correspondence with a great king like Akbar. So the date, 1592 A.D., we have arrived at, as that of his arrival, on the authority of the Farhang-i-Jehângiri, is correct. Anyhow he came after 1585 A.D., i.e., long after the discussions at the Ibâdat Khâneh were over, and long after Akbar adopted the visible forms of Parsee worship, etc.

Now we come to the second passage of Anquetil's notes, which supports the next three points, referred to above, as proved in my previous paper. It runs as follows, as translated by Miss Menant :—

"The Mogul Akbar, Djahanguir's father, came to Kakrikari one f. and a half from Surat one hundred and fifty years (ago) or more. He was curious to know the religion of the Parsees. He found only the Dastur Meherji Rânâ of Nausari who was able to explain the law⁴ to him."

This passage is very important. It very clearly says that Dastur Meherji Rânâ explained to him the Zoroastrian religion. Anquetil herein says the same thing of Meherji Rânâ, that is said of him about five years later, by Dastur Shapurji Sanjana in his work, as said above. But another important thing in this passage is this, that it shows that it was at the time when Akbar came to Surat, that he first made the acquaintance of the learned Dastur and learnt from him the principles of the Zoroastrian religion. The place Kakrikari referred to in the passage as being one f. (furlong) and a half from Surat, and as the place up to which Akbar had come, is even now known as કાંકડુરા ખારી Kânkrâ Kharî.

¹ Malcolm's History of Persia, vol. I (1829), p. 320.

² A general sketch of the History of Persia by C. R. Markham (1874), p. 273. *Vide* also the Encyclopædia Britannica, I, p. 8; XVIII., p. 637.

³ Muhammad Mirza, the eldest son of Tahmasp.

⁴ i.e. The Zoroastrian law.

Narmadâshankar Lâlshankar, a well-known poet of Gujarat, in his short Gujarati history of Surat¹, says that Akbar pitched his camp near Gopipurâ in Surat. Mr. Edalji Burjorji Patel in his history of Surat², says that he had pitched his camp on the banks of the Gopitalão, just at the place where stand, at present, the suburbs of Sâlabatpurâ and Rustampurâ.

Now Kankrâ Khâri, to which, according to Anquetil, Akbar had come, and which, therefore, must be his place of camp, is situated just close to the above places of Gopipurâ, Salâbatpurâ and Rustampurâ, which, the above authors, who are residents of Surat, say—perhaps on the authority of old traditions—were the camping places of Akbar. While camping there, he may have seen many Parsees of Surat and liked to know something about their religion. He met no Dastur there capable of explaining to him the religion, and so had to send for one from the neighbouring town of Naôsari. Dastur Meherji Rânâ, who was the head priest of the town, then explained to him the religion. Being favourably impressed with the knowledge of Dastur Meherji Rânâ, it is quite natural, that, when later on, he held religious discussions at the Ibâdat Khâneh, he sent for him from Naôsari. It was for this reason, then, that we find that, according to Badaoni and the author of the Dabistân, the Naôsari Parsees were sent for, to attend the Court later on for the religious discussions.

Anquetil's notes then support the fact, that it was Dastur Meherji Rânâ, who explained to Akbar the religion of Zoroaster, and that it was the Naôsari Parsees who took a part in the religious discussions at the Ibâdat-khâneh. Having been thus introduced to this Dastur, and knowing him as the proper person to advise on the subject of the dictionary, over which, according to the above passage in the preface of the Farhang-i-Jehangiri, he had set his heart, he had consulted him, and the Dastur had advised him to send for a learned Zoroastrian from Persia, who, inhabiting, as he did, the mother country, was more likely to be versed with the old forms of ancient and obsolete Persian, Dari and other words. This advice, the king acted upon, when later on, he found, in Mir Jamâluddin, a person capable to undertake the work of the dictionary.

The Tabakât-i-Akbarî³ gives the following date for the conquest of Surat, referred to above :

¹ સુરતની મુખ્યતેસર હકીકત (૧૮૬૬) પા. ૧૫., “અકબરે ૧૫૭૩ ની ૧૮ મો જનેવારીમે સુરતમાં જોપિરા આગળ દેરા તાજુ નાણયા.

² “સુરતની તવારીખ” (૧૮૮૦) પા. ૨૦. “અકબર પાદશાહ તાં ૧૮ મો જનેવારી ૧૫૭૩ને ટિંકાસે સુરત આગળ આંચ્યો. તે ભારે લદુકર લઈ આંચ્યો હતો. અને તેના દેરા તાજુઓ જોપીનનીએ કૃદી (નયાં હમણા સલાહતપદ્ધતિની તથા રમતમપરં છે ત્યાં) તાણુથા કૃતા.”

³ Munshi Nawal Keshore's lithographed edition of 1875 A.D., p. 298, l. 18.

و این فتح عظیم بتاریخ الثالث و عشرين من شوال سنہ ثمانیں
و تسمانہ سمت ظہر یافتہ

i.e., "this conquest was effected on 23rd Shawwâl in the year 980."^۱

Now the fact, recorded by Anquetil, that Akbar made the first acquaintance of Dastur Meherji Rânâ, and learnt the principles of Zoroastrian religion from him, when at Surat—though it is new as far as other writers are concerned—has been recorded in a set of verses addressed by Kaikobâd, the son of Dastur Meherji Rânâ, to Jehangir, the son of Akbar.

I beg to produce before the Society, a copy of the Persian verses. It says, that it itself is a copy from an older copy. Of course, in such a case, the production of the first original in Dastur Kaikobâd's own handwriting, is out of the question, as it had gone to the Court of the Emperor. I am indebted to Prof. S. H. Hodivala for this copy.

We read the following lines in these verses addressed to Jehangir. Portions of the paper of the copy, which has come to my hands, have been torn off.

التماس نمایم باستاد گان — پیای سریر شه آزاد گان
که در خاطر پاک روش زوان — که آید حقیقت از این ناتوان
حقیقت چنانست شه نیکبخت — کلم عرض خود پیش خداوند تخت
که چون شاه اکبر عرش آستان — نمود عزم سورت شه داستان
که تشریف مبارک بسورت چون شاه — ارزانی فرمودند عالم پناه
چهل و هشت سنه شد که در آن زمان — گرفتند سورت شه کامران
مرا نیک پدر بود ماهیار نام — ملازمت او کرد شه نیک نام
..... بد رگاه شاه زمین — که سجدہ نمود و بکرد آفرین
..... ش برو کرد شاه — پرسیک بسیار از دین و راه
در رکاب سعادت — به آگرہ بیاورد شه کامگار
گرچه که او بود پیر ناتوان — که در پای تختگاه شد چون جوان

Translation.—I submit a request to the stable (power of His Majesty), to the foot of the throne of the king of the nobles, so that the case of this powerless person (i.e., my poor self) may come into the consideration of your pious enlightened soul. O fortunate king; the

^۱ Elliot's (Dawson) History of India, Vol. V, p. 350. This is about 1573 A. D. Elphinstone's History of India, 5th edition, p. 508.

fact, which I myself beg to submit before the throne of your Majesty, is this : that when king Akbar, nestling at the foot of the Divine Throne,¹ the king of the virtuous, proposed coming to Surat, when (he) the protector of the world bestowed the favour of a visit to Surat—it is 48 years since that time, when the king, whose all desires are fulfilled, took Surat—my good father Mâhiâr was living. He served His glorious Majesty. He to the Court of the king of the world. He paid his respects and blessed him He asked him much about religion and customs. In the happy attendance² the fortunate king brought him to Agra. Although he was a weak old man, at the foot of (His Majesty's) throne, he became a young man.

These lines from the verses of Kaikobâd then support Anquetil's statement, that it was at the time of Akbar's visit to Surat that Dastur Meherji Rânâ had the honour of seeing His Majesty. The lines add that the king then took him to Agra.

Now the fact that Dastur Kaikobâd knew Persian, and could write it, is shown from an old copy of the Dârâb-nameh, dated 1636 A.D.

The colophon of that manuscript says³, that the manuscript was copied from one, which Kaikobâd bin Mâhiyâr had copied from the library of king Akbar. This colophon then also says that this Dastur had an access to the Court of the Mogul Emperor.

The next point in my paper, which these notes of Anquetil corroborate, is the sixth point, referred to above, *viz.*, that Akbar put on the Sudreh and Kusti (the sacred shirt and thread), the visible signs of Zoroastrianism. I have shown at some length in my previous paper, that when Akbar put on the visible signs of other religions, such as Christianity and Brahminism, it is no wonder, if he put on the visible signs of Zoroastrianism, from which he had taken into his new religion several important elements. Anquetil corroborates this conclusion, when he says that “he (Akbar) put on the Kusti and had built a *dakma*, because he was curious to know every religion.”

Anquetil introduces these remarks by a prefatory remark, saying—“ See in Abu Fazl concerning Shah Abbas ; Akbar was defamed by the Mahomedans.” We do not find any direct reference to Shah Abbas in Abu Fazl's writings, but we find him defending his king in his *Ain-i-Akbari* against the attacks made upon him with regard to the reverence paid by him to Sun and Fire.⁴

¹ عرش آشیان is the name given to Akbar after his death.

² Lit. the stirrup.

³ *Vide* my paper “ The Parsees at the Court of Akbar and Dastur Meherji Rânâ,” Journal B. R. A. S., Vol. XXI, No. LVIII, pp. 241-42.

⁴ *Vide* the *Ain-i-Akbari* translated by Blochmann, Vol. I, p. 48. Blochmann's text, I., p. 43, *Ain* 18th.

The last part of the photographed page is not clearly legible, but it means to say that "Shah Abbas wrote to him for that purpose (*i.e.*, for his supposed want of faith), that he had forsaken his old religion and had two religions."

Now, there remains to be examined, the intervening passage about Dastur Schapour. (*Vide* the text of the notes at the end.). This passage has nothing to do with the subject of Dastur Meherji Rânâ and Akbar, but it is worth looking into, as it refers to a conversation between him and Dastur Meherji Rânâ. Who was this Dastur Schapour, who, says Anquetil, was Darab's sixth forefather? Anquetil's own work helps us in this matter. In his translation of the prayer known as Dhoup-Nerang,¹ we find his name thus remembered, "Je rappelle l'ame pure et heureuse du Destour Schapour (fils adoptif) de l'Herbad Kekobâd."² Then, in the footnote, in reference to the name of Dastur Schapour, Anquetil says: "Darab, dont j'ai pris les leçons à Surate (ci-d Discours prélim no II et III): est le sixiéme descendant en ligne direct de ce Destour qui était fils de Bahman."³

This Dastur Schapour and his adoptive father Kaikobâd belonged to Surat. In the above prayer of Dhoup-Nerang, Anquetil also gives the name of a Dastur Ispeniar as that of a brother of Dastur Schapour and son of Bahman. We find the name of this Dastur Aspandyar Bahman as that of a leading Dastur of Surat in the Revâyet of 1626 A.D., known as Bahman Aspandyar's Revâyet⁴ and in that of 1627 A.D. known as that of Bahman Poonjiesh of Surat.⁵ We find the name of Bahman, the father of Dastur Schapour and Dastur Asfandiar as that of a leading Dastur of Surat (Dastur Bahman bin Faridun) in Kâüs Mâhyâr's⁶ Revayet of 1601 A.D.

The references in Anquetil's notes to Dastur Schapour, that he was at first locked up by his father Kaikobâd, that he was subsequently released, that he recited some verses before king Akbar, and that he was given some land by the king, require elucidation. I have not been able to get any information about this Dastur of Surat. I have come to know, that a known priestly family of Surat, known as the

¹ Le Zend Avesta Tome II, p. 53.

² *i.e.*, I invoke the pious and happy soul of Dastur Schapour (the adopted son) of Herbad Kaikobad.

³ *i.e.*, Darab, before whom I took lessons at Surat, is the 6th descendant in direct line from this Dastur, who was the son of Bahman.

⁴ Bombay University's Ms. Revâyet of Dârâb Hormuzdyâr, Vol. I, fol. 69 a l. 9

دستور اسفندیار بهمن

دستور اسفندیار دستور بهمن

⁵ *Ibid.*, f. 65 a l. 12.

⁶ Parsee Prakash, I, p. 839.

Vide also Khan Bahadur Bomanjee Byramjee Patel's Parsee Prakâsh, I, pp. 12 13

Mirzâ family, had some land given to them by a Mogul king, but the family traditions attribute that gift not to Akbar but to a later king.

The word *gâm* referred to in the conversation between Dastur Schapour and Dastur Meherji Rânâ is the word *gâma* (p. ۱۸), meaning a step. The Parsees are prohibited from making water in a standing posture, lest the splashing of the urine on the lower part of the leg may cause disease, &c. The Sad-dar treats of this subject. (*Vide S. B. E. XXIV, p. 317, West, Chap. LVI.* According to other MSS. this subject forms the 60th chap.)

In conclusion, I beg to thank Miss Menant for kindly drawing my attention to Anquetil's manuscript notes and for sending me a photograph of these notes. I also beg to offer my best thanks to the authorities of the Bibliothèque Nationale for kindly giving all facilities for photographing these notes.



APPENDIX.

I give here in full the passages as read by Miss Menant. The footnotes are my own.

The first passage is on the subject of the Farhang-i-Jehângiri for which Ardeshir was sent for from Persia. It is as follows :—

“(1) Le Mogul Akbar ne trouvant pas de Destour qui lui répondit sur tout, de l’avis du Destour Mehernej. . . (?) de nan¹ écrivit à Schah Abbas, sophi de Perse, de lui en envoya un de Kerman. . . . Chah Abas lui envoya le Destour Ardeschir qui commença sous lui le pharh (ang)² fini sous Djehanguir et qui en porte le nom. (Hyde, p. 4 dit que c'est Ibn-Fakeruddin Angjou qui l'a rédigé.)”

The second passage is on the subject of Dastur Meherji Rânâ explaining the religion to Akbar. It is as follows :—

(2) “Le Mogul Akbar, père de Djehanguir, est venu à Kakrikari, une flè de Surate, il ya 150 ans ou plus, il était curieux. . . . voulut savoir la religion des parsses ; il ne trouva³ que le Destour Meher-nuj de nan⁴ (de Nauçary) qui pût lui expliquer la loi. Ce fut lui qui en voyant pisser le Destour Schapour destour⁵ [qui avait été enfermé par son père Kekbad de peur qu'il n'allât réciter 60⁶ vers à l'honneur de Akbar et ne pût pas répondre à ses questions, ensuite ayant été délivré il alla les réciter à Akbar qui lui donna des terres à Nauçary⁷] le 6^e ayeul de Darab lui dit que la loi ordon (nait) de pisser à un *gam*, auquel le Destour dit que c'était bon pour le Kerman, terre sablonneuse, mais dans une terre ferme comme l'Inde, il fallait pisser plus loin de peur de se salir par le pissat rejoilli. Le Destour admira sa sagesse, lui prédit qui'il mourrait. Cinq ans après le Destour Schapour mourut.

(On ne peut absolument épouser une étrangère avant qu'elle se soit déclarée parssi (e) et mis le sadderé).

Voy⁸. dans Abulfazel au sujet de Schah Abas. Akbar fut diffamé par les Mahométans ; il mettait le Kosti et avait construit un dak (ma ?),

¹ *Vide* above, p. 106, n. 2.

² The word pharhang is clear. The last three or rather two and-a-half letters have disappeared in the margin. Half the letter “a” appears in the photo.

³ The words seem to be “ il ne se trouva.”

⁴ *Vide* above, n. 1.

⁵ Miss Menant in her first letter says of this part : “ Ici une étrange parenthèse qui s'interrompt.”

⁶ I do not think the word is 60. It is rather “ de.” I would translate the passage thus : “ And recite some verses.”

⁷ Miss Menant in her first letter says : “ Ici l'étrange parenthèse reprend.”

⁸ Voyez.

parce qu'il était curieux de savoir toutes les religions. Schah Abas lui écrivit à ce sujet que le rest? et ? ferengui¹ avait abandonné la². et avait deux religions.

TRANSLATION BY MISS MENANT.

(The first passage on the Farhang-i-Jehângiri and Ardeshir.)

"The Mogul Akbar finding no Dastur, who had an answer for everything, according to Dastur Meherji Rânâ's opinion,³ wrote to Shah Abbas Sophi of Persia to send him one from Kerman.

"Shah Abbas sent him Dastur Ardeshir who began under him the Pharh (hang) finished under Djehanguir and which bears his name. (Hyde, p. 4, says that it is ibn Fakeruddin Angjou who wrote it.)"

(The second passage on Dastur Meherji Rânâ explaining the religion to Akbar).

"The Mogul Akbar, Djehanguir's father, came to Kakrikari, one f. (furlong) and-a-half from Surat, one hundred and fifty years⁴ or more. He was curious⁵ to know the religion of the Parsees. He found only Dastur Meher⁶ (of Nausari) who was able to explain the law⁷ to him. He was the one who, seeing Dastur Schapour making water [who⁸ (Dastur Schapour) had been locked up by his father Kekobad lest he should go and recite 60 lines of poetry (verse) in honour of Akbar and not be able to answer his (Akbar's) questions; afterwards having been released, he went and recited them to Akbar who gave him lands at Nauçary]⁹ Darab's 6th forefather¹⁰ told him that the law enjoined to make water at a *gam* to whom the Dastur said that it was right for Kerman, a sandy land, but that in a dry land like India, it was necessary to make water farther in order to avoid pollution (lest you should be polluted) by the splashing of the urine. The Dastur admired his wisdom, foretold him his death. Five years after Dastur Schapour died.

¹¹ (It is absolutely impossible to marry a foreign wife before she has confessed herself a Parsi and put on the sadderé.)

¹ Miss Menant says of this part that it is " Illisible (illegible)."

² Miss Menant adds " Illisible, écrit sur la marge."

³ " De l'avis du Meher." i.e., on the advice of Meherji Rânâ.

⁴ i.e., 150 years ago.

⁵ Add after this "and wished to" omitted to be translated.

⁶ Meheriâr, the son of Rânâ, *vide* above, p. 106, n. 2.

⁷ i.e., the religion of the Parsees.

⁸ Miss Menant says : Here a strange parenthesis intervenes.

⁹ Here the parenthesis closes.

¹⁰ This refers to Dastur Schapour. The proper translation would be—

" It was he who, seeing Dastur Schapour, the 6th ancestor of Darab, making water, told him, &c.

¹¹ This passage has nothing to do with the subject.

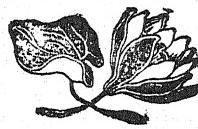
See in Abu Fazl, concerning Shah Abbas. Akbar was defamed by the Mohammedans. He put on the Kusti and had built a dâk (ma),¹ because he was curious to know every religion.

Shah Abbas wrote to him for that purpose that? had forsaken² and had two religions.³"

¹ Tower of Silence.

² Miss Menant says about the word that it was "impossible to read even with a magnifying glass.

³ Miss Menant says of her translation, that she has submitted it to Miss Williams, Professor of English, at the Sorbonne, and she has found it correct. She says: "je joins à l'épreuve une copie en français que j'ai faite à la loupe, et ma traduction anglaise que j'ai soumise à Miss Williams, Professeur d'Anglais à le Sorbonne et membre de l'Ed. B.D. à Londres. Elle l'a trouvé bonne."



ART. XX—*On the Cyropædia.*

By R. K. DADACHANJEE, B.A., LLB.

(Read 22nd September 1903.)

1. The *Cyropædia*, says Cicero (*Fratr. 1-1-8*) was written “not in conformity with the truth of history, but to exhibit a representation of an excellent government;” and Dr. Smith (*Classical Dic.*, art. on Xenophon) apparently following Cicero, calls the work a “political romance;” while Rawlinson refers to it casually as a “romance.” (Foot-note No. 9 to p. 277, Bk. I. of Translation of Herodotus.). Aulus Gellius was of opinion, that the work was composed in opposition to the “*Republic*” of Plato; while the learned author of the article on Xenophon in the *Encyclopædia Britannica* remarks, as to the work:—“A distinct moral purpose to which literal truth is sacrificed runs through the work.” But it has been generally believed that there is an admixture of historical truth and fiction in the *Cyropædia*. Says Dr. Smith (*Classical Dic.*, art. on Cyrus the Elder):—“The history of his (Cyrus the Elder’s) life was overlaid in ancient times with fables and romances, and is narrated differently by Herodotus, Ctesius, and Xenophon. . . . Xenophon’s account is preserved in the *Cyropædia*.” Now the questions, that this paper will discuss, are, whether this view as to the bearing of the *Cyropædia* on the life of the historical Cyrus the Elder, or Cyrus the Great, is correct; whether the hero of the said work is the historical Cyrus, the Persian, or whether he is really a Grecian, except in being labelled with a Persian name, and represented to be a grandson of Astyages, the Mede, and as having conquered Lydia and Babylon;—whether the author, himself, has composed the work with the object of recording, at all, any facts of history relating to the Persian historical personage, Cyrus the Elder, or whether he has produced the work with certain other objects. The prevailing view on these questions, as above noted, has, owing to the well-deserved popularity of the *Cyropædia* among students of the classics, been the source, direct and indirect, of much general misconception as to the history, not only, of Cyrus the Elder, but also of the Persians of his times, and of the ancient Persians in general, especially as to the institutions that prevailed amongst them, and their religious and social ideas, and beliefs. It is, therefore, necessary to demonstrate the incorrectness of the hitherto accepted view as to the historical value of the *Cyropædia*.

2. Xenophon was, like all other disciples of Socrates, devotedly attached to the memory of his great preceptor, and never ceased lamenting over his untimely sad end. He says in the *Memorabilia* of

Socrates (IV-8-11) :—“ Of those who knew what sort of man Socrates was, such as were lovers of virtue, continue to regret above all other men, even to the present day, as having contributed in the highest degree to their advancement in goodness.” And he composed the Memor., which contains a record of the sayings and doings, and of the qualities and character of Socrates, with the object of vindicating the character of that great teacher of virtue, and that of his noble teachings.

3. Socrates had mourned over the fallen state of the Athenians of his times. They had become degenerate ; honor and virtue had fled from their city ; the elders and magistrates were not respected, but were set at naught ; mutual envy, distrust and contests prevailed ; the Athenian cavalry and infantry, both, knew no obedience—no discipline ; generals, commanding the army, were incompetent and ignorant ; and every right-minded Athenian feared the happening, at any time, all on a sudden, of a catastrophe to the state. This picture of the state of Athens of the times of Socrates has been painted in its darkest colors in the discourse between Socrates and Pericles, a son of the great Pericles, and a disciple of Socrates, as recorded in the Memor. (III-5-1 to III-5-14). And when asked by Pericles as to the means by which “ the Athenians could recover their pristine glory,” the great sage replied :—“ If they [*i.e.*, the Athenians] imitate those, who are at the head of Greece [*i.e.*, the Spartans], adhere to their institutions, and attend to the same duties with diligence equal to theirs, they [the Athenians] will stand not at all below them, and if they use greater exertion, even above them.”

4. Our author, therefore, had both as a disciple of Socrates, and a patriotic Athenian, two tasks set before him—the first, of completing the vindication of the teachings and character of his great teacher ; and the second, of applying the remedies prescribed by the great reformer for reforming the Athenians, and renewing their lost virtue and glory. The author attempts in the Cyropædia to accomplish both these tasks by pretending, that Cyrus, who was known to the Greeks of his times through Herodotus at least, if not by report and tradition, as the greatest conqueror of the world, owed his unprecedented greatness and glory to the possession of qualities, possessed or admired by Socrates, and to the influence of practices similar to those followed by Socrates, and to educational institutions similar to those recommended by Socrates, and to knowledge of military tactics and art acquired in the way taught by Socrates ; and that the Persians, as a nation, also, were indebted for their greatness to the same circumstances. Our author had, in effect, through the pages of the Cyropædia, thus addressed the Athenians :—“ Observe, how Cyrus and the Persians became so great, what qualities and institutions they possessed. Do you have the same

qualities and institutions ; and you will, also, be as great as the Persians under Cyrus." And that our author did aim at teaching the Athenians, through the medium of the Cyropædia, by what means a nation could attain to greatness, and at inciting them to try to be great by adopting those means, is clear from the very first chapter of the work. Our author observes :—(I-1-5 and 6) "Cyrus attached to himself so many nations, as it would be a labour to enumerate, which way so ever, we should commence our course from his palace, whether towards the east, west, north or south. With respect to this man, therefore, as worthy of admiration, I have inquired what he was by birth, what qualities he possessed from nature, and with what education he was brought up, that he so eminently excelled in governing men. Whatever, accordingly, I have ascertained, or think, that I understand, concerning him, I shall endeavour to relate."

5. The following observations lead us to conclude, that Cyrus, the hero of the Cyropædia (who will hereafter be referred to as Cyrus, or as the hero, while his Persian original will be spoken of as the Persian Cyrus) is not a Persian at all, except in name, and in being represented as the grandson of Astyages, and the conqueror of Lydia and Babylon, but is an imaginary personage, who is a Grecian in every particular and is, moreover, a Grecian of the school of Socrates, possessed of qualities and accomplishments, possessed, admired, or recommended by Socrates, and guided by principles and beliefs, practised and believed in, by Socrates, and who had his character formed under institutions, recommended by Socrates, and that similarly, the Persians, described and referred to in the Cyropædia, are an imaginary nation, who are, really, Grecians, and who possess qualities similar to those possessed by, and have been brought up under the same institutions as, Cyrus, the hero of the work.

6. *Firstly*, the Memorabilia says : (IV-5-11) "Socrates was so pious, that he did nothing without the sanction of the gods (I-2-64). He was seen frequently sacrificing at home, and frequently on the public altars, nor was it unknown, that he used divination (II-7-10). . . . if any one desired to attain to what was beyond human wisdom, he (Socrates) advised him to study divination, for, he said, that he who knew by what signs the gods give indications to men respecting human affairs, would never fail of obtaining counsel from the gods." We find, that Cyrus, also, was pious, offered sacrifices to gods before doing anything of importance, and resorted to divination for ascertaining their wishes and advice. When he started on his first military expedition, his father said to him, at the time of parting from him (I-6-1) : "That the gods send you forth propitiously and favorably is evident, my son, both from the sacrifices, and from the signs from the heaven ; and

you, yourself, know it to be so, for I have, purposely, taught you these things, that you might not learn what the gods advise from other interpreters, but that you, yourself, seeing what is to be seen, and hearing what is to be heard, might understand for yourself, and not be in the power of augurs, if they should wish to deceive you, and that moreover, you might not be at a loss to profit by the divine signals, but understanding by your knowledge in divination, the advice given you by the gods, you might follow it." And when Cyrus was admonished by a dream to prepare for death, he offered sacrifices, and uttered this prayer : " O Jupiter Patrius ! thou sun, and all ye gods, receive this sacrifice as an acknowledgment of assistance in the achievement of many honorable deeds, and as an offering of gratitude to you for having signified to me by victims, by signs from heaven, by birds, and by omens, what it became me to do."

7. The omens considered propitious by Cyrus are " lightning and thunder " (I-6-1), an eagle appearing to the right and leading the way (II-1-1),—thunder on the right,—being, omens, in which the Grecians believed.

8. *Secondly*, the gods and goddesses worshipped by Cyrus are Grecian gods and goddesses, and objects of worship, and the modes in which he worshipped them are also Grecian. Thus, Cyrus "made supplications to the gods and heroes, who presided over the land of Persia" (II-1-1)... "sacrificed to Jupiter the King, and afterwards to the other deities, and, likewise, invoked the heroes, who dwelt in, and protected Media" (III-3-21)... "performed propitiatory rites to the Earth with libations" (III-3-22)... "with crown upon his head, made a sacrifice" (III-3-34). And after the conquest of Babylon, Cyrus "celebrated games in all exercises practised by men with a view to war, whenever he made a sacrifice, or solemnized a festival." (VIII-1-25). Before entering upon the occupation of his palace in Babylon, he "first sacrificed to the goddess Vesta, then Jupiter the King." (VII-5-57). There is a picturesque description given in the Cyropædia of the first grand public religious procession led in the Grecian style to the temples by Cyrus, and the sacrifices offered, and celebrated, there, in the same style. (VIII-3-11 to 24). Now, Herodotus had declared :—" They (the Persians) have no images of the gods, no temples, nor altars, and consider the use of them a sign of folly. This comes, I think, from their not believing the gods to have the same nature with man."

9. *Thirdly*, the division in the Cyropædia of the so-called Persians into 4 classes according to age, *viz.*, (i) boys, (ii) youths, (iii) full-grown men, and (iv) men beyond the years for military service (I-2-4),—the training and education in public schools (I-2-15) of the boys and the

youths, to be just (I-2-6) to practise self-control, to obey their officers, to be temperate in eating and drinking, and to shoot with the bow, and to throw the javelin, the institution of the Elders, being those Persians, who were above the age for rendering military service, and who "had the dispensation of public justice, and took cognizance of matters of life and death" (I-2-8), and who controlled the King and possessed the power of making war and peace, and appointing the commander of troops levied for the purposes of any war, are institutions, which are in every main detail, Spartan, and which had no existence outside Lacedæmon. In the public schools of his country Cyrus was educated, until he attained the age of 28 years, except for a short interval of time, during which he was stopping at the court of Astyages, when he was 12 years old; and his active career in life, and in the world, commenced, after he had entered the class of full-grown men. Thus, the education received by Cyrus, and the institutions he was brought up under, are manifestly Grecian, and not at all Persian.

10. *Fourthly*, Socrates was of opinion,—according to the Memor. (III-3-11) that "a commander of cavalry in addition to his other qualifications should study to acquire some ability in speaking." And we find, that our hero had acquired very great ability in speaking. He constantly delivers addresses to his officers, and troops, and companions. He, also, frequently discourses on moral subjects,—has when yet a boy, a discourse with his mother on justice (I-3-16 to 18). He was trained by his father in the art of holding discourses; for the latter reminded him, when he started on his first military expedition: "Have you forgotten, my son, those other matters, on which you and I used to discourse" (I-6-7). And Cyrus "always took care, that when he entertained any of the men in his tent, the most agreeable subjects of discourse, and such as might excite them to good conduct should be introduced." The hero, also, discusses psychological and metaphysical questions. To a companion, he said: (III-1-17) "You say, then, that discretion is a passion of the mind, as grief is, and not a matter of knowledge," and on his death-bed, he expressed his belief in the immortality of the soul in these words:—"For my part, my sons, I have never been persuaded, that the soul lives as long as it is in a mortal body, and dies, when it is separate from it." And our author records in detail the philosophical reasons, the hero had, for introducing every new institution amongst the so-called Persians. And almost every chapter of the work bristles with discourses, mostly on moral subjects, similar to those to be met with in the Memor.

11. *Fifthly*, Cyrus and the so-called Persians spoken of in the Cyropædia are characterized by qualities possessed, or admired, by

Socrates. The qualities possessed by Socrates are, thus, touchingly summed up by our author in the Memor. (IV-8-10) :—“ To me, being such as I have described him, so pious, that he did nothing without the sanction of the gods, so just, that he wronged no man even in the most trifling affair, but was of service in the most important matters to those who enjoyed his society ; so temperate, that he never preferred pleasure to virtue; so wise, that he never erred in distinguishing better from worse, needing no counsel from others but being sufficient in himself to discriminate between them, so able to explain and settle such questions by argument, and so capable of discerning the character of others, of confuting those who were in error, and of exhorting them to virtue and honor, he seemed to me such as the best and happiest of men would be.” Cyrus exhibits, pre-eminently, each and every one of these qualities, and lives and dies “ the best and happiest of men.” Some of these qualities of Cyrus have already been noticed, *viz.*, his piety, his capacity for holding discourses, and leading men to virtue and honor. He was also just, one of his companions, thus, testifying to his justice (II-3-12.) :—“ It greatly animates me, my friends, to enter the lists against the enemy, that Cyrus is to be our judge, a man who judges not partially or invidiously.” And his discourse with his mother on justice, when almost a boy, has already been mentioned. Several instances of his justice are given in the Cyropædia, notably his treatment of the King of Armenia (IV-1-34 to 42 and III-3-2), and his fair and equal distribution of all spoils, taken in battles, amongst “ all those who were concerned in capturing them” (IV-2-42). After he assumed the imperial state, he regulated his own conduct so as to “ set a good example to his followers and subjects, by manifesting that he esteemed it of great importance to do no injury to any friend or ally, but to adhere strictly to justice.” (VIII-1-26).

12. Cyrus was of service to those, who enjoyed his society, from his early age. When he was living in Media with his grandfather Astyages, during his boyhood, “ he for the most part passed his time, contributing much pleasure and service to everyone, without doing the least harm” (I-4-15). And on his death-bed, he said :—(VIII-7-25) “ I have hitherto borne an affection to men.”

13. *Sixtly*, the Memor. says (I-3-5): “ He (Socrates) was so frugal, that I do not know, whether anyone could earn so little by the labor of his hands, as not to procure sufficient to have satisfied Socrates. He took only so much food, as he could eat with a keen relish, and to this end, he came to his meals so disposed, that the appetite for his meal was the sauce to it.” Cyrus, and the Cyropædic Persians, acted on the same principle. That work says, that (I-2-16) “ there remain to the present day proofs of the spare diet used among the

Persians, and of their carrying it off by exercise," and that (IV-1-29) Cyrus "took care, that his troops should never go to their dinner or supper without previous exercise."

14. *Seventhly*, the Memor. says:—"As to love, his (Socrates's) counsel was to abstain rigidly from familiarity with beautiful persons, for he observed, that it was not easy to be in communication with such persons, and observe continence." Cyrus was also of the same opinion, and followed the same rule of conduct. When a most beautiful woman, called Panthea, fell to his share at a certain distribution of spoils, amongst the allied armies, that he led, he was told (V-1-7), that "whoever saw her, thought, that never was yet born, or produced of mortals, such a woman throughout Asia;" and he was asked to go and see her; but his reply was: "Certainly not, much less, if she be such a one, as you say;" and he entrusted her to one Arespes, a Mede, and "rigidly abstained from having any communication with her," except afterwards on business.

15. *Eighthly*, the Memor. states, that "Socrates was not only superior to all corporeal pleasures, but also to those attendant on acquisition of money" (I-5-6), and that he preached, (II-5-405) that "a good friend appeared far more valuable in comparison with all other possessions, for the reason, (II-5-6) that a good friend was ready to supply what was wanting on the part of his friend, whether in his private affairs, or for the public interests." Similarly, Cyrus despised possession of riches, and regarded possession of friends to be a most valuable possession. He said reproachfully to Crœsus:—(VIII-2-19) "You bid me hoard up treasures in my own possession to be envied and hated for them, and to set hired guards over them, and trust in them; but by making my friends rich, I consider them as my treasures, and as guards both to myself and to all things of value that belong to me." And Cyrus proved the correctness of this opinion, and the fidelity of his friends, in the following manner:—He called upon each of them separately to assist him with money, pleading a sudden want therefor. The amounts, that his friends, then, offered to him, and placed at his disposal, came, according to the calculations of Crœsus to "many times the sum, that he had told Cyrus, he might have had, then, in his treasury, if he had hoarded."

16. *Ninthly*, Socrates rigidly required the performance by children of their duties to their parents. His censure to his son, who acted undutifully towards his mother was, says the Memor. (II-2-14) as follows:—"You will have regard to the opinion of men, lest observing you to be neglectful of your parents, they should all condemn you." Cyrus was, also, a most dutiful son. After he had conquered Babylon, and adopted the rank and dignities of an emperor, his uncle Cyaxares

offered to him the hand of his daughter in marriage. The reply of Cyrus was : " I am ready to accept your offer, with the consent of my father and mother," though he and his cousin were attached to, and loved, each other from an early age.

17. It will be clear, now, that our author intended the Cyropædia to serve, for the most part, as a moral romance—teaching the doctrines of Socrates in moral philosophy. But that the work, also, seeks to teach the Athenians how to cure their moral and military and educational defects by applying the remedies, prescribed by Socrates, is apparent from the following points.

18. *Firstly*, the educational system of the so-called Persians is described in detail, and the advantages reaped by them therefrom are theoretically explained, and practically illustrated, in the words and acts of Cyrus, and the so-called Persians.

19. *Secondly*, our author attempts to convey to the Athenians a knowledge of military science,—of the art of managing an army in war and peace, by putting into the mouth of the father of Cyrus an elaborate and lengthy lecture on that subject to Cyrus, when he departed on his first military expedition, and also by giving detailed descriptions of the military regulations of Cyrus, and of military tactics, and strategy employed by him in his campaigns. The expositions appear to be profound and sound, and of value even in these days.

20. *Thirdly*, the Memor. records the opinion of Socrates, (III-5-14) that " as some other nations had grown indolent through excessive exaltation and power, so, likewise, the Athenians after attaining great pre-eminence had grown neglectful of themselves, and had consequently become degenerate." And the evils of indolence are dwelt and dilated upon, in a lengthy speech by Cyrus (VII-5-72). He was never tired of impressing upon his people the necessity and importance of constant activity and preparedness.

21. *Fourthly*, the Memor. recorded the following opinion expressed by a disciple of Socrates with his approval, that the " Athenians did not reverence their elders as the Spartans did, and did not obey the magistrates like the Spartans, and made it their pride to set the magistrates at nought." Hence Chrysantas, an equal-in-honor of Cyrus, delivers a lengthy harangue on the incalculable benefits to be derived by an army, and a nation, from obedience to superiors, and duly constituted authorities.

22. *Fifthly*, the Cyropædia describes how, and why, Cyrus taught those about him to be religious and pious, (VIII 1-23 to 25) to be just, (VIII-1-28) never to say or do anything unbecoming (VIII-1-28), to practise natural modesty, (VIII-1-29-31) to exhibit great respect and politeness

of behaviour" (VIII-1-33), to "inure themselves to military arts and exercises" (VIII-1-37). Of course, these as well as all other lessons, were intended by our author for the edification of the Athenians.

23. Our author, thus, touches upon moral, military, and educational subjects. He does not profess to describe any ideal political state, worthy of imitation. He, only, cursorily, observes, that the Kings of Persia were subject to the authority of the magistrates, which was supreme in the state. But he, nowhere, suggests, that the Persians derived any special benefit from having the institution of a limited monarchy amongst them, as Sparta had ; nor does Socrates praise it in the Memor. No doubt, our author describes in detail the institutions established by Cyrus, after he exalted himself to the imperial rank. But these were expressly intended for the government of the provinces conquered by Cyrus, and not for the government of the so-called Persians. For our author says (VIII-1-43) : " Such as Cyrus thought worthy to govern, he of himself trained in this manner both by exercise and by presiding over them with dignity. But those whom he trained for servitude, he never incited to practise any liberal pursuit, or allowed them to possess arms." And if Cicero meant to refer to the constitution of the empire founded by Cyrus, when he said, that the Cyropædia was written "to exhibit an excellent form of Government," that constitution, so far from being excellent, is wholly despotic and execrable. For Cyrus withdrew himself from intercourse with his former friends and equals, (VII-5-37), purposely made them dance attendance at the doors of his palace (VIII-1-6), employed spies designating them "eyes and ears of the King," so that "people were afraid everywhere of saying anything offensive to the King," (VIII-2-10 and 12), established a corps of body-guards of eunuchs (VII-5-65-66), and 10,000 spearmen (VII-5-66) for the safety of his person, and for inspiring his subjects with awe for him and for his despotism, appointed ministers, and Satraps, and inspectors of Satraps, for the conquered provinces, without consulting, or taking any orders from, the Elders in Council of Persia, who had in the first instance, appointed him at the head of the victorious Persian army, and had the power of depriving him of the command of that army at any time. This autocratic system of Government devised by Cyrus the Emperor seems to lend colour to the opinion of Gellius, that our author wrote the Cyropædia in opposition to the republic of Plato. But why—that is, with what objects—our author composed the work, has been shewn.

24. That the Cyropædia has been cast in a mould similar to that of our modern romance, is evident from the following considerations :—

25. *Firstly*, the hero's career is traced from his birth to his marriage. He is ideally perfect in virtue, wisdom, and as a great military com-

mander, gains wonderful victories and successes, apparently without much difficulty, and dies, as a hero should die on the stage.

26. *Secondly*, characters are introduced into the story, who assist the hero in carrying out the plot of the story ; and one of them is duly married ; virtue is everywhere triumphant in the work, and the best characters for temperance, chastity, generosity, magnanimity, justice, and every kind of virtue are given.

27. *Thirdly*, every incident, as a rule, is linked with the earlier and later ones, and carries the story forward towards the end. Jests, and light conversations, are introduced to maintain the interest of the story.

28. *Fourthly*, five episodes, which are obviously fictitious, have been woven into the plot of the story, to enhance its interest. One of these, which relates to the chaste and heroic Panthea, and her chivalrous and heroic husband, and their sad tragic end, is very pathetic. Two episodes —one relating to Gobrayas (IV-6-1 to 8), and the other relating to Gadatas (V-2-27), are sensational at the outset. The fourth episode refers transparently to the death of Socrates, and explains its cause (III-1-38), while the fifth one (VIII-3-46 to 50) bears a resemblance to a scene described in the Memor. (II-9).

29. The institution of equals-in-honor is fictitious, and this name, it is suggested, resembles the name of a Spartan institution. Again, the origin of horsemanship amongst the Persians, as described in the Cyropaedia is, also, fictitious ; because the Avesta writings bear testimony to the use of horses amongst the ancient Persians, and Herodotus, also, says : “The sons of the Persians are carefully instructed from their fifth to the 20th year in three things alone—to ride, to draw the bow, and speak the truth” (I-135).



ART. XXI.—*Discovery of Ancient Brāhmi Script in Kashmir.*

BY REV. J. E. ABBOTT, D.D.

(Read 17th December 1903.)

I have the pleasure of announcing to this Society my discovery in Srinagar, Kashmir, of short inscriptions in the ancient Brāhmi, or Aśoka script, dating about 150 B.C., the first of their kind ever brought to light in that country. The importance of this discovery will at once be realized by all Indian archæologists.

On the 22nd of June 1903, as I was leaving Srinagar, and floating down the Jhelum, I remembered that I had neglected to visit the tomb of Zainu-l-ābidin, just below the fourth bridge. Our boats were therefore moored at the landing, and the ruins examined. My eye at once fell on an inscription of four letters in the ancient Brāhmi script, on the right wall of the entrance gate to Zainu-l-ābidin's tomb. Closer examination revealed other short inscriptions of three letters each. Continuing my search to the East entrance gate of the enclosure to Zainu-l-ābidin's mother's tomb, I found both the right and left entrance walls had letters on them in the same Brāhmi script. There were also other letters of a more modern type. As these inscriptions are very plain to the sight, it is difficult to account for the fact that their existence has escaped the notice of the archæologists who have visited these ruins, and who would have at once recognized their importance. These ruins were visited and described by Cunningham (see J., R. A. S., Bengal, 1848, page 241 and following). They were photographed by Lieut. H. H. Cole in 1868 (see Illustrations of Ancient Buildings in Kashmir, by Henry Hardy Cole, Lieut., R.E., page 15). In 1865, Rev. W. G. Cowie, Chaplain on duty in Kashmir, made a study of Kashmir temples and described those omitted by Cunningham. (See Notes on Some of the Temples of Kashmir by W. G. Cowie in J., R. A. S., Bengal, 1866, Part 1, page 91). Mr. Cowie makes no mention of these ruins, though it is hardly likely that he did not visit them. In 1875, Dr. Geo. Bühler visited Kashmir in search of Sanskrit manuscripts (see his report in the J., R. A. S., Bombay, Extra number, 1877), but he does not mention these ruins, and perhaps did not visit them. Dr. M. A. Stein visited Kashmir in 1888, 1889, 1895, 1896, 1898 for the archæological study of that country in connection with his great work on the *Rājatarangani*, but these inscriptions escaped his notice. There have, of course, been many other visitors to these ruins, but either these inscriptions have not been noticed, or, if noticed, none have realized their importance sufficiently to make their existence public.

I have here to express my deep regret that my discovery of these inscriptions was at a time when I felt I had not an hour to spare to take squeezes, and otherwise secure materials for their proper study, all arrangements having been completed for leaving Baramulla the next day. I had, therefore, to reluctantly continue my journey. My regret however is less keen from the fact that the content of the inscriptions is doubtless of little consequence as compared with the discovery of the fact that the form of the letters are the ancient Brāhmi script of about 150 B.C. This proves that that script was anciently used in Kashmir, and also gives evidence as to the early date of the ruins on which the letters are inscribed. A hasty pencil copy of the letters on the gateway to Zainu-l-ābidin's tomb, and a photograph of the left wall of the gateway to the enclosure of Zainu-l-ābidin's mother's tomb, was all I had time to obtain to carry away for study. I trust, however, that these gateways will now be carefully examined, and facts to be learned be more certainly determined than can be done from the data supplied by my single hour's investigation, and my rough copies of these inscriptions.

I have assumed that the form of the letters indicates a date about 150 B.C., but I think that it would be safer to say that the letters in these inscriptions are too few in number to make one sure within a century or two, since they happen to be letters that in the history of alphabetic development kept their original form the longest. And again, as this is the first discovery of this script in Kashmir, we are as yet without data as to the history of alphabetic development in Kashmir itself as distinguished from the alphabetic development in India. These two considerations should for the present leave deductions from the form of these letters open to further light.

THE INSCRIPTIONS.

1. On the panel under the pediment of the left wall of the gateway leading into the enclosure of Zainu-l-ābidin's mother's tomb, are three letters, *de sā ka*, I am not able to conjecture what the meaning may be. It does not look as though these letters were a part of a longer inscription; and yet there are faint traces of a possible line above in a smaller hand.¹

2. On the same side wall, to the right of the upper angle of the pediment, is another inscription of three letters. I had depended on my Kodak to preserve a record of this inscription, as it was very distinct. Unfortunately in my photograph the first letter of the inscription is partially hidden behind the upper angle of the pediment. The

¹Prof. Bandal has suggested the possibility of the reading being *ae-sa-ka*, "preacher."

other two letters are *sā kka*, or possibly *sā ko*. The first letter does not seem to be *de*, as in the inscription mentioned above. One is naturally tempted as a trial to conjecture Sākka, the Pali for Sākyā.¹

3. There are detached letters on other parts of this wall apparently also in the same script, and others again in, I think, a later script.

4. On the right hand wall there are also detached letters of apparently a later date.

5. On the entrance gate to Zainu-l-ābidin's tomb, on the right wall, and to the right of the upper angle of the pediment, is an inscription with the following consonants *th. b. k. t.* The vowel marks were not distinct enough to my eye to make me feel sure what were the original, and what have come from the accidents of time. With the exception of the first letter *th* the same inscription seems to occur in two other places; one on the pilaster to the right of the pediment, and the other a little below this second inscription. On account of this uncertainty of vowel marks I cannot definitely decide what the words may be. I conjecture however the Pali words *Thubo kato*, in Sanscrit स्थूपः कृतः “made the Stupa.”²

IMPORTANCE OF THE DISCOVERY.

The oldest script hitherto found in Kashmir has been on the coins of Toramāna and Pravarasena, and on a fragment of Didda Rani's time (980—1004 A.D.), (now in the Lahore Museum), all in the Gupta character. All other specimens of ancient script are in the later Śarada character. My discovery therefore of the Brāhmi Script on these ruined gateways establishes the fact that the Brāhmi or Aśoka script was also in use in Kashmir, as was suspected, but the evidence of which has hitherto been wanting.³

Secondly.—The importance of this discovery lies in the fact that it settles the approximate date of these gateways. They may for the present be considered the oldest architectural ruins in Kashmir, about 150 B.C. It is interesting to note that Cunningham (*see J., R.A.S.*,

¹ In Professor C. Bendal's inaugural address, Oct. 30th, 1903, on Aims and Methods of Recent Indian Research, he mentions the interesting fact of the discovery of an image of Buddha of the 1st century A.D. with the Greek legends *Boddo* and *Σακαμα*.

² By the use of a magnifying glass these letters can be easily seen in Cole's photograph No. 5.68, to the right of the upper angle of the upper pediment, and on the pilaster to the right. Cole's photograph 4.68 is of the right side of the gateway to the enclosure of Zainu-l-ābidin's mother's tomb. There are only detached letters on this side wall.

³ See Dr. Geo. Bühler's Report, *J., R.A.S.*, Bombay, 1877. On page 31, he says:—

“The Sharada characters now in use appear first on the coins of Arantivarman (845—884 A.D.). The older coins of Toramana and Pravarasena show pure Gupta characters. They recur also in all Kashmir inscriptions which have been found, the oldest among which is probably the fragment of the time of Didda Rani (980—1004 A.D.) preserved in the Lahore Museum.”

Bengal, 1848) on purely architectural grounds regarded the gateway into the enclosure of Zainu-l-ābidin's tomb, together with the enclosing wall as a little later than the original temple on the Takht-i-Sulaiman which he dated 200 B. C. Cole (see Notes on Ancient Buildings in Kashmir, by Lieut. Cole 1868) following Cunningham, dates these gateways 400 A.D. Fergusson (*see History of Indian and Eastern Architecture*,¹ page 281) disputes this early date of Cunningham on the ground that both enclosing walls, namely, that of the Takht-i-Sulaiman and that of Zainu-l-ābidin's tomb, are of very late date, not earlier than 1416 A.D. He also concludes from descriptions and photographs, that the gateways of the enclosures is of the same age as the enclosing walls.

It is evident however from my discovery that both Fergusson and Cunningham are mistaken as to the age of the gateways, though Cunningham is much nearer right. The enclosing wall may perhaps be of modern date, and built by Zainu-l-ābidin or later, as Fergusson suggests, since the using of old Hindu temples in Mahomedan buildings is common throughout Kashmir. The question of the age of the enclosing wall I must leave to those who have more expert knowledge in the history of architectural development. But the inscriptions leave little room for doubt that the gateways I have described belong to a period B.C. and furnish us with a fixed starting point for the study of the development of Kashmir architecture. There is no reason to

¹ History of Indian and Eastern Architecture by Fergusson, page 281. "The first and most misleading mistake that has been made with reference to Kashmiri Architecture, was the assumption by General Cunningham that the enclosure to Zein-ul-abud-din's tomb in Srinagar originally belonged to an ancient Kashmiri temple. Lieutenant Cole boldly prints on his plates, "probable date A. D. 400 to 500." A mistake as nearly as may be of 1,000 years, as it is hardly doubtful that it was erected for or by the prince whose name it bears, and who, in A. D. 1416, succeeded his father Shikandar, who bore the ill-omened nickname of Bhutshikan, the idol breaker. As will be seen from the woodcut (No. 156), it consists of a series of small pointed arches in rectangular frames, such as are very frequently found in Mahomedan art, and the peculiarities of the gateways and other parts are just such as are found in all contemporary Moslem art in India. All the mosques and tombs, for instance, at Ahmedabad, A. D. 1396-1572, are made up of details borrowed from the architecture of the Jains, and the bases of their minarets and their internal pillars can only be distinguished from those of the heathen by their position, and by the substitution of foliage for human figures in the niches or places where the Hindus would have introduced images of their gods.

In this instance there is no incongruity, no borrowed features; every stone was carved for the place where it is found. There are niches it is true on each side of the gateway, like those found at Martand and other pagan temples; but like those at Ahmedabad they are without images, and the arch in brick which surmounts this gateway is a radiating arch, which appears certainly to be integral, but, if so, could not possibly be erected by a Hindu. When General Cunningham visited the valley in 1848, he was not so familiar as he has since become with the ruins of Gour, Juanpore, Ahmedabad, and other Moslem cities where the architectural forms adopted by the Moslems are with difficulty distinguished from those of the Hindus. With the knowledge we now possess it is not likely that any one can mistake the fact that this enclosure was erected by the prince whose name it bears to surround his tomb, in the Mahomedan cemetery of the city in which it is found."

suppose that the radiating arch of brick was an integral part of the original gateway as Fergusson assumes. These late brick arches to old Hindu gateways are to be frequently seen in Srinagar. Had Fergusson used his magnifying-glass on Cole's photograph No. 568 he would have been saved the blunder of condemning Cunningham's conclusions drawn from architectural considerations which he had gained from observation on the spot. These ancient letters are very plain in Cole's photograph, when once attention is called to them. Fergusson regards the temple at Martand as the oldest known specimen of Hindu architecture in Kashmir, about 700 A.D., my discovery therefore now puts back the date of the oldest known remains in Kashmir to about eight centuries earlier, and brings us nearer the point of the connection with the Greek influence, which is noticed in Kashmir ancient architecture.

Thirdly.—My discovery of the Brāhmi script, establishing its use in Kashmir, makes it almost certain that a careful search wou'd be rewarded by the discovery of other inscriptions in that script, which might throw much needed light on the most ancient period of that country's history. Ancient ruins are abundant. Stones that have an ancient look are frequently seen, and in Srinagar are in great abundance. One cannot but think that a careful search by eyes trained to detect inscriptions would be certainly fruitful. That inscribing on stone was not only an ancient custom, but abundantly employed, we have also reason to believe from Kalhana's statement, that in writing his great history of Kashmir, the *Rājatarangani*, he made use of old inscriptions. His statement in I. 15 is as follows :—

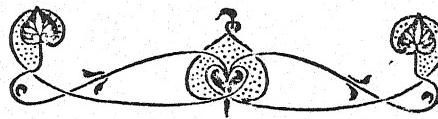
" By looking at the inscriptions recording the consecration of temples, and grants by former kings, at the laudatory inscriptions, and at written works, the trouble arising from many errors has been overcome."¹

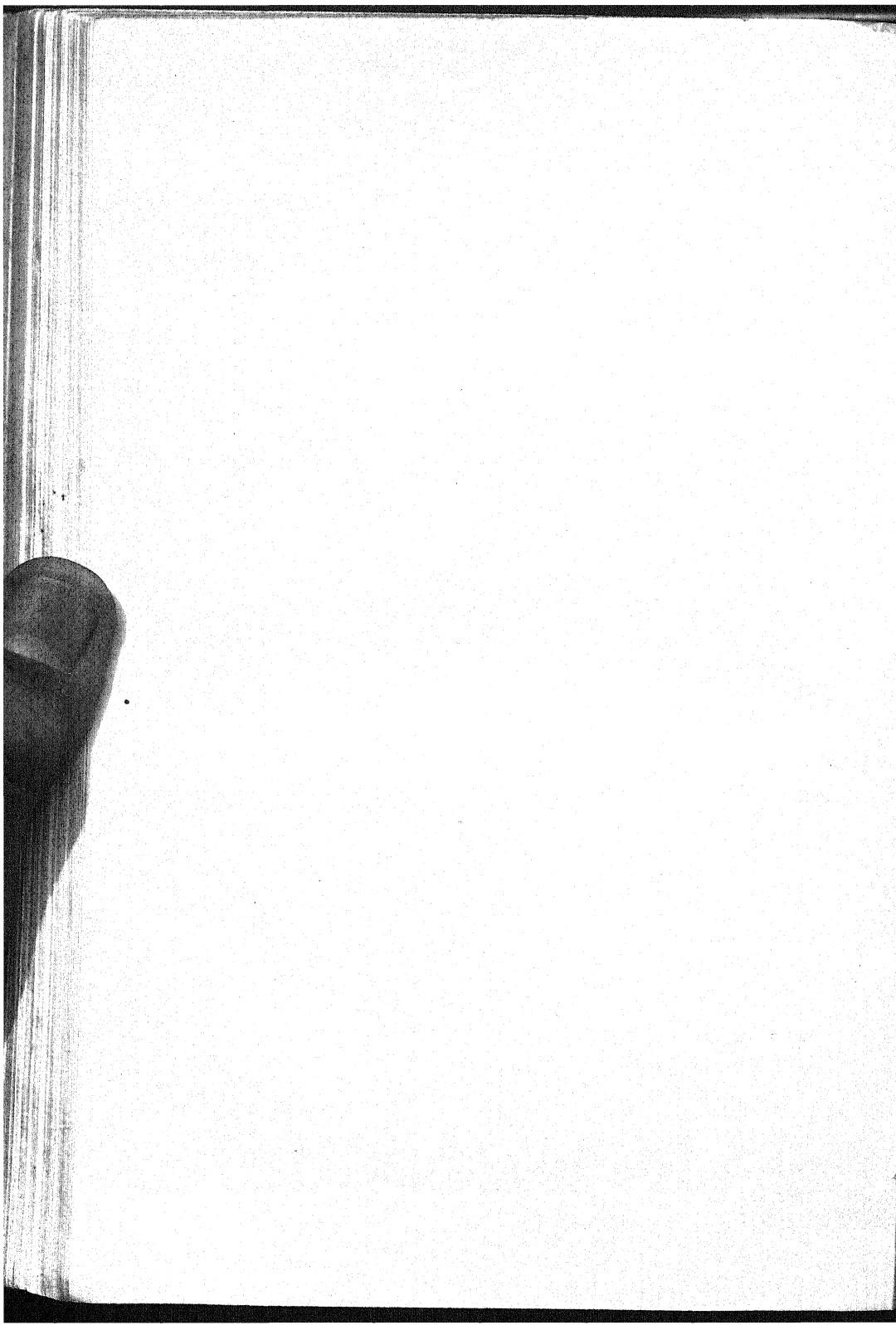
¹ To this text of Kalhanas I. 15, Dr. Stein adds the following note:—" In the note appended to the translation reproduced above Prof. Bühler rightly distinguishes four kinds of records as referred to by K. (1) The Pratisthaśasana edicts, i.e., inscriptions recording the erection and consecration of temples or other buildings and monuments, such as are to be found on almost all temples, religious or even profane buildings (such as palaces), on images, funeral monuments, and so forth; (2) the Vastusāsana edicts, i.e., inscriptions regarding grants of things, chiefly of land, and, perhaps, also of allowances, such as are found engraved on copper-plates; (3) Prāśastipattas, tables containing laudatory inscriptions of persons or places, such as now are found sometimes in temples or other public buildings (regarding such inscriptions, comp. now Prof. Bühler's remarks in the Vienna Oriental Journal, Vol. II. p. 82); (4) the Sastras, the works on the various sciences, or, to use a short expression, the manuscripts of Sanscrit Books, which in Kashmir mostly give at the end some information regarding the author and the King under whom the author wrote, together with the date.

" Of the first class of documents only a small number of specimens has been found in Kashmir, and none of them, except a fragmentary inscription of the time of Queen Didda in the Lahore Museum, can be ascribed with certainty to a period earlier than K. For some brief undated inscriptions of this kind, seen by Prof. Bühler at Khunamuh and Varahamula, comp. Report, pp. 6, 12. Others of a similar character have been found by me at Vijabror, Bavan (Martand) and a few other places. It is likely that K obtained portion of the ample data his work contains as to the foundation of particular temples, Mathas, Viharas, and other religious buildings, from such inscriptive records.

" No inscription of the kind described under (2) and (3) has come to my knowledge in Kashmir. That inscriptions, probably on copper-plates, were used for the record of land-grants also in Kashmir, we see from the story of Ranga related v. 397 sq."

This statement is so clear that the existence of many inscriptions in his day must be assumed, and doubtless many still exist, hidden in the earth, or built into Mahomedan buildings. Perhaps many are lying open to the sight, but yet unnoticed by archæologists. I would like therefore to throw out the suggestion that it might not be out of the province of this Society to encourage in some practical way the work of exploration in Kashmir with the special purpose of finding inscriptions. Prof. Bühler was sent to Kashmir to find Sanscrit MSS. and all know of his great success. Prof. Stein was sent to Kashmir in connection with the study of the *Rājatarangani*, and the identification of its mentioned places, and accomplished a great and lasting work. No one has yet however been sent to Kashmir with the special purpose of hunting for inscriptions. There is therefore a well defined opportunity for valuable contributions to be made to our knowledge of ancient Kashmir, if a careful search should be made for the inscriptions of that interesting country.





PROCEEDINGS OF THE BOMBAY BRANCH
ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.
1901.

The annual meeting of the Society was held on Thursday,
the 7th March 1901.

The Hon'ble Mr. Justice E. T. Candy, President, in the
Chair.

The Chairman, in opening the proceedings, referred to the death of the Queen-Empress, and suggested that an address should be presented on behalf of the Society to His Majesty the King-Emperor on his accession to the Throne of England. He also referred to the death of Mr. Justice Ranade, who took a great interest in the affairs of the Society.

The Hon'ble Mr. Justice Chandavarkar then proposed a resolution referring to the loss sustained by the Society in the death of Mr. Justice Ranade. He suggested that the resolution should be communicated to the widow of the deceased gentleman, and also placed on the records of the Society. In support of his proposition, Mr. Justice Chandavarkar said that the late Mr. Justice Ranade was one of those who, in living, lived for others more than for themselves. He was one of the best products of British India, and the Society had lost in him a prominent member.

Mr. K. R. Cama seconded the proposition, which was carried. The Honorary Secretary then read the following Report for 1900:—

THE ANNUAL REPORT FOR 1900.

MEMBERS.

Resident.—42 new members were elected during the year under review, and 4 non-resident members having come to Bombay were added to the list of the resident members. 42 members resigned, 6 died, 29 retired and 8 having left Bombay were placed on the list of non-resident members. The total number at the end of the year was 295 against 334 at the end of the preceding year. Of these 41 were absent from India for the whole year or portions of the year.

Of the resident members who resigned during the year, the larger number were Military and Medical Officers engaged on Plague duty in Bombay, who withdrew from membership as soon as they left Bombay.

Among the members shown as retired are included several gentlemen who have been absent from India for a number of years, and from whom no intimation of their wishes had been received.

Non-Resident.—4 gentlemen joined under this class and 8 were transferred from the list of resident members. 5 members withdrew, 2 died, 1 retired, 4 were added to the list of resident members, and the names of 3 were removed from the roll for non-payment of subscription. The total number at the close of the year was 52, the number at the end of 1899 was 55.

OBITUARY.

The members, whose loss by death the Society have to regret, were—

RESIDENT.

Dr. J. Gerson da Cunha.

G. Geary, Esq.

Maneksha J. Talyarkhan, Esq.

Lieut.-Col. Freeman.

Rev. J. D. Ozanne.

Lieut. Adams Wylie.

NON-RESIDENT.

Rao Saheb P. B. Parakh.

Dewan Bahadur Manibhai Jassabhai

ORIGINAL COMMUNICATIONS.

The following papers were contributed to the Society during the year :—

A New Medal of King Behram Gour (Behram V.) of Persia, by Jivanji Jamshedji Modi, Esq.

Sanhita of the Rig-Veda Searched, by Rajaram R. Bhagwat, Esq.

Introduction to the Peishwa's Diaries, by the Hon'ble Mr. Justice M. G. Ranade, M.A., C.I.E.

On the Jain Poem called Raghavapandaviya : a reply to Prof. Max Müller, by K. B. Pathak, Esq., B. A.

"Sanjan," a Parsee town on the B. B. & C. I. Railway, 94 miles from Bombay. Is it the Sindan of the Arab Geographers of the 10th and 11th centuries as stated by the Bombay Gazetteer ? (Vol. XIV., Thanna.) Is it the town Hanjamana (हन्जमना) referred to in the three Silāhāra grants (*) of the 10th and 11th centuries ? By Jivanji Jamshedji Modi, Esq.

(*) (a). Asiatic Researches I., p. 357. Paper by General Carnac. (b). Indian Antiquary V., p. 276. Paper by Bühlér. (c). Indian Antiquary IX., p. 33. Paper by Mr. Justice Telang.

Apastamba and Baudhayana, by K. B. Pathak, Esq., B. A.

Astronomy in its bearing on the Antiquity of the Aryans, by V. B. Ketkar, Esq.

A Peep into the Early History of India from the foundation of the Maurya dynasty to the fall of the Imperial Gupta Dynasty, by Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar, M. A., C. I. E.

The Coins of Ahmedabad, by Rev. G. P. Taylor, M. A.

LIBRARY.

The total issues of books during the year were 35,029 volumes ; 23,991 of new books including periodicals and 11,038 of the old. The issues during the preceding year were 34,741 volumes, 23,774 of new books and 10,967 of the old.

A detailed statement of the monthly issues, together with the daily average, exclusive of Sundays and Holidays, is subjoined.

		Old Books.	New Books.	Daily Average.
January	1,105	125
February	988	130
March	942	127
April	885	125
May	894	115
June	856	113
July...	993	126
August	986	123
September	896	119
October	897	127
November	667	105
December	929	123

The volumes of issues of the old and the new books arranged according to classes are shown in the subjoined table :—

	CLASSES.	Volumes.
Novels	...	11,113
Miscellaneous	...	1,620
Biography	...	1,611
Voyages, Travels, &c.	...	1,088
History	...	996
Military Subjects	...	716
Oriental Literature	...	559
English Poetry and Dramatic Works	...	513
Transactions of Learned Societies, Journals, &c.	...	498
Politics, Political Economy, &c.	...	409
Theology	...	335
Medicine, Surgery, &c.	...	272
Foreign Literature	...	250
Metaphysics, Moral Philosophy, &c.	...	231
Fine Arts and Architecture	...	226
Philology, Literary History, &c.	...	219
Natural History, Geology, &c.	...	198
Classics	...	196
Government Reports, Public Records, &c.	...	191
Antiquities, Numismatics, &c.	...	172
Mathematics, Natural Philosophy, &c.	...	161
Grammatical Works, Dictionaries, &c.	...	118
Botany and Agriculture	...	81
Jurisprudence	...	54
Logic, Rhetoric, &c.	...	42
Periodicals, Magazines, &c.	...	13,161

ADDITIONS TO THE LIBRARY.

During 1900 the Library received an addition of 956 volumes or parts of volumes. Of these 666 were purchased and 290 were presented chiefly by the Bombay Government, the Secretary of State for India, the Government of India, and the other Local Governments, and a few by individual authors and other donors.

The Volumes of each class of books purchased and presented are noted in the subjoined table :—

	Pur-	Pre-
	chased.	sented.
Theology and Ecclesiastical History	21	1
Metaphysics and Moral Philosophy	11	1
Logic, and Works on Education	1	1
Classics	17	...
Philology, Literary History and Bibliography	5	...
History and Chronology	43	...
Politics, Political Economy, &c.	8	25
Jurisprudence	4	3
Biography	75	3
Antiquities, Numismatics, Heraldry, &c.	4	4
Voyages, Travels, Geography, &c.	39	4
English Poetry and Dramatic Works	9	1
Novels, Romances, &c.	243	...
Miscellaneous	39	...
Foreign Literature	5	...
Natural Philosophy, Mathematics, &c.	8	...
Fine Arts and Architecture	9	4
Military Subjects	48	1
Natural History, Geology, Chemistry, &c.	19	9
Botany, Agriculture, &c.	7	3
Medicine, Surgery, &c.	17	5
Encyclopædias, Annals, &c.	15	30
Dictionaries and Grammatical Works	6	...
Oriental Literature	13	52
Public Records, Government Reports, &c.	...	145

NEWSPAPERS AND PERIODICALS.

The Newspapers, Periodicals and Journals of Learned Societies subscribed for and presented to the Society during the year, were :—

Literary Monthlies	...	...	...	...	...	17
Illustrated	...	...	...	...	...	15
Scientific and Philosophical Journals, Transactions of Learned Societies, &c.	...	...	...	...	...	36
Reviews	...	...	...	...	...	14
English Newspapers	...	...	...	...	...	21
English and French Registers, Almanacs, Directories, &c.	...	...	...	...	...	16
Foreign Literary and Scientific Periodicals	...	...	...	...	...	10
American Literary and Scientific Periodicals	...	...	...	...	...	12
Indian Newspapers and Government Gazettes	...	...	...	...	...	23
Indian Journals, Reviews, &c.	...	...	...	...	...	28

A meeting of the Society under Article XX. of the Rules was held in November for the revision of the Newspapers, Periodicals, &c., taken by the Society. At this meeting it was resolved to subscribe to the following from the commencement of 1901:—

- Chambers' Journal.
- Architectural Review.
- Imperial and Indian Monthly Review.
- Journal of Education.
- Brahmavadin (for one year only).
- Hindu (Weekly Edition).

And to discontinue—

- The Daily Mail.
- Crampton's Magazine.
- Longman's Magazine.
- The Building Supplement to Scientific American.

COIN CABINET.

The additions to the Coin Cabinet made during the year consist of 1 Gold, 11 Silver and 17 Copper, altogether 29 Coins. Of these 3 Silver and 2 Copper were presented by Shrimant M. V. Kibe, of Indore, and the rest were received from different Governments under the Treasure Trove Act.

They comprise the following varieties :—

Presented by Shrimant M. V. Kibe :

1 Silver Coin current in Jeypur.

1 Silver Coin bearing the name of Shah Zaman Alum
Shah Ali Abdulla, and emblems of Umbrella and Fish.

2 Copper Coins current in Southern States of Central India.

1 Silver Coin bearing the name of Udeypur and Chitrakote.

Presented by the Government of N.-W. Provinces and Oudh :

15 Old Indian Copper Coins.

Presented by the Bombay Government :

1 Gold Coin, Padmatinka, found in the Bijapur District.

1 Silver Coin of Shah Allam, found in the Kaira District.

1 Silver Coin of Mahammad Shah, found in the Kaira District.

Presented by the Resident at Hyderabad :

1 Silver Coin of Ghiyas-ud-din Taghlag, found in Wun District.

1 Silver Coin of Ala-ud-din Mahammad Shah of Delhi, found in the Wun District.

2 Silver Coins of Mahammad bin Taghlag, found in the Wun District.

2 Silver Coins of Qutub-ud-din Mubarak Shah of Delhi, found in the Wun District.

JOURNAL.

An extra number of the Journal containing "the Origin of Bombay," by Dr. J. Gerson da Cunha, was published during the year. No. 56 being the 3rd regular number of Vol. XX. of the Journal is all but ready and will shortly be issued. It contains the following papers and abstracts of Proceedings of the Society from January to December 1900, and a list of books, pamphlets, &c., presented to the Society during the period :—

A Kushana Stone Inscription, by D. R. Bhandarkar, Esq., B. A.
On the Date of Poet Magha, by K. B. Patak, Esq., B. A.
Sanhita of the Rig-Veda Searched, Part I., by Rajaram
R. Bhagwat, Esq.

A Peep into the early history of India from the foundation of the Maurya Dynasty to the fall of the Imperial Gupta Dynasty, by Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar, M.A., C.I.E.

The Coins of Ahmedabad, by Rev. G. P. Taylor, M.A.

Introduction to the Peishwa's Diaries, by the Hon'ble Mr. Justice M. G. Ranade, M.A., C.I.E.

The following is a list of Governments, Learned Societies and other Institutions to which the Journal of the Society is presented :—

Bombay Government.	Société de Géographie Commerciale de Bordeaux.
Government of India.	Société de Géographie de Lyons.
Government of Bengal.	Hungarian Academy of Science (Buda Pest).
Government of Madras.	Sociedad Geografica de Madrid.
Punjab Government.	Royal Dublin Society.
Government, N.-W. Provinces and Oudh.	Société Géographie de Paris.
Chief Commissioner, Central Provinces.	Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences.
Chief Commissioner, Coorg.	United States Survey.
Resident, Hyderabad.	Kaiserliche Akademie der Wissenschaften, Vienna.
Chief Commissioner, Burmah.	United Service Institution.
Geological Survey of India.	Government Museum, Madras.
G. T. Survey of India.	Indian Journal of Education, Madras.
Marine Survey of India.	R. A. Society, Ceylon Branch.
Bengal Asiatic Society.	R. A. Society, North-China Branch.
Agricultural Society of India.	The Asiatic Society of Japan.
Literary Society of Madras.	Batavian Society of Arts and Sciences.
Provincial Museum, Lucknow.	Strasburg Library.
Bombay University.	Geographical Society, Vienna.
Madras University.	London Institution of Civil Engineers.
Punjab University.	Royal Geographical Society, London.
Mohabodhi Society, Calcutta.	Statistical Society, London.
Royal Society of Northern Antiquaries, Copenhagen.	Royal Astronomical Society.
Royal Society of Edinburgh.	Literary and Philosophical Society, Manchester.
Deutsche Morgenlandischen Gesellschaft, Leipzig.	Imperial Academy of Science, St. Petersburg.
Literary and Philosophical Society, Liverpool.	
British Museum, London.	
Royal Society, London.	
Royal Asiatic Society, Great Britain and Ireland.	
Academie Real das Sciences de Lisboa.	

Smithsonian Institution, Washington.	American Museum of Natural History.
Minnesota Academy of Natural Science.	Société Asiatique, Paris.
India Office Library.	Geological Society, London.
London Bible Society.	Royal Academy of Sciences, Amsterdam.
Vienna Orientalische Museum.	American Philological Association, Cambridge.
Boston Society of Natural History.	Royal University, Upsala(Sweden).
Musee Guimet, Lyons.	Franklin Institute, Philadelphia.
Victoria Institution, London.	University of Kansas, U. S. A.
Royal Institution, Great Britain.	Director, Missouri Botanical Garden.
American Geographical Society.	
American Oriental Society.	
Hamilton Association, America.	
Editor, Journal of Comparative Neurology, Granville, Ohio, U. S. A.	

Revision of the Rules.—Certain alterations in the Rules of the Society having appeared necessary to the Honorary Secretary, he directed the attention of the Committee of Management to the matter. A Sub-Committee, consisting of the President, Mr. K. R. Cama, Sir Bhalechandra K. Bhatavadekar, Kt., Dr. MacDonald and the Honorary Secretary, was then appointed. These gentlemen after carefully going over the Rules, framed a draft of the alterations to be made. The proposed changes were afterwards submitted to the Members of the Society and unanimously adopted by them at the last Annual Meeting. A revised edition of the Rules has accordingly been published.

ACCOUNTS.

A statement showing in detail the items of income and expenditure of the Society, for 1900, is appended.

The actual total receipts by subscription from members during the year under report, amount to Rs. 10,673-5-5. The subscriptions in 1899 amounted to Rs. 11,487-5-4. There was a sum of Rs. 120 received on account of life subscription from one non-resident member, which has been duly invested in Government Securities as required by the Rules.

The balance to the credit of the Society at the end of the year was Rs. 485-11-2.

The invested funds of the Society amount to Rs. 14,200.

X ABSTRACT OF THE SOCIETY'S PROCEEDINGS, &c.

On the motion of Mr. W. H. Sharp, seconded by Mr. J. E. Aspinwall, the report was adopted.

The President said that they owed a deep debt of gratitude to their Honorary Secretary, who, in the course of the next week, would be leaving India, and would not return. He hoped that the Rev. Mr. Gray would carry to his native land—Bonny Scotland—a happy recollection of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society. He was sure that in his turn the Rev. Mr. Gray would always remember them.

Mr. James Macdonald proposed, Mr. Justice Chandavarkar seconded, and it was carried, that as a token of their appreciation of the services rendered by the Rev. Mr. Gray for a period of four years to the Society, a set of the journals of the Society nicely bound be presented to him.

The Rev. Mr. Gray briefly thanked the members for their kind appreciation of his services.

The following Committee of Management, proposed by Mr. James MacDonald and seconded by Sir Balchandra Krishna, was unanimously appointed.

President.

The Hon'ble Mr. Justice E. T. Candy.

Vice-Presidents.

James Macdonald, Esq.

M. Macmillan, Esq.

K. R. Cama, Esq.

The Hon'ble Mr. Justice Chan-dawarkar.

Members.

Dr. D. MacDonald.

Shams-ul-Ulma Dastur Darab P. Sanjana.

Camrudin Amirudin, Esq.

A. L. Covernton, Esq.

F. R. Vicajee, Esq.

R. M. Watson Smyth, Esq.

Sir Balchandra Krishna, Kt.

Khan Bahadur D. R. Chichgar,

Shams-ul-Ulma J. J. Modi.

W. H. Sharp, Esq.

K. G. Desai, Esq.

J. E. Aspinwall, Esq.

Honorary Secretary.

The Rev. R. Scott.

Auditors.

H. R. H. Wilkinson, Esq.

| Framroz Ardasher Vakil, Esq.

BOMBAY BRANCH OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.

STATEMENT OF ACCOUNTS.

Bombay Branch of the*Statement of Receipts and Disbursements*

		Rs.	A.	P.	Rs.	A.	P.
Balance on 31st December 1899	... ...	...	.....		872	1	10
Subscription of Resident Members	... ...	9,898	5	5			
Do. of Non-Resident Members	... ...	775	0	0			
Do. of Non-Resident Life Member	... ...	120	0	0			
Government Contribution	... ...	4,200	0	0			
Sale proceeds of waste papers	... ...	17	4	0			
Do. of Journal Numbers	... ...	282	5	0			
Do. of Catalogues	... ...	41	12	0			
Interest on Society's Government Paper	... ...	504	4	3			
					15,838	14	8
Total ... Rs.					16,711	0	6

Examined and found correct.

DARASHA RUTTONJI CHICHGAR, } Auditors.
H. R. H. WILKINSON,

Royal Asiatic Society.

from 1st January to 31st December 1900.

		Rs.	A.	P.	Rs.	A.	P.
Books purchased in Bombay ...	... ..	3,133	11	9			
Remittances to Messrs. Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co.: Books ...	... ..	Rs. 413-6-2			2,373	1	2
English Newspapers and Periodicals...Rs.1,959-11-0							
Subscription to Newspapers paid in India ...	... ..	335	2	6			
Printing ...	... ..	907	10	0			
Printing of Journal No. 55 ...	... ..	945	2	5			
Binding ...	... ..	876	6	6			
General Charges	... ..	322	12	0			
Stationery	... ..	5	2	9			
Postage and Receipt Stamps ...	... ..	102	14	0			
Shipping and Landing Charges	... ..	41	13	6			
Office Establishment	... ..	6,133	8	0			
Gas Charges	... ..	93	8	9			
Insurance Charges	... ..	312	8	0			
Government Paper purchased	... ..	100	0	0			
Pension	... ..	300	0	0			
Grain Compensation	... ..	162	0	0			
Balance in Bank of Bombay	... ..	451	12	8	16,225	5	4
Do. in hand	... ..	33	14	6			
					485	11	2
Total ...Rs.					16,711	0	6

Invested Funds.

	Rs.	Rs.
Government Paper of the Society	11,200
The Premohand Roychand Fund	3,000
		14,200

R. M. GRAY,
Honorary Secretary.

A Meeting of the Society was held on Friday, the 29th March.

Mr. K. R. Cama, one of the Vice-Presidents, in the Chair.

The Honorary Secretary, Rev. R. Scott, read the minutes of the last Meeting, which were confirmed.

Mr. P. A. Wadia then read a Paper on the "Time and Place of the Composition of the Gathas."

A vote of thanks to Mr. Wadia for the interesting Paper he had read was proposed by Mr. J. J. Modi, and seconded by Mr. James MacDonald, and carried.

The Chairman, in concluding the discussion, expressed a hope that Mr. Wadia would continue the study of the Parsee Religion which he had commenced, and favour the Society from time to time with Papers embodying the results of his researches.

A Meeting of the Society was held on Thursday, the 1st of August 1901.

Mr. K. R. Cama, one of the Vice-Presidents, in the Chair.

The minutes of the last Meeting were read and confirmed.

The following Papers were then read.

(1) "An Untranslated Chapter of the Bunclehesi." By Jivanji Jamshedji Modi, Esq., B.A.

(2) "A new Chalukya Grant of Kirtivarma II." By K. B. Pathak, Esq., B.A.

On the propositions of the Chairman and Mr. S. T. Bhandare, seconded by Mr. James MacDonald and Mr. R. S. Jayakar, a vote of thanks was passed to Mr. Modi and Mr. Pathak for the interesting Papers they had contributed.

A General Meeting of the Society was held on Thursday, the 28th November 1901.

The Hon'ble Mr. Justice E. T. Candy, President, in the Chair.

The proposals about the Newspapers and Periodicals received from members were placed before the Meeting.

It was resolved to subscribe to the following from the next year:—
Country Life.

Benares Chaukhamba Series (for one year only).
East and West.

and to discontinue the following from the same date:—

Comptes Rendus des Sciences de l'Academie des Sciences.
India.
St. James' Budget.

A Meeting of the Society was held on Thursday, the 19th December 1901.

Mr. James MacDonald, one of the Vice-Presidents, in the Chair.
The minutes of the last Meeting were read and confirmed.

Mr. Jivanji Jamshedji Modi then read a Paper on "Parsees at the Court of Akbar and Dastoor Meherjee Rana". He also exhibited a number of valuable original documents referred to in the Paper.

Mr. K. R. Cama, in moving a vote of thanks to Mr. Modi for the interesting Paper he had read, observed that as Mr. Modi had controverted the views expressed by Mr. R. P. Karkaria in the Paper he contributed to the Society in 1896, on "Akbar and the Parsees," Mr. Karkaria would naturally desire to reply. But as the hour was late, he thought it would be desirable to postpone the discussion to a future meeting.

This was agreed to, and the vote of thanks was passed by acclamation.

LIST OF PRESENTS TO THE LIBRARY.

(FROM JANUARY TO DECEMBER 1901.)

*Titles of Books.**Donors.*

ABRAHAM, Lincoln — An Address by I. S. Choate.

The Author.

ACCOUNTS of the Trade carried by Rail and River in India, 1899-1900.

Government of India.

— — — — — of the Trade carried by Rail and River in India, 1900-01.

Government of India.

ACTS, Government of India, 1900.

Government of India.

ADI Purána of Pumpa.

Government of H. H. the Maharaja of Mysore.

ADMINISTRATION Report, Baluchistan Agency, 1899-1900.

Government of India.

— — — — — Report, Madras Presidency, 1899-1900.

Madras Government.

— — — — — Report, Punjab, 1899-1900.

Punjab Government.

— — — — — Report, Burma, 1899-1900.

Chief Commissioner, Burma.

— — — — — Report, Central India Agency, 1899-1900.

Government of India.

— — — — — Report, Hyderabad Assigned Districts, 1899-1900.

Resident at Hyderabad.

— — — — — Report, N.-W. P. and Oudh, 1899-1900.

Government, N. W.-P. and Oudh.

— — — — — Report, Bengal, 1899-1900.

Bengal Government.

— — — — — Report, Persian Gulf Political Residency and Maskat Political Agency, 1900-01.

Government of India.

— — — — — Report on the Bombay Jail Department for 1900.

Bombay Government.

— — — — — Report, Bombay Port Trust, 1900-01.

Trustees, Bombay Port Trust.

— — — — — and Progress Report, Civil Medical Institutions in the City of Bombay, for the year 1900.

Bombay Government.

— — — — — Report, Baluchistan Agency, for 1900-01.

Government of India.

ADMINISTRATION and Progress Report on the Mofussil Civil Hospitals and Dispensaries, Bombay, 1900.

Bombay Government.

AGRICULTURAL Ledger, Nos. 19 and 20 (1900).

Government of India.

_____ Ledger, Nos. 21, 22, 23 (1900).

Government of India.

_____ Ledger, No. 24 (1900).

Government of India.

_____ Ledger, 1901, Nos. 1 and 2.

Government of India.

_____ Ledger, 1899, No. 13, and 1901 Nos. 3, 4, 5, 6, and 7.

Government of India.

_____ Ledger, 1901, Nos. 9 and 10.

Government of India.

_____ Ledger 1901, Nos. 11 and 12.

Government of India.

_____ Statistics, British India, 1895-96 to 1899-1900.

Government of India.

AMERICAN Museum of Natural History Report, 1900.

Smithsonian Institution.

ANNALS of the Royal Botanical Garden, Calcutta, Vol. IX.

Botanical Garden, Calcutta.

_____ of the Astrophysical Observatory of the Smithsonian Institute, Vol. I., 1900.

Smithsonian.

ANNALES du Musee Guimet (La vie future D'Apres le Mazdeisme), Tome IX.

Musee Guimet.

ANNUAL Irrigation Revenue Report, Sind, 1899-1900.

Bombay Government.

_____ Administration Report, Civil Veterinary Department, Bombay Presidency, 1899-1900.

Bombay Government.

_____ Report Imperial Institute, Indian Section, for 1900-01.

Secretary of State for India.

_____ Factory Report of the Presidency of Bombay, 1900.

Bombay Government.

_____ Report on the Police of the Town and Island of Bombay for 1900.

Bombay Government.

_____ Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology, 17th, Part I., 1895-96, and 18th, Part I., 1896-97.

Bureau of American Ethnology, 2.

ANNUAL Report, Smithsonian Institution, 1897, Part II.

Smithsonian Institution.

— Report, Punjab Lunatic Asylum, 1900.

Punjab Goverment.

— Report on the Administration, Customs Department, Sind, for 1900-01.

Bombay Government.

— Report, Sanitary Commissioner for the Government of Bombay, 1900.

Bombay Government.

— Report of the Stamp Department, Bombay, 1900-01.

Bombay Government.

— Report, Lucknow Provincial Museum,

Government, N.-W. P. and Oudh.

— Report, Smithsonian Institution, 1899.

Smithsonian Institution.

— Report, Smithsonian Institution (U. S. National Museum, 1899).

Smithsonian Institution.

— Statement of the Trade and Navigation of the Bombay Presidency for 1900-01.

Bombay Government.

— Report of the Reformatory School at Yerrowda for 1900.

Bombay Government.

— Report, Talukdari Settlement Officer, 1899-00.

Bombay Government.

— Report, American Historical Association for 1899.

The Association.

— Report, Deputy Director of Agriculture, Bombay Presidency, 1900-01.

Bombay Government.

— Progress Report, Archaeological Survey Circle, N.-W. P. and Oudh, for the year ending 31st March 1901.

Government, N.-W. P. and Oudh.

— Statement of Trade and Navigation of the Province of Sind for 1900-01.

Bombay Government.

ARCHÆOLOGICAL Survey of India—Moghul Colour Decoration of Agra—Part I.

Government, N.-W. P. and Oudh.

— Survey of Western India, Vol. VII. (Ahmedabad Architecture).

Government of India.

- ARCHÆOLOGICAL Survey of India—Antiquities in the Tarai, Nepal, &c., No. XXVI., Part I.** Government of India.
- Exploration in Chinese Turkistan. By M. A. Stein. The Secretary of State for India.
- AREA and Yield of certain Crops in India, 1891-92 to 1900-01.** Government of India.
- ASHA as the Law in Gāthās.** Trustees, Parsee Panchayat.
- AVESTA Dictionary.** Trustees, Parsee Panchayat.
- BIBLIOTHECA Indica, Prabandha Chintamani, English Translation.** The Asiatic Society of Bengal.
- Indica, Mahabhashya Pradipddyota, Vol. I. The Asiatic Society of Bengal.
- BRIEF Sketch of the Meteorology of the Bombay Presidency for 1900-01.** Bombay Government.
- BUDDHIST Art in India.** By James Burgess. The Author.
- BUNDEHESH (Gujerathi).** By J. J. Modi. The Author.
- BULLETIN, American Museum of Natural History, Vol., XIII, 1900.** American Museum of Natural History.
- CATALOGUE, India Office Library, Vol. II., Part II.** Secretary of State for India.
- of Books on Iranian Literature. Trustees, Parsee Panchayat.
- Printed Books and MSS. in Sanskrit in the Library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. Asiatic Society of Bengal.
- CHACH Nameh—Ancient History of Sind.** Translated into English by Mirza Khatich Beg Fredan Beg. The Translator.
- CHRONOLOGICAL Tables, Indian Statutes, 1901.** Government of India.
- CROP Experiments, Bombay Presidency, 1898-99.** Bombay Government.
- DESCRIPTIVE Catalogue of Sanskrit MSS. in the Calcutta Sanskrit College Library, No. 14.** Bengal Government.
- Catalogue of Sanskrit MSS. of the Government Oriental Library, Madras, Vol. I., Part I. Madras Government.

XX. PRESENTS TO THE LIBRARY.

HATUVRITTI, Vol. I., 2 Parts.

Government of H. H. the Maharaja of Mysore.
DNYAN Chakra or Gujerathi Cyclopaedia, Vol. I., Part I. (Gujerathi).

Shett Bejanji Ardeshir Dastur Kamadin.
EAST India Royal Engineering College, Report of the Board of Visitors.

Secretary of State for India.
— India Accounts and Estimates, 1901-02. Explanatory Memorandum by the Secretary of State for India.

Secretary of State for India.
— India—Memorials from the Officers of the Public Works Department appointed from the Royal Indian Engineering College in 1873—1878.

Secretary of State for India.
— India—Further papers in regard to the Royal Indian Engineering College.

Secretary of State for India.
EPIGRAPHICA Karnatica, Vol. VI (Kadur-District).

Mysore Government.
ESTIMATE Review and Expenditure, Government of India, 1900-01.

Government of India.
EUGENE Burnouf.

Trustees, Parsee Panchayat.
FINANCE and Revenue Accounts, Government of India, 1899-1900.

Government of India.
GÂTHÂS as Consecutive Words.

Trustees, Parsee Panchayat.
GOVERNMENT, the Ryots Banker vs. Agricultural Banks, by Dr. J. Murdoch.

The Author.
HANDBOOK of Cyclonic Storms in the Bay of Bengal.

Government of India.
HEBREW and Samaritan MSS. in British Museum, Part I.

British Museum.
HISTORY of Services of Gazetted Officers in the Bombay Presidency up to July 1901.

Bombay Government.
HUMATA, Hakhta Hvarshta.

Trustees, Parsee Panchayat.
INCUMBERED Estates, Sind, Report, 1899-1900.

Bombay Government.
INDIAN National Congress Cartoons from the "Hindi Punch."
Barjorjee Nowrojee, Esq.

INDIAN Expenditure (Royal Commission). Copies of Correspondence between the Secretary of State for India and the Treasury.

Secretary of State for India.

— Law Reports, Bombay Series, 1900.

Bombay Government.

— Law Reports, Allahabad Series, 1900.

Government, N.-W. P. and Oudh.

— Meteorological Memoirs, Vol. IX., Part III.

Government of India.

— Financial Statement, 1901-02.

The Secretary of State for India.

— Meteorological Memoirs, 1899—1901.

Government of India.

— Textile Journal, Vol. XI.

Indian Textile Journal Co., Ltd.

IRANIAN Essays, Vol. II.

Trustees, Parsee Panchayat.

IRRIGATION Revenue Report, Bombay Presidency, 1899-1900.

Bombay Government.

JOURNAL of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. 68, Part I.

Bengal Asiatic Society.

— Bengal Asiatic Society, Vol. 69, Part I., 1900.

Bengal Asiatic Society.

— Royal Asiatic Society, Ceylon Branch, Vol. 16.

Ceylon Branch, Royal Asiatic Society.

— Bengal Asiatic Society, Vol. 96, Part I.

Asiatic Society of Bengal.

— American Oriental Society, Vol. 22, Part I.

The American Oriental Society.

— Ceylon Branch, Royal Asiatic Society, Vol. 15.

Ceylon Branch, Royal Asiatic Society.

— Korea Branch, Royal Asiatic Society, Vol. I., 1900.

The Society.

— of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland.

The Society.

— of Transactions of the Victoria Institute, Vol. XXXIII.

The Institute.

JUDICIAL and Administrative Statistics, British India, 1899-1900.

Government of India.

KALHANAS Chronicles of the Kings of Kashmir. Translated by M. H.

Stein. 2 Vols.

H. H. the Maharaja and the State Council of Kasbmir and Jammu.

KALIF Harun Al Rashid (Gujerathi). By M. E. Vatcha and R. H. Khurshedji.

The Authors.

L'INDE et le Probleme Indien. By Paul Boell.

The Author.

MADRAS Government Museum Bulletin, Vol. IV., No. 1 (Anthropology).

The Museum.

— Government Museum (Catalogue of Pre-historic Antiquities).

Madras Government Museum.

— Government Museum Bulletin, Vol. III., No. 3 (Anthropology—Nâyars of Malabar).

Madras Government.

— University Calendar, 1901-02.

Madras University.

MAGNETICAL and Meteorological Observations, Bombay, 1898-99.

Bombay Government.

MEMORANDUM on the Snowfall in the Mountain Districts bordering Northern India, with a Forecast of the probable character of the South-West Monsoon Rains of 1901.

Government of India.

— on some Indian questions prepared for Right Hon'ble Lord Curzon by Dr. Murdoch.

The Author.

MEMOIRS Geological Survey of India (Palæontologia India), New Series, Vol. I.

Government of India.

MINUTES of Proceedings of the Institution of Civil Engineers.

The Institution.

— and Proceedings of the Institute of Civil Engineers, Vol. CXLIV., Part II.

The Institute.

— and Proceedings of the Institution of Civil Engineering Vol. CXLV., 1900-01, Part III.

Institution of Civil Engineering.

— and Proceedings of the Institution of Civil Engineers, Vol. CXLVI., 1900-01, Part IV.

The Institution.

MIRATI Sikandari. By Fazlullah Lutfullah Faradi.

The Author.

MONOGRAPH on the Empire of Vijayanagar. By V. R. Natu.

The Author.

— Ivory Carving, Punjab, 1900.

Punjab Government.

- MORAL and Material Progress and Condition of India, 1899-1900.
Secretary of State for India.
- MIRACLES of Virgin Mary, Life of Hanna and Magical Prayers.
Lady Meux.
- MISSOURI Botanical Garden, 12th Report, 1901.
The Director, Missouri Botanical Garden.
- MUSEE Guimet—Sido-in-dzon.
Musee Guimet.
- Do. Tom 26, Part 4.
Musee Guimet.
- NEW Arabian Tales (Gujerathi). By M. E. Vatcha and D. F. Langrana.
The Authors.
- NOTES on Sanskrit MSS., 2nd Series, Vol. I.
Bengal Asiatic Society.
- on the Annual Returns, Dispensaries and Charitable Institutions
Punjab, 1900.
Punjab Government.
- on Vaccination, Bombay Presidency.
Bombay Government.
- NOTE on the Administration of the Registration Department in the Bom-
bay Presidency for 1900-01.
Bombay Government.
- ORIGINAL Survey Settlement, four villages, Nandgaon taluka, Nasik.
Bombay Government.
- Speech of Spitama Zarathushtra.
Trustees, Parsee Panchayat.
- PAPERS regarding British Relations with Tribes on N.-W. Frontier
of India.
Secretary of State for India.
- PAMPHLETS on Inoculation.
Plague Research Laboratory, Parel.
- PEOPLE of India : their many Merits.
H. A. Talcherker, Esq.
- PERSONIFIED Asha.
Trustees, Parsee Panchayat.
- POLICE Reports, Bombay Presidency, 1899.
Bombay Government.
- Report on the Province of Sind, 1900.
Bombay Government.
- PRINCIPLES of Pravara and Gotra.
Government of H. H. the Maharaja of Mysore.

PROCEEDINGS of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1900.

Bengal Asiatic Society.

— Bombay Legislative Council, 1899.

Bombay Government.

— of the Royal Society of Edinburgh, Vol. XXII.

The Royal Society of Edinburgh.

PROGRESS Report of the Archaeological Survey of Western India for the year ending 30th June 1901.

Bombay Government.

PUNJAB University Calendar for 1901-02.

The Punjab University.

RECORDS, Botanical Survey of India, Vol. I., No. 13.

Government of India.

REPORTS, Local Boards, Bombay Presidency, 1899-1900.

Bombay Government.

REPORT, Deputy Director of Agriculture, Bombay Presidency, 1899-1900.

Bombay Government.

— on Municipalities, Panjab, 1899-1900.

Punjab Government.

— Public Instruction, Panjab, 1899-1900.

Punjab Government.

— Director of Public Instruction, Bombay Presidency, 1899-1900.

Director of Public Instruction, Bombay.

— Thagi and Dacoity Department, 1899.

Government of India.

— Public Works Department, 1899-1900.

Bombay Government.

— Administration, Bombay Presidency, 1899-1900.

Bombay Government.

— Inspection of Mines in India, 1899.

Government of India.

— Smithsonian Institution, 1898.

The Institution.

— Political Administration, Rajputana States, 1899-1900.

Government of India.

— Municipal Commissioner, Bombay, 1899-1900.

Municipal Commissioner.

— Forest Administration, Panjab, 1899-1900.

Punjab Government.

— on Sanskrit MSS., Bombay Presidency, 1891-92 to 1894-95.

Bombay Government.

— Income Tax, Bombay Presidency, 1899-1900.

Bombay Government.

- REPORT, Land Records and Agriculture, Punjab, 1899-1900.
Punjab Government.
- Bureau of American Ethnology, 1895-96.
Smithsonian Institution.
- on Search for Sanskrit MSS., 1895-1900.
Bengal Asiatic Society.
- Akbari Department, Bombay Presidency and Aden.
Bombay Government.
- Forest Department, Bombay Presidency, 1899-1900.
Bombay Government.
- Land Revenue Administration, Punjab, 1899-1900.
Punjab Government.
- Sanitary, Vaccination, &c., Rajputana, 1899.
Government of India.
- Forest Department, Madras Presidency, 1899-1900.
Madras Government.
- Land Records and Agriculture, Bombay Presidency, 1899-1900.
Bombay Government.
- Chemical Analyser to the Government of Bombay, 1900.
Bombay Government.
- Bombay Chamber of Commerce, 1900.
Bombay Chamber of Commerce.
- of the Director of Botanical Survey of India, 1900-01.
Government of India.
- Railways in India for 1900.
Government of India.
- Sanitary Administration, Punjab, 1900.
Punjab Government.
- on Vaccination, Punjab, 1900-01.
Punjab Government.
- on Administration of Civil Justice, Punjab, for 1900.
Punjab Government.
- on Administration of Ajmere-Merwara for 1899-00.
Government of India.
- by the Chief Collector of Customs in Sind on the Rail and
River-borne Traffic for 1900-01.
Bombay Government.
- Income Tax Administration, Punjab, for 1900-01.
Punjab Government.
- of the Internal Trade of Punjab by Rail and River for
the year 1900-01.
Punjab Government.
- on Trade and Navigation Returns of Aden for 1900-01.
Bombay Government.

REPORT to Malaria Committee, Royal Society, 5th Series.

The Royal Society.

— Lunatic Asylums, Bombay Presidency, 1900.

Bombay Government.

— Bombay Improvement Trust, 1900-01.

The Chairman, Bombay Improvement Trust.

— Bombay Millowners' Association, 1900.

The Bombay Millowners' Association.

— on the Inspection of Mines in India for 1900.

Government of India.

— on the External Land Trade of the Province of Sind and of British Baluchistan for 1900-01.

Bombay Government.

— of the Bombay Veterinary College for 1900-01.

Bombay Government.

— on the Administration of the Northern India Salt Revenue for 1900-01.

Government of India.

— on the External Land Trade, Punjab, 1900-01.

Punjab Government.

— on the Administration of the Government Museum and Con-nemara Public Library, 1900-01.

Madras Government.

— on the Municipal Taxation and Expenditure in the Bombay Presidency, including Sind, 1899-1900.

Bombay Government.

— by the Collector of Salt Revenue in Sind on Administration of Salt Department, Sind, 1900-01.

Bombay Government.

— on the Police Administration, Punjab, 1900.

Punjab Government.

— on the Administration of the Meteorological Department, Government of India, 1900-01.

Government of India.

— on the working of the Thagi and Dakaiti Department.

Government of India.

RETURN, Wrecks and Casualties in Indian Waters, 1899.

Government of India.

— of the Rail-borne Trade of Bombay Presidency for quarter ending 31st March 1901.

Bombay Government.

- REVIEW, Forest Administration, British India, 1898-99.
Government of India.
- of the Trade of India for 1900-01.
Secretary of State for India
- REVISION Survey Settlement, Shahapur, Thana.
Bombay Government.
- Survey Settlement, Vatva village, Daskori Taluka, Ahmedabad.
Bombay Government.
- Survey Settlement, Bulsar Taluka, Surat.
Bombay Government.
- Survey Settlement, Dindori Taluka, Nasik.
Bombay Government.
- Survey Settlement, Jalalpore Taluka, Surat.
Bombay Government.
- Survey Settlement of Village Inamati Ramdurg, Navalgund
Taluka, Dharwar.
Bombay Government.
- Survey Settlement, Nandurdasak Village, Nasik Taluka,
Nasik.
Bombay Government.
- Survey Settlement, Vada Taluka, Thana.
Bombay Government.
- REVUE de l'Histoire des Religions Tome 42, 1900.
The Musee Guimet.
- SANSKRIT equivalent of Yasna XLIV.
Trustees, Parsee Panchayat.
- SHETH Khandan Kutumbai Vanshavali (Gujarathi).
Mr. Jalbhoy Ardesir Seth.
- SHORT Essays in English Verse. By Framji R. Vicaji.
The Author.
- STATEMENT of Trade and Navigation, Sind, 1899-1900.
Bombay Government.
- STATISTICAL Abstract, relating to British India, from 1890-91 to
1899-1900.
Secretary of State for India.
- STATISTICS of Mineral Productions in India in ten years, 1889 to 1900.
Government of India.
- SURVEY of India, General Report, 1899-1900.
Government of India.
- Settlement, 3 Talukdar Villages, Halol Mahal, Panchmahals.
Bombay Government.

TECHNICAL Art Series, Plates 1 to 12, 1900.

Government of India.

THEOSOPHIC Gleaner, 1900-01.

Theosophic Society.

THE Book of Fair Devon.

Secretary, United Devon Association.

— Jain Stupa and other Antiquities of Mathura.

Government of N.-W. P. & Oudh.

— Ain-i-Akbari, Parts I. and II.

Asiatic Society of Bengal.

— Akbar Nameh, Vols. 1, 2, 3.

Asiatic Society of Bengal.

— DIGEST of Indian Law Cases by Woodman, Vol. I.

Government of India.

TIDE Tables for Indian Ports, 1901.

Government of India.

TRANSACTIONS and Proceedings of the American Philological Association, 1900.

The Association.

— of the Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences, Vol. X., 1899-1900.

The Connecticut Academy.

UNITED States Geological Survey, 12th Annual Report, 1898-99. Parts 2, 3, 4 and 7.

Director, United States Geological Survey.

— Monographs, No. XXXIX. and XL.

Director, United States, Geological Survey.

VENDIDAD.

Trustees, Parsee Panchayat.

VOYAGE of Captain John Saris to Japan (Hak. Soc.).

Bombay Government.

YASHTS.

Trustees, Parsee Panchayat.

YEAR Book of the Department of Agriculture, United States, 1900.

United States, Agricultural Department.

YOGORATNAKARA, Part I.

Government of H. H. the Maharaja of Mysore.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE BOMBAY BRANCH
ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY,
1902.

THE Annual Meeting of the Society was held on Thursday, the 6th March 1902.

Present.

His Excellency Lord Northcote, G.C.I.E., Patron of the Society.

The Hon. Mr. Justice E. T. Candy, President, in the chair.

The Hon. Mr. Justice N. G. Chandavarkar, Mr. James Mac-
Donald, Rev. Dr. D. Mackichan, Dr. D. Macdonald, Mr. H. O. Quin,
Mr. V. D. Thackersey, Mr. M. D. Thackersey, Mr. B. N. Sirvai,
Mr. M. R. Bodas, Mr. N. M. Cama, Mr. K. R. Cama, Mr. P. V.
Mawjee, Mr. Furdoonjee Jamsetjee, Mr. S. T. Bhandare, Mr. J.
S. Sanjagiri, Mr. R. S. Rastamjee, Shamsul Ulma Jivanji J.
Modi, Shamsul Ulma Dastur Darab P. Sanjana, Mr. R. P. Karkaria,
Mr. J. E. Aspinwall, Rev. R. Macomish, Rev. W. G. Robertson, Mr.
Nanabhai N. Saher, Mr. P. A. Wadia, Rev. Fr. Wallrath, Rev. Dr.
B. DeMonte, Mr. H. S. Lawrence, Mr. H. Kennard, Dr. G. B. Kher,
Mr. Shamrao Vithal, Mr. R. Taylor, Mr. C. D. M. Limjee, Col. G.
W. Mitchell, Mr. H. R. H. Wilkinson, Mr. F. A. Vakil, Mr. J. M.
Dick, Mr. J. E. Modi, and the Rev. R. Scott—*Hony. Secretary.*

Visitors.

The Hon. Mr. Raleigh, The Hon. Mr. Justice Gooroodas Banerjee
and Mr. A. Pedler, Members of the Indian Universities Commission,
and Mr. J. H. Du Boulay (Private Secy. to H. E. Lord Northcote).

The Honorary Secretary read the following Report for 1901:—

THE ANNUAL REPORT FOR 1901.

MEMBERS.

Resident.—Fifty-four members were elected during the year, and 2 non-resident members returned to Bombay and were added to the list of Resident Members. Twenty-seven members resigned, 21 retired, 5 died and 7, having left Bombay, desired to be transferred to the non-resident list. The total number of members at the close of 1901 was 291. The number at the end of 1900 was 295.

Non-Resident.—Six new members were added to this class and 7 were transferred from the list of Resident Members : 1 died and 2 were placed on the resident list. The number on the roll at the end of the year was 62. The number at the end of the preceding year was 52.

OBITUARY.

The Society regret to announce the loss by death during the year of the following members :—

RESIDENT.

Sir Dinshaw Manockjee Petit, Bart.
The Hon'ble Mr. Justice M. G. Ranade,
J. Jackson, Esq.
F. G. Parrott, Esq.
Col. C. B. Maitland.

NON-RESIDENT.

C. G. Dodgson, Esq., I.C.S.

ORIGINAL COMMUNICATIONS.

The papers contributed to the Society during the year were :—

Time and Place of the Composition of the Gathas, by P. A. Wadia, M.A.

An Untranslated Chapter of the Bundeheesh, by Jivanji Jamshedji Modi, B.A.

A New Chalukya Grant of Kirtivarma II, by K. B. Pathak, B.A.
Parsees at the Court of Akbar and Dastoor Meherji Rana, by Jivanji Jamshedji Modi, B.A.

A Note on the six Chalukya Gold Coins, found in the Bijapur District, by Prof. S. R. Bhandarkar, M.A.

LIBRARY.

The total issues of books during the year were 36,648 volumes ; 25,137 of new books including periodicals and 11,511 of the old. The issues during 1900 were 35,029 volumes ; 23,991 of new books and 11,033 of the old.

A detailed statement of the monthly issues, together with daily average, exclusive of Sundays and Holidays, is subjoined.

		Old Books.	New Books.	Daily Average.
January	...	934	1,623	102
February	...	1,043	1,705	119
March	...	1,092	1,634	109
April	...	1,203	2,623	153
May	...	892	2,761	140
June	...	982	2,224	128
July	...	1,065	2,293	124
August	...	1,058	2,125	122
September	...	865	2,221	128
October	...	904	2,282	122
November	...	657	1,779	101
December	...	816	1,867	112

The volumes of issues of old and new books arranged according to subjects are shown in the following table :—

CLASSES.	Volumes.
Novels	11,194
Miscellaneous and works on several subjects by the same Authors	1,538
Biography and Personal Narratives	1,505
Voyages, Travels, &c.	1,067
History and Chronology	1,042
Oriental Literature	911
Naval and Military	595
Transactions of Learned Societies, Reviews, Magazines, &c.	575
Politics, Political Economy, &c.	567
English Poetry and Drama	493
Religion and Theology	440
Philology, Literary History, &c.	350
Foreign Literature...	317
Medicine, Surgery and Physiology	310
Fine Arts, Architecture, &c.	276
Natural History, Geology, Chemistry, &c.	273
Archæology, Antiquities, Numismatics, Heraldry, &c.	216
Metaphysics and Moral Philosophy	205
Classics and Translations	190
Government Publications and Public Records	161
Botany, Agriculture and Horticulture	141
Natural Philosophy, Mathematics, Astronomy, &c.	105
Jurisprudence	91
Grammatical Works...	32
Logic and Rhetoric	27
Periodicals, in loose numbers	13,317

ADDITIONS TO THE LIBRARY.

The additions to the Library during 1901 were 1,043 volumes or parts of volumes. Of these 758 were added by purchase and 285 by presentation. The presents as usual were chiefly by the Bombay Government, the Secretary of State for India, the Government of India, and the other Local Governments, and a few by individual authors and other donors.

The volumes of each class of books purchased and presented are shown in the subjoined table:—

	Pur- chased.	Pre- sented.
Religion and Theology	13	1
Metaphysics and Moral Philosophy	6	...
Classics and Translations...	11	...
Philology, Literary History and Bibliography	10	...
History and Chronology	33	2
Politics, Political Economy, Trade and Commerce	9	20
Jurisprudence	4	6
Government Publications and Public Records...	17	131
Biography and Personal Narratives	50	...
Archæology, Antiquities, Numismatics, Heraldry, &c.	5	6
Voyages, Travels, Geography and Topography...	29	2
English Poetry and Dramatic Works	15	1
Novels, Romances and Tales	247	...
Miscellaneous, and works on several subjects by the same Authors	51	3
Foreign Literature...	1	1
Natural Philosophy, Mathematics and Astronomy	6	2
Fine Arts and Architecture	14	3
Naval and Military Subjects	30	...
Natural History, Geology, Mineralogy and Chemistry	13	...
Botany, Agriculture and Horticulture	4	2
Medicine, Surgery and Physiology	7	3
Encyclopædias, Transactions of Learned Societies, Annuals and Serials, &c.	162	60
Dictionaries and Grammatical Works	5	...
Oriental Literature	16	42

NEWSPAPERS AND PERIODICALS.

The Newspapers, Periodicals, and Journals and Transactions of Learned Societies subscribed for and presented to the Society during the year were:—

Literary Monthlies	...	...	...	...	...	16
Illustrated Papers and Magazines	...	...	...	...	...	17

Scientific and Philosophical Journals, Transactions of Learned Societies, &c. ...	... ... ...	36
Reviews ...	... ... ...	14
English Newspapers ...	... ... ...	20
English and French Registers, Almanacs, Directories, &c.	14	
Foreign Literary and Scientific Periodicals ...	... ...	10
American Literary and Scientific Periodicals ...	... ...	11
Indian Newspapers and Government Gazettes	...	22
Indian Journals, Reviews, &c. ...	... ... ...	31

At a meeting of the Society called for under Article XX of the Rules for the Revision of the Newspapers, Periodicals, &c., taken by the Society, it was resolved to subscribe to :—

Country Life,
Benares Chaukhamba Sanskrit Series (for one year),
East and West;

and to discontinue—

Comptes Rendus des Séances de l'Academie des Sciences,
India,
St. James' Budget,
from the beginning of 1902.

COIN CABINET.

The accessions to the Coin Cabinet during the year were 21 ; 2 gold, 11 silver, 4 copper, and 4 lead. All the coins were received from different Governments under the Treasure-Trove Act.

A detailed descriptive list of the coins is subjoined :—

Presented by the Bombay Government—

6 Silver coins of Aurangzeb, found in the Ratnagiri District.
1 Silver coin of Shah Jehan, found in the Ratnagiri District.
1 Silver coin of Shah Alam, found in the Ratnagiri District.
1 Gold coin of the Khaliffs, A. H. 80, found in the Ratnagiri District.

1 Copper coin of Ahmad Shah II., King of Gujerat, found in the Ahmedabad District.

1 Copper coin of Muzaffar Khan II., King of Gujerat, found in the Ahmedabad District.

1 Copper coin of Muzaffar Khan III., King of Gujerat,
found in the Ahmedabad District.

1 Chalukya gold coin of Jagadekamalla, found in the Bijapur District.

Presented by the Government of the N.-W. Provinces and Oudh—

1 Silver coin of Asata Pala, King of Kabul.

2 Silver coins of Shah Alam II.

Presented by the Government of Madras—

1 Copper coin of Aurangzeb, found in Pattikondad Taluq,
Kurnool District.

4 Leaden coins of the Andhra Dynasty (Horse Type), found
in the village of Bathalapalli, Anantapur District.

JOURNAL.

Number 57 being the first number of a new volume (Vol. XXI), has been published and will be issued in a few days. With it will also be issued Index, Title-page, and Contents of Volume XX., which has been completed.

The new number contains the following papers and abstract of Proceedings of the Society for 1901, and a list of Books, Pamphlets, &c., presented to the Society during the period :—

On the Jaina Poem Rághavapándaviya, a Reply to Prof. Max Müller, by K. B. Pathak, B.A.

The Ancient Name of Sanjan, by Jivanji Jamshedji Modi, B.A.

Apastamba and Baudháyana, by K. B. Pathak, B.A.

Astronomy in its bearing on the Antiquity of the Aryans, by V. B. Ketkar, Esq.

Time and Place of the Composition of the Gathas, by P. A. Wadia, M.A.

An Untranslated Chapter of the Bundelesh, by Jivanji Jamshedji Modi, B.A.

A Note on some Chalukya Gold Coins, found in the Bijapur District, by Shridhar R. Bandarkar, M.A.

The following is a list of Governments, Learned Societies and other Institutions to which the Journal of the Society is presented:—

Bombay Government.	Royal Geographical Society, London.
Government of India.	Statistical Society, London.
Government of Bengal.	Royal Astronomical Society.
Government of Madras.	Literary and Philosophical Society Manchester.
Punjab Government.	Imperial Academy of Science, St. Petersburg.
Government, N.-W. Provinces and Oudh.	Smithsonian Institution, Wash- ington.
Chief Commissioner, Central Pro- vinces.	Royal Society of Northern Anti- quaries, Copenhagen.
Chief Commissioner, Coorg.	Royal Society of Edinburgh.
Resident, Hyderabad.	Deutsche Morgenlandischen Ge- ellschaft, Leipzig.
Government of Burmah.	Literary and Philosophical Society, Liverpool.
Geological Survey of India.	British Museum, London.
G. T. Survey of India.	Royal Society, London.
Marine Survey of India.	Royal Asiatic Society, Great Britain and Ireland.
Bengal Asiatic Society.	Academié Real das Sciences de Lisboa.
Agricultural Society of India.	Société de Géographie Commer- cial de Bordeaux.
Literary Society of Madras.	Société de Géographie de Lyons.
Provincial Museum, Lucknow.	Hungarian Academy of Sciences (Buda Pest).
Bombay University.	Sociedad Geografica de Madrid.
Madras University.	Royal Dublin Society.
Punjab University.	Société Géographie de Paris.
Mahabodhi Society, Calcutta.	Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences.
Government Museum, Madras.	United States Survey.
Indian Journal of Education, Madras.	Kaiserliche Akademie der Wis- senchaften, Vienna.
R. A. Society, Ceylon Branch.	
R. A. Society, North-China Branch.	
The Asiatic Society of Japan.	
Batavian Society of Arts and Sciences.	
Strasburg Library.	
Geographical Society, Vienna.	
London Institution of Civil En- gineers.	

United Service Institution.	American Museum of Natural History.
Minnesota Academy of Natural Science.	Société Asiatique, Paris.
India Office Library.	Geological Society; London.
London Bible Society.	Royal Academy of Sciences, Amsterdam.
Vienna Orientalische Museum.	American Philological Association, Cambridge.
Boston Society of Natural History.	Royal University, Upsala (Sweden).
Musee Guimét, Lyons.	Franklin Institute, Philadelphia.
Victoria Institution, London.	University of Kansas, U. S. A.
Royal Institution, Great Britain.	Director, Missouri Botanical Garden.
American Geographical Society.	
American Oriental Society.	
Hamilton Association, America.	
Editor, Journal of Comparative Neurology, Granville, Ohio,	
U. S. A.	

ACCOUNTS.

A statement of receipts and disbursements during 1901 accompanies the Report. The total amount of subscriptions received from members during the year was Rs.11,509-14. The subscriptions in the year preceding amounted to Rs.10,673-5-5. There was besides a sum of Rs.500, on account of life subscription received from one Resident Member which has been duly invested in Government Securities as required by the Rules.

The balance at the end of the year was Rs.397-9-2 and the invested funds of the Society amount to Rs.14,700-0-0.

Address of Condolence to His Majesty the King on the death of Her Majesty, Queen Victoria.

The Committee of Management at their meeting on the 21st of February, resolved that an address, on behalf of the Society, expressing sorrow at the death of the Queen-Empress and offering condolence be sent to King Edward VII.

In accordance with this resolution, the following address was prepared and forwarded to the King, through His Excellency the Governor, the Patron of the Society :—

To

**His Most Gracious Majesty Edward VII, By
the Grace of God, King of the United
Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland,
Defender of the Faith, Emperor of India.**

THE HUMBLE AND LOYAL ADDRESS OF
THE BOMBAY BRANCH OF THE ROYAL
ASIATIC SOCIETY.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR MAJESTY,—We, the President and the Members of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society beg to offer to your Majesty our humble and sincere condolence on the death of your revered Mother of Glorious Memory, our late Queen-Empress.

This Society is a Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland, having become incorporated therewith in the year 1829. The Royal Asiatic Society has always profited by the favour and sympathy of the reigning Sovereign, and our Great Empress, deeply interested as she was in all that concerned the welfare of her Indian subjects, never failed to give her gracious and warm encouragement to those whose labours were devoted to the languages and literatures of the East. The object of the Society had Her Majesty's approval and all earnest efforts to unlock the secrets of the past and to bring to light the thoughts of the ancestors of the peoples of this land were sure of her sympathy and of such furtherance as was in her power to give.

In common with your Majesty's subjects in all parts of the Empire, we bewail the loss of one so deeply revered and so greatly beloved as was the late Queen, while at the same time we give thanks to the memory of a life so gracious and so noble, and we beg to offer our respectful and sincere sympathy to Your Majesty and to Your Majesty's House in a sorrow which is shared by British subjects over all the world.

In conclusion we would respectfully tender our most earnest assurance of devoted loyalty to Your Majesty's throne and person.

(Sd). E. T. CANDY,
President.

(Sd). R. M. GRAY,
Hony. Secretary.

The Rev. Dr. D. Mackichan proposed the adoption of the Report. The proposition being seconded by Mr. H. O. Quin, was carried. On the motion of Mr. James MacDonald, seconded by Mr. K. R. Cama, the following Committee and Auditors were appointed for 1902:—

President.

The Hon'ble Mr. Justice E. T. Candy, I.C.S.

Vice-Presidents.

James MacDonald, Esq.

Kharsetji Rastamji Cama, Esq.

M. Macmillan, B.A.

The Hon'ble Mr. Justice N. G. Chandawarkar, B.A., LL.B.

Members.

D. MacDonald, M.D., B.Sc., C.M.

Camrudin Amirudin, B.A.

Framji R. Viccaji, B.A., LL.B.

The Hon'ble Sir Bhalchandra Krishna, Kt.

Shams-ul-Ulma Jivanji Jamsetji Modi, B.A.

K. G. Desai, L.C.E.

Shams-ul-Ulma Dastur Darab P. Sanjana, B.A.

Prof. A. L. Covernton, M.A.

R. M. Watson-Smyth, Esq.

Khan Bahadur Darasha R. Chichgar.

Prof. W. H. Sharp, M.A.

J. E. Aspinwall, Esq.

The Rev. Dr. D. Mackichan, M.A., D.D., LL.D.

A. M. T. Jackson, M.A., I.C.S.

Honorary Secretary.

The Rev. R. Scott, M.A.

Auditors.

H. R. H. Wilkinson, Esq.

Framroze Ardesir Vakil, B.A., LL.B.

The President then briefly addressed the meeting, explaining the many advantages of the Society's library, as well as the lectures delivered by native scholars, offered to those who became members of that body. In conclusion he requested His Excellency the Governor, who was their patron, and who had kindly attended the meeting, to address a few words to them.

THE GOVERNOR'S SPEECH.

His Excellency the Governor then addressed the meeting as follows :—Though I have *ex-officio* the honour to be its patron, yet in attending the meeting to-day of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, let me premise that I am here as a *chela* and not as a *guru*. When we were originally constituted in 1804 I read that the subjects of our inquiries were to be divided into two classes—physical and moral. The former branch was to include Natural History, Mineralogy, Botany, Climatic Conditions, and Medicine. Our moral studies were to comprise every branch of information contained in the modern censuses—plus the origin and distribution of public wealth, prices of commodities, system of land tenure, rates of interest, commercial statistics of all sorts—these were only some of the problems the Asiatic Society was invited to solve. Well might Sir James Mackintosh point out the advantages Government would derive from an accurate knowledge of these problems—though I respectfully differ from the view he then expressed as to the facility with which the

investigations could be carried out. Indeed could our original programme have been fulfilled, the post of Governor of Bombay might well have been merged in that of patron of the Royal Asiatic Society. As a matter of fact, the Society has taken up its natural position of one for the promotion of the study of Oriental literature, antiquities, and geographical research ; and if I may take the last report I have read as a fair average specimen of its proceedings, I think we are well justifying our existence. The class of readers to whom the Society's publications appeal must necessarily be limited, but the contributors to our reports work rather, we know, for the honour of the Society than for popular recognition. But even a person like myself, who has no pretension to claim more than the most superficial acquaintance with early Indian history or traditions must read with pleasure such lights as are thrown on the rise of the priestly and decline of the Kshatriya class in the interesting article on the "Samhita of the Rig Veda." Again in the "Peep into the Early History of India" not only do I for one gather more accurate information than I possessed as to the circumstances of the foundation of the great Gupta Dynasty, but incidentally I find the illustrious law-giver King Asoka justifying the practices of modern Viceroys and Governors, by his instructions to his officers "to go on tour every five years for the inculcation of Dharma or righteousness, and for other matters," to which other matters I fear modern officials pay the most attention nowadays. And I need hardly say that the late Mr. Justice Ranade's "Introduction to the Peshwa's Diaries" is a paper, the interest and importance of which is fully appreciated by many who are not members of the Asiatic Society. If our financial circumstances hereafter should permit I should be very glad to see Government take part in the cost of the translation of the Diaries now at Poona, but this at present is unfortunately not practicable. One thing is certain, that for years to come there is an ample field in India for the labour of such a society as this ; and most earnestly do I hope that its members in Bombay will continue to labour successfully to disseminate their valuable stores of learning amongst an increasingly appreciative public.

The Hon. Mr. Raleigh, in a few words, thanked the Chairman and members for offering him and his colleagues such hearty welcome.

BOMBAY BRANCH OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.

STATEMENT OF ACCOUNTS.

Bombay Branch of the*Statement of Receipts and Disbursements*

		Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.
Balance on 31st December 1900	... ... ..	.....	485 11 2
Subscription of Resident Members	... ... ..	10,481 14 0	
Do. of Non-Resident Members	... ... ..	1,028 0 0	
Do. Resident Life Members	... ... ..	500 0 0	
Government Contribution	... ... ..	4,200 0 0	
Sale proceeds of Journal Numbers	... ... ..	242 1 6	
Do. of Catalogues	... ... ..	38 8 0	
Do. of Waste-papers	... ... ..	6 8 0	
Interest on Society's Government Paper	... ... ..	496 8 8	
			16,993 8 2
Total ... Rs.	.....	
			17,479 9 4

Examined and found correct.

H. R. H. WILKINSON,
FRAMROZ ARDESIR VAKIL, } Auditors.

Royal Asiatic Society.

from 1st January to 31st December 1901.

		Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.
Books purchased in Bombay ...	... ... ...	1,819 13 0	
Remittances to Messrs. Kegan, Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co.—			
Books	Rs. ... 584-15-5	2,754 8 10	
English Newspapers and Periodicals ,,	2,169-9-5		
Subscription to Indian Newspapers ...	... ... ...	315 0 0	
Printing Charges	... ... ... ...	668 4 0	
Do. of Journal Numbers ...	... ... ...	2,350 1 0	
Binding Charges	... ... ... ...	869 3 0	
Office Establishment	... ... ... ...	6,178 12 0	
General Charges	... ... ... ...	559 1 6	
Stationery	... ... ... ...	86 15 6	
Postage and Receipt Stamps	... ... ...	114 14 6	
Shipping and Landing Charges	... ... ...	12 14 6	
Gas Charges	... ... ... ...	77 10 4	
Insurance	... ... ... ...	312 8 0	
Grain Compensation	... ... ... ...	162 0 0	
Pension	... ... ... ...	300 0 0	
Balance in Bank of Bombay	... ... ...	351 7 8	16,581 10 2
Do. in hand	... ... ...	46 1 6	397 9 2
Government Promissory Note Purchased ...	....	16,979 3 4	
		500 0 0	
Total ... Rs.	.....	17,479 3 4	

Invested Funds.

	Rs.	Rs.
Government Paper of the Society	... ... 11,700	
The Premchand Roychand Fund	... ... 3,000	
	<u>14,700</u>	

R. SCOTT,
Honorary Secretary.

A meeting of the Society was held on Thursday, the 13th November 1902.

Mr. James MacDonald, one of the Vice-Presidents, in the chair.

The minutes of the last meeting were read and confirmed.

The following papers were then read:—(1) "The History of Gurjars and their Final Settlement in Gujerat," by Mr. D. R. Bhandarkar, M.A., and (2) "Portuguese Documents of the 17th and 18th Centuries relating to Parsees," by Mr. J. Godinho.

On the proposition of Mr. R. P. Karkaria, seconded by Mr. S.T. Bhandare, a vote of thanks was passed to Mr. Bhandarkar and Mr. Godinho for the papers contributed by them.

With regard to Mr. Godinho's paper, which contained translations of documents testifying to services rendered by Parsees to the Portuguese during their wars with the Marathas, there was considerable difference of opinion as to the light thrown on the history and the social position of the Parsees about the period to which the documents referred.

Mr. Karkaria, Mr. Bhandare and Mr. Modi took part in the discussion.

A General Meeting of the Society, under Article XX of the Rules, was held on Thursday, the 28th November 1902, for the revision of the papers and periodicals, &c., taken by the Society.

Mr. James MacDonald, one of the Vice-Presidents, in the chair.

It was agreed first to consider the list for the present year.

After going over this list it was resolved that the following be discontinued from the commencement of the next year :—

Churchman.

Record.

LeMuseon.

Granthamâlâ.

The proposals from members with regard to new periodicals were then put to the vote, with the result that the " Hibbert Journal " was added to the list (for one year) and the " Revue de Paris " was substituted for the " Nouvelle Revue."

LIST OF PRESENTS TO THE LIBRARY.

1902.

*Titles of Books.**Donors.*

ACCOUNTS of the Trade carried by Rail and River in India, 1901-02.	Government of India.
ACTS passed by the Governor-General of India in Council in 1901.	Government of India.
ADMINISTRATION Report, Bombay Improvement Trust, for the year ending 31st March 1902.	The Trustees.
_____ Report, Bombay Jail Department, 1901.	Bombay Government.
_____ Report, Bombay Port Trust, 1901-02.	The Trustees.
_____ Report, Meteorological Department, Government of India, 1901-02.	Government of India.
_____ Report, Municipal Commissioner of Bombay, 1900-01.	Municipal Commissioner, Bombay.
_____ Report, N.-W. P. and Oudh, 1900-01.	N.-W. P. and Oudh Government.
_____ Report of Irrigation Works in the Bombay Presidency, 1900-01.	Bombay Government.
_____ Report, Persian Gulf Political Residency and Muscat Political Agency, 1901-02.	Government of India.
_____ Report, Punjab Registration Department, for 1899-1900, 1900-01 and 1901-02.	Punjab Government.
_____ Report, Railways in India for 1900-01.	Government of India.
_____ Report of Bengal, 1900-01.	Bengal Government.
_____ Report of the Bombay Presidency for 1900-01.	Bombay Government.
_____ Report of Burma, 1900-01.	Chief Commissioner, Burma.
_____ Report of the Hyderabad Assigned Districts, 1900-01.	The Resident.
_____ Report of the Madras Presidency, 1900-01.	Madras Government.

- ADMINISTRATION Report of the Punjab and its Dependencies for 1900-01. Punjab Government.
— Report, Central India Agency, for 1900-01. Government of India.
— Rajputana States and Ajmer-Merwara, 1900-01. Government of India.
AGRICULTURAL Ledger, 1901, Nos. 13 & 14. Government of India.
— Ledger, 1902, Nos. 1—7. Government of India.
— Statistics of India, 1896-97 to 1900-01. Government of India.
ANNOTATED Returns of the Dispensaries in Central India for 1900. Government of India.
ANNUAL Report, Stamp Department, 1901 & 1902. Bombay Government.
AREA and Yield, 1891-92 to 1901-02. Government of India.
AUSTRALASIAN Association for the Advancement of Science, Report, 1900. The Association.
BOMBAY Gazetteer—Gujerath Population—Hindus, Vol. IX., Part I. Bombay Government.
— Quarterly Civil List, January, 1902. Bombay Government.
BRITISH Guinea Medical Annual, 1902. By A. T. Ozzard and C. P. Kennard. The Authors.
BULLETIN of the American Museum of Natural History, Vol. XI., Part IV., 1901. Smithsonian Institution.
— of the American Museum of Natural History, Vol. XIV., 1901, and Vol. XV., Part I., 1901. Smithsonian Institution.
— of the Lloyd Library of Boston, Pharmacy and Materia Medica, 1902. Lloyd Library.
BUNDEHESH. The Parsee Punchayat.
CANDRA-Vyakarana by Bruno Liebiet. Duetschen Morgenlandischen Gesellschaft.
CALENDAR, Bombay University, 1902-03. Bombay University.

CALENDAR, Madras University, 1902-03.

Madras University.

— — — Punjab University, 1902-03.

Punjab University.

CATALOGUE of Berlin Library, Latin MSS.

Berlin Library.

— — — of Greek Coins, British Museum.

British Museum.

— — — of Pali Singhalese and Sanskrit MSS. in the Colombo
Museum Library.

Colombo Museum and Library.

CENSUS of India, 1901. Reports :—

Ajmer-Merwara, 2 parts.

Bombay Government.

Assam, 2 parts.

Bombay Government.

Baluchistan, 2 parts.

Bombay Government.

Baroda, 3 parts.

Bombay Government.

Bombay (Town and Island), 3 parts.

Bombay Government.

— — — (Presidency), 3 parts.

Bombay Government.

Berar, 2 parts.

Bombay Government.

Central India, 3 parts.

Bombay Government.

Central Provinces, 2 parts.

Bombay Government.

Coorg.

Bombay Government.

Gwalior, 2 parts.

Bombay Government.

Kashmir, 2 parts.

Bombay Government.

Madras, 2 parts.

Bombay Government.

North-West-Provinces and Oudh, 2 parts.

Bombay Government.

Punjab, 2 parts.

Bombay Government.

Rajputana, 2 parts.

Bombay Government.

- CROP Experiments, Bombay Presidency, 1899-1900 and 1900-01.
 Bombay Government.
- DESCRIPTIVE Catalogue of Sanskrit MSS., Calcutta Sanskrit College,
 Vol. IV., Purana MSS.
 Government of Bengal.
- DICTIONARY of the Gathic Language of the Zend Avesta, Vol. III.
 The Parsee Punchayat.
- DIGEST of Indian Law Cases, Vols. II—V. By Woodman.
 Government of India.
- DISCOVERY of Solomon Islands, Vols. 1 and 2. (Hakluyt Society).
 Bombay Government.
- EAST India ; Accounts and Estimates.
 Secretary of State for India.
- India ; Administration Report, Railways in India, 1901.
 Secretary of State for India.
- India ; Case of Mr. A. P. Pennell.
 Secretary of State for India.
- India ; Financial Statement, 1902-03.
 Secretary of State for India.
- India ; N.-W. Frontier, Mahsud-Waziri Operations.
 Secretary of State for India.
- India ; Opium. Return of Correspondence as to a Memorial
 from the Society for the Suppression of the Opium
 Trade, dated December 1901.
 Secretary of State for India.
- India ; Papers regarding the Famine and Relief Operations in
 India during 1900-02.
 Secretary of State for India.
- India ; Petitions of Officers of P. W. Department.
 Secretary of State for India.
- India ; Review of Trade of India, 1901-02.
 Secretary of State for India.
- EKAGNIKANDA of the Krishna Yajurveda.
 Mysore Government.
- PIGRAPHIA Carnatica, Vol. I. and Vol. V., part 2.
 Mysore Government.
- ESTIMATE, Revenue and Expenditure, Government of India, 1901-02.
 Secretary of State for India.
- FINANCE and Revenue Accounts of the Government of India for the
 year 1900-01.
 Government of India.
- GREEK Coins in the Hunterian Collection, Vol. II.
 Trustees of the Hunterian Coin Catalogue Fund.

G. T. SURVEY of India, Vol. XVI., Details of Tidal Observations.

Government of India.

— Synoptical, Vol. XXIX.

Government of India.

HANDBOOK of the New Library of Congress in Washington.

Smithsonian Institution.

HISTOIRE du Bouddhisme dans l'Inde (Annales du Musee Guimet).

Musee Guimet.

HISTORY of Services,—Civil Department, Bombay, corrected up to 1st July 1902.

Bombay Government.

— of Sind, Vol. II. By Mirza Kalich Beg Fradun Beg.

The Author.

IMPERIAL Institute, Annual Report, 1901-02.

Secretary of State for India.

INDIAN Expenditure, Royal Commission, Copy of Further Correspondence with Secretary of State for India.

Secretary of State for India.

— Law Reports (Allahabad Series), 1901.

Government, United Provinces of India.

— Law Reports (Bombay Series), 1901.

Bombay Government.

— Law Reports, (Calcutta Series), 1901.

Government of India.

— Law Reports (Madras Series), 1901.

Madras Government.

— Meteorological Memoirs, Vol. XII., Parts II. & III.

Government of India.

INDIA's Three Great Educational Needs. By Dr. J. Murdoch.

The Author.

IRANIAN Essays, Part III.

The Parsee Panchayat.

JUDICIAL Administrative Statistics of British India for 1900-01 and preceding years.

Government of India.

KANSAS University Quarterly, Vols. VII. and VIII., 1898-1899.

The University.

LECTURES and Sermons on Zoroastrian Subjects.

The Parsee Panchayat.

LOCAL Industries of Glasgow and the West of Scotland.

Committee at Glasgow for the Meeting of British Association, 1901.

LOCAL Rules and Orders made under Enactments applying to Bombay, Vol. I. (List of Agenda and Corrigenda, corrected up to December 1899).

Bombay Government.

MĀDĪGĀN-I-HĀZĀR Dādistān.

MADRAS Government Museum Bulletin, Vol. IV., No. 2 (Anthropology).
The Parsee Panchayat.

MEMOIRS, Geological Survey of India—Palaeontologia, Indica, Vol. II.
Madras Government.

— of the Geological Survey of India. Vol. 34, 1901-02.
Geological Survey.

MINUTES and Proceedings of the Institution of Civil Engineers,
Vols. 147 and 148, for 1901-02.
The Institution.

MONTHLY Notices of the Royal Astronomical Society, Vols. LXI.,
& LXII. 1900-01, 1901-02.
Royal Astronomical Society.

NOTE on Administration, Stamp Department, Punjab, for 1900-01.
Punjab Government.

PAPERS regarding the Land Revenue System of British India.
Secretary of State for India.

PARSEE Patels of Bombay.
The Parsee Panchayat.

POLICE Report of the Bombay Presidency, excluding Province of Sind,
for 1900.
Bombay Government.

PROCEEDINGS, International Engineering Congress, Glasgow, Reports
and Abstracts, 1901.
Executive Committee of the Congress.

— Section I. Railways.
— Section II. Waterways and Maritime works.
Executive Committee of the Congress.

— of the Council of the Governor of Bombay for 1901.
Bombay Government.

PROGRESS Report on Forest Administration in Punjab, 1900-01.
Punjab Government.

RECORDS of the Botanical Survey of India, Vol. II., Nos. 1-3.
Government of India.

REPORT, Abkari Department, Bombay.
Bombay Government.

— American Historical Association, for 1900, Vols. I. and II.
Smithsonian Institution.

— American Museum of Natural History, 1901.
The Museum.

— Bombay Chamber of Commerce, 1901.
The Chamber.

REPORT, Bombay Millowners' Association, 1901.

The Association.

— Bombay Veterinary College, 1901-02.

Bombay Government.

— Bureau of American Ethnology, 1896-97, Part 2.

Smithsonian Institution.

— Chemical Analyser to the Government of Bombay, 1901.

Bombay Government.

— Civil Hospitals and Dispensaries under Bombay Government, 1901.

Bombay Government.

— Civil Veterinary Dept., Bombay Presidency, 1900-1901-1902.

Bombay Government.

— Dispensaries and Charitable Institutions of the Punjab, 1901.

Punjab Government.

— Experimental Farms and Gardens in the Bombay Presidency, 1901-02.

Bombay Government.

— Forest Department, Bombay Presidency, 1900-01.

Bombay Government.

— Forest Department, Madras Presidency, 1900-01.

Madras Government.

— Factories, Bombay Presidency, 1901.

Bombay Government.

— Indian Plague Commission, 1898-99.

The Secretary of State for India.

— Land Records and Agriculture, Bombay Presidency, 1900-01.

Bombay Government.

— Land Records and Agriculture, Punjab, 1900-01.

Punjab Government.

— Land Revenue Administration, Punjab, 1900-01.

Punjab Government.

— Lunatic Asylums, Bombay Presidency, 1901.

Bombay Government.

— Lucknow Provincial Museum, for the year ending 31st March 1902.

N.-W. P. and Oudh Government.

— of Public Instruction in the Punjab and its Dependencies for 1900-01.

Punjab Government.

— of the Chief Inspector of Mines in India, 1900-01.

Government of India.

REPORT of the Collector of Customs in Sind of Rail-borne Trade,
1901-02.

Bombay Government.

— of the Collector of Salt Revenue in Sind, 1901-02.

Bombay Government.

— of the Director of Public Instruction, Bombay Presidency,
for 1900-1902.

Bombay Government.

— of the Indian Famine Commission, 1901, and Papers relating
thereto.

The Secretary of State for India.

— of the Librarian of Congress, 1901.

Smithsonian Institution.

— on Administration of Civil Justice, Punjab, 1901.

Punjab Government.

— on Administration of Criminal Justice, Punjab, 1900-91.

Punjab Government.

— on Administration of Northern India, Salt Revenue
Department, for 1901-02.

Government of India.

— on Customs Administration of the Port of Bombay, 1901-02.

Bombay Government.

— on External Land Trade of the Province of Sind and British
Baluchistan, 1901-02.

Bombay Government.

— on Forest Administration in British India, 1899-1900-01.

Government of India.

— on Plague Operations in the Poona Cantonment from July to
December 1900, with Reports of the Results of Inoculation.

Bombay Government.

— on Vaccination in the Punjab, 1901-02.

Punjab Government.

— on Working of the Thagi and Dakaiti Department, 1901.

Government of India.

— on the Administration of Encumbered Estates in Sind for the
year ending 31st July 1901.

Bombay Government.

— on the Administration of the Government Museum and the
Connemara Public Library, 1901-02.

Madras Government.

— on the Administration of the Opium Department, Bombay
Presidency, 1900-01.

Bombay Government.

REPORT on the Excise Administration, Punjab, during 1901-02.

Punjab Government.

— on the Material Progress of the Punjab, during the Decade 1891-1902.

Punjab Government.

— on the Operation in connection with the Income Tax in the Bombay Presidency, 1900-01.

Bombay Government.

— on the Rail and Road Borne Trade of the Bombay Presidency, exclusive of Sind, for 1900-01-02.

Bombay Government.

— on the Total Solar Eclipse, 1898, as observed at Jeur. By K. D. Naigamvala.

Bombay Government.

— on the working of Municipalities in Punjab, 1900-01.

Punjab Government.

— on Customs Administration, Sind, 1901-02.

Bombay Government.

— on the Operations of the Survey of India, 1900-01.

Government of India.

— Police Administration, Punjab, 1901.

Punjab Government.

— Police, of the Town and Island of Bombay, for 1901.

Bombay Government.

— Reformatory School, Yerrowda, 1901.

Bombay Government.

— Registration Department, Bombay Presidency, 1899-1902.

Bombay Government.

— Revision Survey Settlement Nara Valley Talukas of Sanghar Khipra and Umarkot of the Thar and Parkar District.

Bombay Government

— Hala Taluka of the Hyderabad District.

Bombay Government.

— Mirpur Khas Taluka of the Thar and Parkar District.

Bombay Government.

— Shahadapur Taluka of the Hyderabad District.

Bombay Government.

— Shahdapur Taluka of the Upper Sind Frontier District.

Bombay Government.

— Tando Alahyar Taluka of the Hyderabad District.

Bombay Government.

REPORT, Revision Survey Settlement, Thul Taluka of the Upper Sind Frontier District.

Bombay Government.

— Revision Settlement, Montgomery District.

Punjab Government.

— Salt Department, Bombay Presidency, 1901-1902.

Bombay Government.

— Sanitary Administration, Punjab, for 1901.

Punjab Government.

— Sanitary Commissioner, Bombay Government, 1901.

Bombay Government.

— Sanitation, Dispensaries in Rajputana, for 1900 and on Vaccination, for 1900-01.

Government of India.

— Smithsonian Institution, for 1900 and 1901.

Smithsonian Institution.

— Statement of the Trade and Navigation of the Bombay Presidency, 1901-02.

Bombay Government.

— Talukdari Settlement Officer, for 1900-01.

Bombay Government.

— to the Evolution Committee, Royal Society.

The Society.

— Trade and Navigation, Aden, 1901-1902.

Bombay Government.

— Vaccination, Bombay Presidency, 1901-02.

Bombay Government.

RETURN of the Net Income and Expenditure of British India under certain specified heads for eleven years from 1890-91—1900-01.

Secretary of State for India.

— Wrecks and Casualties in Indian Waters, 1902.

Government of India.

RISE of Bombay. By S. M. Edwardes.

Bombay Government.

ROYAL Society's Report to the Malaria Committee, Seventh Series.

The Royal Society.

SMITHSONIAN Institution, Miscellaneous Collections, Vol. XLIII. (Origin and History, Vol. II, 1887-1899).

The Smithsonian Institution.

— **Institution, Origin and History.**

The Smithsonian Institution.

Statements, Trade and Navigation, Sind, 1901-1902.

Bombay Government.

STATISTICAL Abstract—British India, from 1891-92—1900-01 (36th number).

Secretary of State for India.

STATISTICS of Mineral Products in India, 1892—1901.

Government of India.

STRANGE Adventures of Andrew Battell. (*Hakluyt Society*).

Bombay Government.

TABLES relating to the Trade of British India with British Possessions and Foreign Countries, 1896-97 to 1900-01.

Secretary of State for India.

TAITTIRIYA Aranyaka of the Krishna Yajurveda.

Mysore Government.

TECHNICAL Art Series, 1901, Plates I.—XII.

Government of India.

TIDE Tables for Indian Ports, 1902.

Secretary of State for India.

THEATRE au Japan (*Annales du Musée Guimet*).

Musée Guimet.

THE Battlefields of Natal Re-visited.

Messrs. Thomas Cook & Son.

THE Cooergs and Yeruvas, an Ethnological Contrast. By J. H. Holland.

The Author.

THINGS of India made Plain, Part III. By W. M. Wood.

The Author.

UNITED States Geological Survey, Report, 1899-1900, Parts I., V. with Maps, VI & VII.

United States Geological Survey.

Smithsonian Institution.

VIJAYINI Kavyam. By Shrishwar Vidyalankar.

The Author.

BOOKS PRESENTED BY A.M. T. JACKSON, M.A., I.C.S.

- Süd-Arabische Chrestomathie.
 Cägataische Sprachstudien.
 Techmer's Internationale Zeitschrift.
 Cleasby's Icelandic—English Dictionary.
 Western Origin of the Early Chinese Civilization.
 Lake-dwellings of Switzerland.
 Eschichte des Dolke's Israel.
 Kosmologie der Babylonier.
 Hittiter und Armenier.
 Skizzeder Geschichte und Geography Arabiens.
 Keilin Schriftliche Bibliothek I-VI.
 Die Ssabier und der Ssabismus. Bds. 1 and 2.
 Etude sur les Changements Phonetiques.
 Tyken des Sprachbanes.
 Grammaire Comparee de l'Anglais et de l'Allemand.
 Griechischen Vokalabstufung zur Sanskritischen.
 Pre-Historic Times.
 Earlyman in Britain.
 The Empire of the Hittiters.
 Babylonian and Oriental Records, Vols. 1 and 2.
 Assyrian Lectures.
 Egyptian Grammar.
 Assyrian Grammar.
 Student's Dictionary of Anglo-Saxon.
 Indo-Germanische Forschungen—Awzeiger, Vols. 1-9.
 Bezzenger's Beitrage, Vols. XIV-XXV.
 Kuhn's Zeitschrift, Vols. XXI-XXXVII.
 History of Ancient Egypt.
 Ancient Monarchies.
 The Sixth Oriental Monarchy.
 Cave Hunting.
 Hibbert Lectures, 1887.
 Comparative Grammar.
 Pre-Historic Phases.
 The Chaldean Account of Genesis.
 History of English Sounds.
 Language of China before the Chinese.
 Folk Etymology.
 Assyrian Discoveries.
 Chaldean Magic.
 History of Egyptian Religion.
 Paul's Principles of Language.

- Antiquity of Man.
Greeks and Goths.
Study of Language.
Geschdes des Perfects in Indo-Germanischen.
Indo-Germanische Vocal System.
Indo-Germanischen Vocalismus.
Vergleichende Grammatik.
Syntaktische Forschungen. (1—4).
Morphologische Unter Suchungen (1—4).
Einleitung in das Alte Testament.
Israelitische and Jüdische Gechichte.
Angel Sächsische Grammatik.
Grundzuge der Phonetik.
Gotische Grammatik.
Althochdentsche Grammatik.
Altanordische Grammatik.
Altestamentlische Literatur.
Langue de l'Avesta.
Babylonian Literature.
Primitive Inhabitants of Scandinavia.
Pre-History of the North.
Principles of Comparative Philology.
Principles of English Etymology.
Anthropology.
Introduction to the Science of Language.
Icelandic Prose Reader.
Anglo-Saxon Reader (First and Second Series.)
Old High-German Primer.
Middle High-German Primer.
Primer of the Gothic Language.
First Middle English Primer.
Second Middle English Primer.
Assyria.
Indo-Germanische Sprachwissenschaft.
Assyrian Grammar.
Lectures on the Science of Language.
Max Müller's Lectures on the Science of Language.

*Proceedings of the Bombay Branch, Royal Asiatic
Society,*

1903.

A MEETING of the Society was held on the 17th January 1903,

MR. JAMES MACDONALD, one of the Vice-Presidents, in the chair.

The minutes of the last meeting were read and confirmed.

Prof. MacMillan, who was the Society's delegate to the Oriental Congress at Hanoi, then read a paper on the Congress, giving an interesting account of the various proceedings in connection with it.

The Chairman then moved a hearty vote of thanks to Mr. MacMillan for his interesting paper, which was carried by acclamation.

A vote of thanks was also passed to Count Francesco L. Pullé for the gift of a valuable work of his "Studi Italiana di Filologia Indo-Iranica."

The annual meeting of the Society was held on the 9th March 1903.

THE HON. MR. JUSTICE E. T. CANDY, President, in the chair.

THE HON. SECRETARY READ THE FOLLOWING REPORT FOR 1902 :—

THE ANNUAL REPORT FOR 1902.

MEMBERS.

Resident.—Thirty new members were elected during the year, and 5 Non-Resident members came to Bombay and were added to the list of Resident members. Thirty-one members resigned, 14 retired, 4 died and 7, having left Bombay, desired their names to be transferred to the Non-Resident list, and the names of 3 members were removed from the roll for non-payment of subscription. The total number at the end of the year was 267, including Life members. Of these 41 were absent from India for the whole year or portions of the year. The number at the end of the previous year was 291.

Non-Resident.—Thirteen new members were admitted under this class and 7 were transferred from the list of Resident members. Six members withdrew, 1 retired and 5 became Resident members. The number on the roll at the close of the year was 70 against 62 in the preceding year.

Of the Resident members who resigned during the year, the larger number were military officers, and gentlemen connected with Banks and Mercantile Firms, who withdrew from membership on account of their leaving Bombay.

OBITUARY.

The Society record with regret the death of the following members during the year :—

Prabhuram Jivanram Vaidya, Esq.

Dalpatram P. Khakkar, Esq.

Byramji N. Cama, Esq.

J. Leask, Esq.

ORIGINAL COMMUNICATIONS.

The Society received the following papers during the year :—

Shahee Dialect of Arabic. By Lt.-Col. A. S. G. Jayakar, I. M. S., (Retired).

The Coins of the Gujarat Sultanat. By the Rev. Dr. G. P. Taylor.

Dhar and Mandu. By Captain E. Barnes.

Epigraphic Notes. By D. R. Bhandarkar, M.A.

Gurjars. By D. R. Bhandarkar, M.A.

LIBRARY.

The total issue for the year was 37,104 volumes, comprising 26,054 volumes of new books, including periodicals, and 11,050 of the old—a daily average, excluding Sundays and Holidays, of 124 volumes. The issue in the previous year amounted to 36,648 volumes.

The issues of each month are noted in the subjoined table :—

						<i>Old Books.</i>	<i>New Books.</i>
January	...	...	...	...	...	951	2,507
February	...	...	...	...	...	772	1,988
March	...	...	...	...	...	912	2,301
April	...	...	...	...	...	868	2,350
May	...	...	...	...	...	792	2,421
June	...	...	...	...	...	831	2,161
July	...	...	...	...	...	1,002	2,451
August	...	...	...	...	...	988	1,992
September	...	...	...	...	...	1,050	2,312
October	...	...	...	...	...	912	2,320
November	...	...	...	...	...	808	1,830
December	...	...	...	...	...	1,164	1,421

The volumes of issues of old and new books arranged according to subjects are shown in the following table :—

<i>Subject.</i>	<i>Volumes.</i>
Fiction	11,215
Miscellaneous, Collected Works, Essays, &c.	1,639
Biography	1,508
Voyages, Travels, Geography and Topography	1,020
History and Chronology	849
Oriental Literature	739
Reviews, Magazines, Transactions of Learned Societies, &c. (in bound volumes)	635
Politics, Political Economy	606
Naval and Military	439
Poetry and Drama	419
Art, Architecture, Engineering, &c. ...	362
Philology, Literary History and Bibliography ...	321
Religion and Theology	310
Classics and Translations	274
Philosophy	225
Foreign Literature	204
Archæology, Antiquities, Numismatics, &c. ...	201
Government Publications and Public Records ...	184
Natural History, Geology, Mineralogy and Ethnography	184
Medicine, Surgery and Physiology ...	145
Natural Philosophy, Mathematics, Astronomy ...	144
Botany, Agriculture and Horticulture ...	113
Grammatical Works	79
Law	76
Logic, Rhetoric, &c.	22
Periodicals in loose numbers... ...	15,191

ADDITIONS TO THE LIBRARY.

The accessions to the Library during the year numbered 1,174 volumes. Of these 766 volumes were acquired by purchase and 408 by gift.

Presents of books were, as usual, received from the Bombay Government, the Secretary of State for India, the Government of India, and the other Local Governments, and a few from individual authors and donors.

Among the books presented during the year was a valuable collection of works on Oriental literature and philology, received from Mr. A. M. T. Jackson. These books have been placed in a case by themselves. There were also received, from the Trustees of the Parsee Panchayat, books on Iranian subjects.

The volumes belonging to each class of books purchased and presented to the Society in 1902 are shown in the subjoined table :

	<i>Pur-</i>	<i>Pre-</i>
	<i>urchased.</i>	<i>sented.</i>
Religion and Theology	...	3
Philosophy
Classics and Translations
Philology, Literary History and Bibliography	...	11
History and Chronology	...	7
Politics, Political Economy, Trade and Commerce, &c.	...	27
Law	...	4
Government Publications and Public Records	...	17
Biography	...	9
Archæology, Antiquities, Numismatics, Heraldry, &c.	...	159
Voyages, Travels, Geography and Topography	...	27
Poetry and Drama	...	5
Fiction
Miscellaneous, Collected Works, Essays, &c.	...	16
Natural Philosophy, Mathematics, Astronomy, &c.	...	239
Art, Music, Engineering, &c.	...	4
Naval and Military
Natural History, Geology, Mineralogy and Ethnology	...	1
Botany, Agriculture and Horticulture	...	18
Medicine, Surgery and Physiology	...	2
Annals, Serials, Encyclopædias, Transactions of Learned Societies, &c.	...	3
Dictionaries and Grammatical Works	...	6
Oriental Literature	...	6
		90
		33
		51

NEWSPAPERS AND PERIODICALS.

The Newspapers, Periodicals, and Journals and Transactions of Learned Societies subscribed for and presented to the Society during the year were :—

Literary Monthlies	...	...	...	...	...	...	16
Illustrated	...	...	...	...	...	...	18
Scientific and Philosophical Journals, Transactions of Learned Societies, &c.	...	...	...	...	...	...	35
Reviews	...	...	...	...	...	...	15
English Newspapers	...	...	...	...	...	...	18
English Registers, Almanacs, Directories, &c.	...	...	...	...	...	...	13
Foreign Literary and Scientific Periodicals	...	...	...	...	...	...	10

American Literary and Scientific Periodicals	...	...	11
Indian Newspapers and Government Gazettes	...	...	20
Indian Journals, Reviews, &c.	...	...	30

A meeting of the Society, as required by Article XX of the Rules, was held in November, for the revision of the Newspapers, Periodicals, &c., taken by the Society.

At this meeting it was resolved to discontinue—

The Churchman,

The Record,

Le Muséon,

The Grantha Mâlâ,

La Nouvelle Revue,

and to subscribe to

The Hibbert Journal (for one year),

La Revue de Paris,

from the commencement of 1903.

COIN CABINET.

The Cabinet received an addition of 14 coins during the year. Of these 2 were gold, 8 silver, and 4 copper. They were all received under the Treasure Trove Act.

A detailed list is subjoined.

Presented by the Bombay Government :—

- 1 Gold Coin of Shri Pratap Harihar (Vijayanagar dynasty), found in the Parner Taluka, Ahmednagar District.
- 1 Gold Coin of Shri Pratap Deva Raya (Vijayanagar dynasty), found in the Poona District.
- 1 Silver Coin of Jehangir, found in the Ahmedabad District.
- 1 Silver Coin of the Western Satraps, found in the Dholka Taluka, Ahmedabad.

Presented by the Collector of Belgaum :—

- 6 Silver Coins of the Malabar Coast and Travancore current in the 17th and 18th Centuries, A. D.
- 4 Copper Coins of the Malabar Coast and Travancore found in the possession of a wandering mendicant who died in Sadalgi, in Chikodi Taluka, Belgaum District.

JOURNAL.

Number 58, forming the second number of Vol. XXI of the Journal, has been published. It contains the following papers and an abstract of the proceedings of the Society for 1902, with a list of books, pamphlets, &c., presented to it during the year :—

The Parsis at the Court of Akbar and Dastur Meherji Rana. By

Jivanji Jamshedji Modi, B.A.

The Shahee Dialect of Arabic. By Lt.-Col. A. S. G. Jayakar,
I.M.S. (Retired).

The Coins of the Gujarat Saltanat. By the Rev. Dr. G. P.
Taylor, M.A.

Dhar and Mandu. By Capt. Ernest Barnes, I.S.C.

Epigraphic Notes and Questions. By D. R. Bhandarkar, M.A.
Gurjars. By D. R. Bhandarkar, M.A.

and an appendix, a classified list of Sanskrit MSS. in the Society's
Library, No. I. (The Bhagvanlal Indraji Collection).

The following is a list of Governments, Learned Societies and other
Institutions to which the Journal of the Society is presented :—

Bombay Government.

Government of India.

Government of Bengal.

Government of Madras.

Punjab Government.

Government N. W. Provinces and
Oudh.

Chief Commissioner, Central Pro-
vinces.

Chief Commissioner, Coorg.

Resident, Hyderabad.

Government of Burma.

Geological Survey of India.

G. T. Survey of India.

Marine Survey of India.

Bengal Asiatic Society.

Agricultural Society of India.

Literary Society of Madras.

Provincial Museum, Lucknow.

Bombay University.

Madras University.

Punjab University.

Mahabodhi Society, Calcutta.

Government Museum, Madras.

Indian Journal of Education,
Madras.

R. A. Society, Ceylon Branch.

R. A. Society, North-China Branch.

The Asiatic Society of Japan.

Batavian Society of Arts and
Sciences.

Strasburg Library.

Geographical Society, Vienna.

London Institution of Civil En-
gineers.

Royal Geographical Society, Lon-
don.

Statistical Society, London.

Royal Astronomical Society.

Literary and Philosophical Society,
Manchester.

Imperial Academy of Science, St.
Petersburg.

Smithsonian Institution, Washing-
ton.

Royal Society of Northern Anti-
quaries, Copenhagen.

Royal Society of Edinburgh.

Deutsche Morgenlandischen Ges-
ellschaft, Leipzig.

Literary and Philosophical Society,
Liverpool.

British Museum, London.

Royal Society, London.

Royal Asiatic Society, Great Bri-
tain and Ireland.

Academia Real das Sciencias de
Lisboa.

Société de Géographie Commercial
de Bordeaux.

Société de Géographie de Lyons.

Hungarian Academy of Sciences,
(Buda Pest).

Sociedad Geografica de Madrid.

Royal Dublin Society.	Editor, Journal of Comparative Neurology, Granville, Ohio, U. S. A.
Société Géographie de Paris.	American Museum of Natural History.
Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences.	Societe Asiatique, Paris.
United States Survey.	Geological Society, London.
Kaiserliche Akademie der Wissenschaften, Vienna.	Royal Academy of Sciences, Amsterdam.
United Service Institution.	American Philological Association, Cambridge.
Minnesota Academy of Natural Science.	Royal University, Upsala (Sweden).
India Office Library.	Franklin Institute, Philadelphia.
London Bible Society.	University of Kansas, U. S. A.
Vienna Orientalische Museum.	Director, Missouri Botanical Garden.
Boston Society of Natural History.	L'Ecole Française de Extrême Orient.
Musee Guimét, Lyons.	Royal Institute of Philology and Ethnology of Netherlands India.
Victoria Institution, London.	
Royal Institution, Great Britain.	
American Geographical Society.	
American Oriental Society.	
Hamilton Association, America.	

ACCOUNTS.

A statement of accounts for 1902 is appended, giving details of income and expenditure during the year. The total amount of subscriptions collected was Rs. 10,880-6-8. The subscription received in 1901 amounted to Rs. 11,509-14-0. There was, besides, a sum of Rs. 120 received on account of life-subscription from one Non-Resident member, which has been duly invested in Government Securities as required by the Rules.

The balance to the credit of the Society at the end of the year was Rs. 659-6-11 and the invested funds amount to Rs. 14,800.

ORIENTAL CONGRESS AT HANOI.

A Society of French savants, presided over by Dr. Senart, invited an International Congress of Orientalists to meet at Hanoi, in the first week of December, for the purpose of carrying on researches on subjects relating to India and the Far East.

The Director of the Ecole Française d'Extrême-Orient, which had been entrusted with the organisation of the Congress, and the French Consul at Bombay, on behalf of the French Government, sent an invitation to the Society, expressing a hope that it would be pleased to be represented at the Congress, adding that the delegates would be given a free passage, first-class, by the Messageries Maritimes Steamers, to and from Indo-China.

In pursuance of this invitation the Committee of Management nominated Principal M. MacMillan and Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar as the Society's Delegates. Dr. Bhandarkar, however, was not able to accept the invitation. Principal MacMillan accepted and read a paper and otherwise took part in the proceedings of the Congress.

On the motion of the Hon. Mr. Justice Chandavarkar, seconded by the Hon. Mr. Dick, the report was adopted.

On the motion of Mr. G. A. Kittredge, seconded by Mr. Furdoonjee Jamsetjee Parekh, the following Committee for the current year was appointed :—

President.

The Hon'ble Mr. E. M. H. Fulton, I.C.S.

Vice-Presidents.

James MacDonald, Esq.

Kharsetji R. Cama, Esq.

Principal M. Macmillan.

The Hon'ble Mr. Justice N. G. Chandavarkar.

Members.

Camrudin Amirudin, Esq.

Framji R. Vicaji, Esq.

The Hon'ble Sir Bhalchandra Krishna, Kt.

Shams-ul-Ulma Jivanji J. Modi.

Rao Bahadur K. G. Desai.

Shams-ul-Ulma Dastur Darab P. Sanjana.

Prof. A. L. Coverton.

Khan Bahadur Darasha R. Chichgar.

J. E. Aspinwall, Esq.

Rev. Dr. D. Mackichan.

A. M. T. Jackson, Esq., I. C. S.

The Hon'ble Mr. Justice H. Batty.

Honorary Secretary.

Rev. R. Scott.

Honorary Auditors.

H. R. H. Wilkinson, Esq.

Framroze A. Vakil, Esq.

Thanks to the Retiring President.

The Rev. Dr. Mackichan then moved "That the members of the Society, in view of the early departure of the Hon. Mr. Justice Candy from India, desire to place on record their high and grateful appreciation of his services to them as a member of the Committee and for the last four years as President. In all questions that have arisen respecting the management of the Society, or the rooms it occupies, Mr. Candy has brought to it the full benefit of his experience and influence.

His attention to the interests of the Society has been constant, and his helpful counsel highly beneficial. The members, in bidding him good-bye, wish him many years of the highest happiness."

Dr. Mackichan said this was the last occasion on which Mr. Candy would preside at the Society. They had already accepted his successor in the chair, and they had thus said their official farewell to him. It would be unbecoming on their part, however, to content themselves with such a formal farewell for the valuable services he had rendered. Mr. Candy, in whatever office or duty he undertook, put his whole heart and soul into his work. He showed energy and an amount of zeal which called for their warmest recognition. His connection for many years with the Society had now terminated ; and they had this last opportunity of placing on record their appreciation of his services. They wished him every blessing on his departure from India, and trusted he might be spared for many long years in his homeland to interest himself in the prosperity of the Society.

The Hon. Mr. Justice Chandavarkar, in seconding the proposition, said : There was the disadvantage of speaking of Mr. Candy in his presence, but, he thought, he ought to say that he knew Mr. Candy in another place, and they were all indebted to him for his qualities of head and heart, especially for his work outside the sphere of his official duties. Either as a Judge or on the administrative side of the High Court they knew how conscientious and hardworking he had been. As Vice-Chancellor of the University or President of this Society, his work had always been conscientious, and he had done a good deal of work for both the institutions.

The Hon. Mr. Justice Candy in reply said, he felt very much the kindness they had shown him, and was most grateful for the terms of the Resolution. He might say a few words on the spur of the moment, and he felt no elaborate preparation, no ornate sentences were necessary. No man, however, could leave the land of his birth without feeling a wrench at parting from it, for he was born at Mahableshwar in 1845 and had spent thirty-seven or thirty-eight years in service. His father had passed fifty-six years of his life in India. The associations of his service for the last 14 or 15 years in connection with this Society would, he believed, stand out very brightly, because in the rooms of the Society, European and Native gentlemen were brought into contact in an informal way. After a long day's toil as a Judge he enjoyed passing an hour in the rooms of the Society. They had very kindly said he had done all in his power for the benefit of the Society, but he might say that beyond attending all meetings and making efforts for the good of the Society, he had done nothing special. He wished every prosperity to the Society, and in saying farewell he did so from the bottom of his heart and in all sincerity. (*Applause.*)

BOMBAY BRANCH OF THE
Statement of Receipts and Disbursements

	RS. A. P.	RS. A. P.
Balance on 31st December 1901 ...	.....	397 9 2
Subscription of Resident Members ...	9,719 2 8	
Do. of Non-Resident Members	1,161 4 0	
Do. of Life Members ...	120 0 0	
Government Contribution ...	4,200 0 0	
Sale Proceeds of Journal Numbers ...	267 6 0	
Do. of Catalogues ...	58 5 0	
Do. of Waste papers, &c. ...	10 0 0	
Interest on Society's Government Paper	507 10 9	16,043 12 5
Total Rs...	.....	16,441 5 7

Examined and found correct.

FRAMROZ ARDESIR VAKIL,

Auditor.

7-3-03.

ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.

from 1st January to 31st December 1902.

	Rs.	A.	P.	Rs.	A.	P.
Books purchased in Bombay ...	2,907	2	6			
Remittances to Messrs. Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co.—						
Books Rs. 745-8-8	2,762	12	0			
Periodicals & Papers... „, 2,017-3-4						
Subscription to Indian Newspapers ...	311	8	0			
Printing Charges	527	4	0			
Do. of Journal Number	694	8	0			
Binding Charges	863	13	0			
Office Establishment	6,150	12	0			
General Charges	316	6	7			
Stationery	84	4	9			
Postage and Receipt Stamps ...	118	10	9			
Shipping and Landing Charges ...	12	5	0			
Gas Charges	129	0	9			
Insurance	312	8	0			
Grain Compensation	160	8	0			
Pension	300	0	0			
Govt. Promissory Note purchased ...	100	0	0			
Balance in Bank of Bombay ...	659	6	11	15,751	7	4
Do. in hand...	30	7	4	689	14	3
Total Rs....	.....			16,441	5	7

Invested Funds.

	Rs.	Rs.
Government Paper of the Society ...	... 11,800	
Premchand Roychand Fund ...	... 3,000	14,800
		R. SCOTT, <i>Honorary Secretary.</i>

A meeting of the Society was held on Wednesday, the 10th March 1903.

Principal M. MacMillan, one of the Vice-Presidents, in the chair.

The minutes of the last meeting were read and confirmed.

Professor MacMillan, in introducing Count Pullé, remarked, that he had been urged at Hamburg by Dr. Stein and other savants present at the Congress of Orientalists to visit India and make known there his great collection of maps with a view to the publication of a complete atlas of Indian cartography. He had embraced the opportunity afforded by his invitation to the Congress of Hanoi, and on his way back from Indo-China had made a stay of more than two months in India. In carrying out this intention he had received every support from the Italian Government. Signor Nunzio Nasi, the Italian Minister of Public Instruction, who had appointed Count Pullé to represent the Italian Government at the Congress of Hanoi, had given him permission to stay three months in India on his way back. Simultaneously with his more learned studies in India, Count Pullé was able to collect facts concerning the artistic and industrial progress of India, which he will, on his return to Italy, submit to Signor Guido Baccelli, the present Minister of Industry and Commerce, who, under the presidency of Signor Zanardelli, the leader of the movement now in progress in Italy for the extension of peaceful enterprise in new directions, co-operates with Signor Nasi, the Minister of Public Instruction, in promoting peaceful relations, intellectual and industrial, between Italy and the East. Count Pullé was doing a good work by bringing India and Italy into closer relations, and it was a pleasure and an honour for the Bombay Asiatic Society to have the opportunity of hearing him on the eve of his departure.

Count Pullé, after a few introductory remarks in English, proceeded to deliver the body of his discourse in French. Even those of the audience who were not masters of that language were able to follow the main lines of the address, owing to the constant references made by the lecturer to the splendid collection of maps arranged in chronological order round the lecture room. These maps showed the gradual progress made by the world in the knowledge of Indian geography from the earliest maps extant of Indian, Greek, Roman, Byzantine, Persian and Arabic origin to the time of the discovery by Vasco da Gama of the Cape route to India. In the two centuries before Vasco da Gama, the maps of India, as represented in Italian books, approached more and more closely to its correct form, which showed that during the middle ages and at the time of the Renaissance there was a considerable amount of intercourse between Europe and the East. Several Italian

travellers had visited India during this period, and India was well known in Italy long before the Portuguese went round the Cape. After the time of Vasco da Gama there were two distinct schools of Indian cartography, the Portuguese and the Italian. The French, the Dutch, the Germans, and apparently the English based their ideas of the shape of India on the maps made by the Portuguese, but the Italian maps nevertheless were much more correct. The difference between the forms of the Indian peninsula conceived by the two schools of cartography were clearly seen in the maps exhibited by the lecturer. "The study of Indian cartography," remarked Count Pullé in conclusion, "besides its special end with regard to the history of the geographical descriptions of India, contributes also to another class of observations, namely, to the history of the relations which have existed for centuries between the East and the West, and especially between India and Italy, relations of sympathy connected with commercial and intellectual interests. The progress of the study of Sanskrit, and of Indian art, archaeology, and ethnology has made uninterrupted progress in Italy since. My friends and masters, Paolo Montegazza and Angelo de Gubernatis, travelled to India. I will try to do my best that my brief sojourn in your country may aid in strengthening good relations between India and England, and I must sincerely thank you, members of the Bombay Asiatic Society, since it is owing to you that the last hour of my sojourn has been spent in expounding an Italian work designed to further the knowledge of your ancient and glorious country."

Mr. A. M. T. Jackson, in proposing a vote of thanks to the lecturer, said :—Mr. MacMillan, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I am sure you will all join with me in voting a hearty vote of thanks to Count Pullé for the very interesting account he has given us of his magnificent collection of maps. It is not often that we in Bombay have the chance of hearing from a scholar of acknowledged authority in Europe his own account of his researches. It is, therefore, with all the greater warmth that we welcome those scholars who from time to time do honour our meetings with their presence. Count Pullé in his very interesting address did not deal with the question of the age of that representation of the earth which we find in the *Lokaprakasha* which is based on the puranic geography. The age of the puranas is still a matter of dispute, but I for one should not be at all surprised to find it turn out to be at least as old as Alexander's invasion of India. Ptolemy's erroneous picture of India was due to the belief that its width was greater than its length. It is perhaps hardly to be regretted that in Christian Europe his views were superseded by the crude speculations of Cosmas, which dominated the ideas of geographers well on into the middle ages. The Ptolemaic tradition was preserved by the Arabs, and no doubt influenced Ibn Hangal in his

very crude maps in spite of the fact that he had himself travelled in India. Count Pullé justly lays stress on the fact that the Italian travellers of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries were really the first to give Europe a correct knowledge of India. But for a very long period the trading nations of Europe followed in their maps the less correct views of the Portuguese navigators. In fact, our English maps of India remained very defective down to nearly the end of the eighteenth century, when Major Rennell first prepared a correct map of India. In conclusion, I have no doubt you will join with me in wishing Count Pullé a pleasant and prosperous voyage.

The vote was seconded by Mr. J. J. Modi and was carried by acclamation.

A meeting of the Society was held on Tuesday, the 7th April 1903.

Mr. J. MacDonald, one of the Vice-Presidents, in the chair.

Minutes of the last meeting were read and confirmed.

Prin. MacMillan then read a paper on "Matheran Folk Songs."

Remarks were made by Messrs. J. J. Modi and J. C. Coyaji, and a vote of thanks was passed to Mr. MacMillan for his interesting paper.

A meeting of the Society was held on Monday, the 13th July 1903.

Mr. James MacDonald, one of the Vice-Presidents, in the chair.

The minutes of the last meeting were read and confirmed.

Mr. Jivanji Jamshedji Modi then read the following papers :—

(1) Anquetil Du Perron's Notes on King Akbar and Dastur Meherji Rana (lately discovered in the Bibliotheque Nationale of Paris).

(2) References to China in the Ancient Books of the Parsees.

On the motion of Mr. K. R. Cama and Mr. S. T. Bhandare, supported by Mr. Camruddin Amiruddin, a vote of thanks was passed to Mr. Modi for the interesting papers he had read.

A meeting of the Society was held on Tuesday, the 22nd September 1903.

Mr. James MacDonald, one of the Vice-Presidents, in the chair.

The minutes of the last meeting were read and confirmed.

Mr. R. K. Dadachanji then read a paper on the Cyropaedia of Xenophon.

On the proposition of Mr. K. R. Cama, seconded Mr. J. J. Modi, a vote of thanks was passed to Mr. Dadachanji for the paper he read.

A general meeting of the Society under article XX of the Rules was held on Thursday, the 26th November 1903, for the revision of the list of papers, periodicals, &c., taken by the Society.

Mr. James MacDonald, one of the Vice-Presidents, in the chair.

No proposals were received from members suggesting alterations or additions.

The meeting went over the existing list, and it was resolved that it should remain as it is.

A meeting of the Society was held on Thursday, the 17th December 1903.

Mr. James MacDonald, one of the Vice-Presidents, in the chair.

The minutes of the last meeting were read and confirmed.

The following papers were then read :—

- (1) "Discovery of Ancient Brahmi Script in Kashmir." By the Rev. J. E. Abbott, D.D.
- (2) "Shivaji's Swarajya." By Mr. Purshottamdas Vishram Mawjee.

On the motion of Mr. S. T. Bhandare, seconded by Mr. J. P. Watson, a vote of thanks was passed to the Rev. Dr. Abbott and Mr. Purshottamdas Vishram for the interesting papers they read.



List of Presents to the Library.

1903.

Titles of Books.

Donors.

Acts passed by the Governor-General of India in Council in 1902.	Government of India.
ADMINISTRATION Report, Baluchistan Agency, 1901-02.	Government of India.
Report, Bengal, for 1901-02.	Bengal Government.
Report, Bombay Presidency, 1901-02.	Bombay Government.
Report, Burma, 1901-02.	Burma Government.
Report, Forest Department, Bombay Presidency, including Sind, for 1901-02.	Bombay Government.
Report, Hyderabad Assigned Districts, 1901-02.	The Resident.
Report, Madras, 1901-02.	Madras Government.
Report of the Lower Provinces of Bengal during the Lieut.-Governorship of Sir John Woodburne (Supplement to the General Annual Administration Report of 1901-02).	Bengal Government.
Report of the Persian Gulf Political Residency and Muscat Political Agency for 1902-03.	Government of India.
Report of the Railways in India, 1902.	Government of India.
Report of the Rajputana States and Ajmere-Merwara, 1901-02.	Government of India.
Report of the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh, 1901-02.	U. P. of Agra and Oudh Government.
Report, Punjab, 1901-02.	Punjab Government.

<i>Titles of Books.</i>	<i>Donors.</i>
ACCOUNT of the Operations of the Great Trigonometrical Survey of India, Vol. XVII.	Government of India.
ACCOUNTS of the trade carried by Rail and River in India, 1902-03.	Government of India.
AGRICULTURAL Ledger, 1903, Nos. I—II.	Government of India.
AKBARNAMA.	Asiatic Society, Bengal.
AMERICAN Museum of Natural History, Annual Report, 1902.	Smithsonian Institute.
ANNALES du Musée Guimet, Le Rituel du Culte Divin Journalieren Egypte.	Musée Guimet.
ANNUAL Administration and Progress Report, Lunatic Asylums, Bom- bay Presidency, 1902.	Bombay Government.
— Administration Report, Forest Department, Madras, 1901-02.	Madras Government.
— Factory Report, Bombay Presidency, 1902.	Bombay Government.
— Reports for the Chenab, Jhelum, Chunian and Sohagpara Colonies, 1902.	Punjab Government.
— Report of the Stamp Department, Bombay Presidency, 1902-03.	Bombay Government.
— Report of the Talukdari Settlement Officer for 1901-02.	Bombay Government.
— Report of the working of the Punjab Alienation of Land Act XIII of 1900.	Punjab Government.
— Report of the American Historical Association, 1901.	The Association.
— Statement of the Trade and Navigation of the Presidency of Bombay, 1902-03.	Bombay Government.
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